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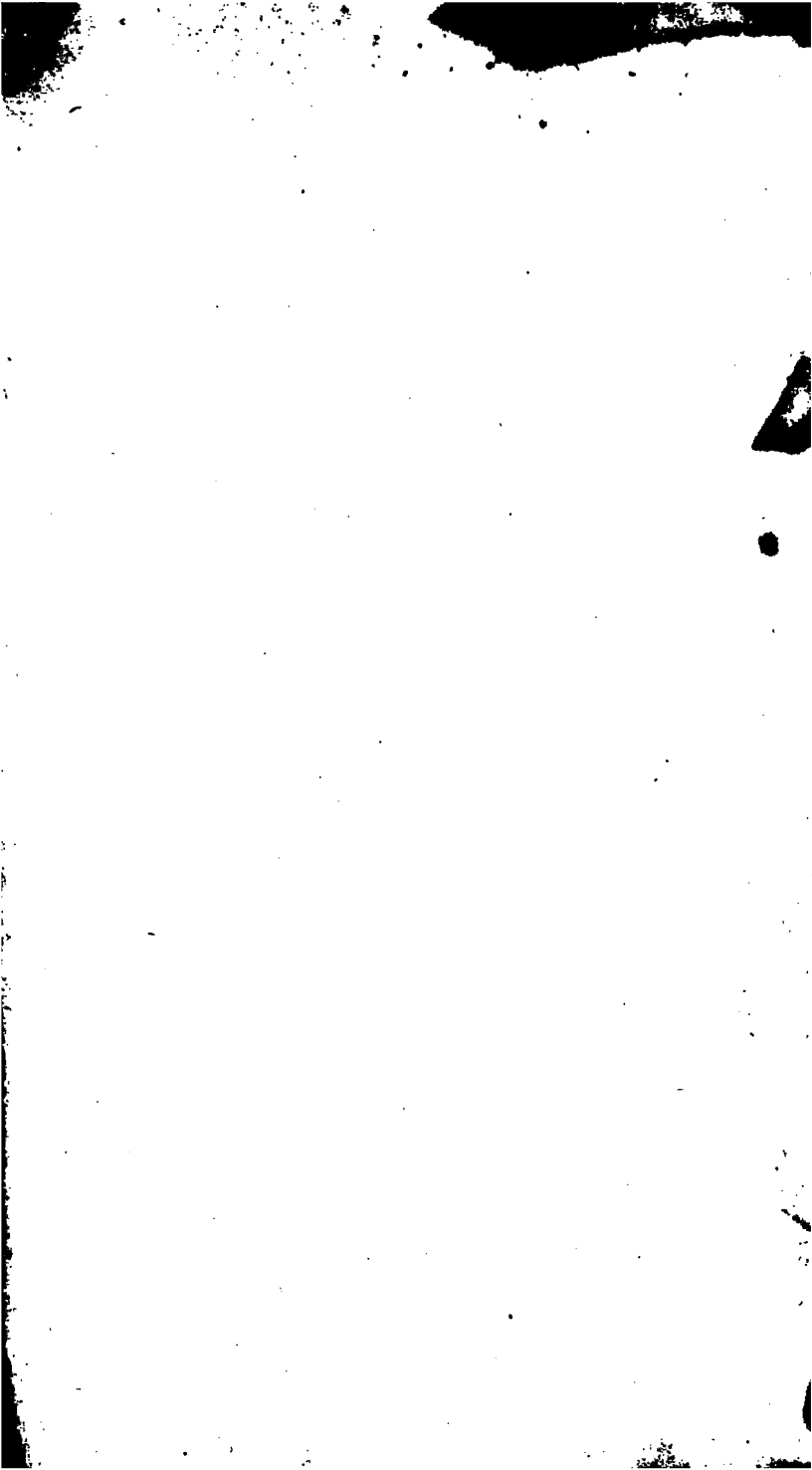
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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

NEW SERIES;

FOR

JANUARY,	}	APRIL,
FEBRUARY,		MAY,
MARCH,		JUNE,

M.DCCC.XXIII.

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VOLUME XIX.  
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London:

PRINTED FOR C. & J. RIVINGTON,
NO. 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND NO. 3, WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL;
By R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.

1823.



T A B L E

OF

B O O K S R E V I E W E D

IN

VOL. XIX. OF THE NEW SERIES.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR JANUARY, 1823.

ART. I. *Palæoromaica, or Historical and Philological Disquisitions; inquiring whether the Hellenistic Style is not Latin-Greek? whether the many New Words in the Elzevir Greek Testament are not formed from the Latin? And whether the Hypothesis, that the Greek Text of many Manuscripts of the New Testament is a Translation or Re-translation from the Latin, seems not to elucidate numerous Passages, to account for the different Recensions: and to explain many Phenomena hitherto inexplicable to the Biblical Critics?* pp. 542. Murray.

THIS unusually long title page sufficiently explains the objects, which the anonymous writer, (who might have styled himself *Harduinus Redivivus*) had in view. The work before us consists of six disquisitions. In the first he combats the received opinion, that a knowledge of Greek was very general in the time of the Apostles. In the second and third he contends that one at least of the Gospels, and several of St. Paul's Epistles, were probably composed in Latin: but that at all events the Elzevir, or received text, of the New Testament, bears marks of being a version from the Latin; possibly a Greek re-translation from the Latin of an original Greek work made at a very early period. This notion the author proceeds to corroborate in the fourth disquisition, by a list of words, phrases, &c. tending to prove that what is called the *Hellenistic* style, is not Hebrew Greek, but Latin Greek. In the fifth disquisition are quoted the opinions of some of the most distinguished Editors of the New Testament: and in the sixth, this hypothesis is applied to the elucidation of the theory of different families of MSS. of the New Testament.

The author professes to offer his notion as a matter for inquiry, without dogmatizing himself. But in the course of his work he not unfrequently falls into a style somewhat

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too positive and pert for a humble inquirer after truth. He has pursued his researches with much industry, and has collected testimonies from a great variety of authors, although they are not very methodically arranged. We shall not enter into a minute consideration of each disquisition, but shall briefly review the state of the question, as it concerns the original language of the New Testament.

We need hardly inform our readers that the hypothesis of a Latin original of the New Testament is not now broached for the first time. A German Jesuit of the 17th century, Melchior Inchofer maintained that our Saviour and his disciples *spoke* Latin, from a principle of obedience to the Roman laws, which prescribed the use of that language in the provinces of the empire; a notion which has also been seriously taken up and defended by an Italian scholar. Another Jesuit, of greater celebrity, the learned but fanciful Hardouin, advanced what Michaelis terms "the extraordinary hypothesis, that what we call the Latin translation is in fact the original, and that the Greek Testament is nothing more than an insignificant translation by an unknown hand." Our present author goes even farther, than this; for he argues that the present Greek text is a servile translation from a Latin original, now lost. We should not, however, use the words "Latin original" without limitation; for he acknowledges that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew; consequently of *his* Gospel we have a Greek version of a Latin version of a Hebrew original. He observes very justly, that the discovery of truth can never injure the cause of religion: but he overlooks the very obvious remark, that this holds good only with regard to *actual* truth. The propagation of a notion which this or that individual *believes* to be truth, when in fact it is no truth at all, may be productive of the most injurious consequences. Again, although the *discovery* of truth can do no harm (a position which requires some limitations) yet an *inquiry* after truth may be so conducted as to do a great deal of harm.

It may be a question of no importance to the authenticity of the Christian Scriptures, whether ~~they~~ they were at first composed in Greek or Latin; and whether the copies which we possess, be originals or translations, provided that the translations can be authenticated. But an examination of this question may be so carried on, as to do much disservice to the cause of religion. This will be the case, when the writer indulges in a vein of pleasantry ill suited to the subject; when he speaks contemptuously of opinions or things, which the Christian world is disposed to regard with vene-

ration; when the tone of his arguments upon this particular question is calculated to foster a spirit of scepticism in matters of higher importance. In this, and in many similar cases, where the prevailing opinion, even if it be erroneous, does no harm; a controversy, tending to establish another hypothesis, and possibly the true one, if it be conducted as we have described, may evidently be injurious to the cause of religion. We do not mean to tax our present author with any disingenuousness, or want of serious intention. But we certainly have to complain of the flippancy with which he occasionally discusses very serious questions; and of the contemptuous tone in which he speaks, if not of persons, yet of opinions, which we are accustomed to regard with approbation and respect. The labours of biblical critics surely merit a better name than "the trash composed on dots, articles, and particles;" P. 480. And we are wholly at a loss to perceive that the establishing of our author's hypothesis will have any tendency to diminish the quantity of such "trash;" for as long as the Greek Testament is allowed to be an authentic translation, the original of which is lost, the importance of articles and particles must remain just where it is. And with regard to various readings, it will still be of the same consequence to ascertain, whether, in the instance alluded to by Wetstein in the note, the true reading be ΘC or KC , since it would be in fact ascertaining whether in the original, the reading was DS or DNS , i. e. *Deus* or *Dominus*.

In many parts of his book, the author ridicules the stress which has been laid upon the use of the article in the New Testament; and because the old Socinians drew some arguments against the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, from the insertion or omission of the article in certain texts; whereas the later Socinians have been combated by orthodox divines upon the same ground, our author maintains that therefore the whole doctrine of the Greek article is nugatory and contemptible; and says that it is "ludicrous, or perhaps melancholy, that Bishop Pearson, conscious as he was of its weakness, should employ the article to prop up the argument that Almighty God is the Father of Jesus in a different manner from that in which he is our Father." This is miserable sophistry. Divines have believed that most, if not all of the books of the New Testament were originally written in Greek. Now that the article has *some* meaning in Greek no one pretends to deny. If so it must have some effect upon the sense, where it is inserted or omitted; whether

that effect be important or not, depends upon the nature of the passages themselves. It is certain that πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι means "many men," but οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι "most men:" the former would be rendered in Latin "multi homines," the latter "plerique." Consequently the article cannot be of no importance in Scripture criticism, whether the books of the New Testament be in the original tongue, or translations from it. It savours of ignorance as well as petulance, to ridicule indiscriminately arguments drawn from the peculiar idioms of a language. Our author remarks in a note "Nay, the question of our Lord's divinity has sometimes been supposed almost to depend upon a dot." P. 420. Thus, because one particular text may or may not bear upon the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, according to the different modes of reading it; the doctrine itself is said "to have been supposed *almost* to depend upon a dot." Is this a candid insinuation? is this the language of a sincere and modest inquirer after truth? is it the language of one, who "thought no more of the distinctions of Arian, Socinian, or Arminian*, during the composition of the present work, than of those of Aristotélian, Stoic, and Academic; nor has it been in the slightest degree, his object either to confute or to confirm what are deemed the orthodox opinions?" Pref. p. xi. He must then be either very ignorant of his own intentions, or of the tendency of his own arguments. He says, it is true, p. 464. "Let the designs of the writer be as good or as bad as possible, or the imaginary consequences be what they may, the question is not whether the author be designing, but whether his book is uncritical."

This we deny. In the first place, it is a gratuitous assumption, to say that the consequences *are* imaginary; and, if the consequences be bad, and might have been expected to be bad, the author cannot be justified. A book concerning religion may be very critical, and yet very mischievous. Would any thinking person commend the diligence of him, who should collect into one view all the harsh and forced expressions, the abrupt transitions, and inelegant sentences of St. Paul, by way of exciting disgust in the mind of the theological student? The mischief which has been done by such a disingenuous mode of proceeding, with regard to certain parts of the Old Testament, is perfectly well known to our author. Truth, we repeat it, may be pursued by one who scatters firebrands in the way. An author

* Why the poor Arminian is drawn in to complete this trio, rather than the Calvinist, or any other Trinitarian, we do not understand.

may delineate the astronomical phenomena of a given year with perfect accuracy; and yet, in the course of his descriptions he may throw out insinuations against the existence of a Supreme Creator. In short, it depends upon the manner in which truth is investigated, whether the investigation shall do more good or harm. Upon the whole we are not disposed to find *much* fault with the present work in this respect. We think it not difficult to discover the leaning of the author's mind upon some important points of doctrine; but in general he has kept it in the back ground. We shall now proceed to state our reasons for dissenting from most of his opinions upon the points which he has discussed.

His first attempt is to prove, that a knowledge of the Greek language was not so prevalent in the age of the Apostles as is usually supposed. The vernacular tongue of our Lord and his disciples, it is pretty generally agreed, was Aramæan, a Syriac, or more properly, a Syrochaldaic dialect. The primitive church consisted wholly of Jews, and some time elapsed, before the Gentiles were received into its communion; yet, all the records of Christianity which we consider to be authentic, are written in the Greek tongue. This is, undoubtedly, a striking phenomenon. A very obvious reason suggests itself, why those writings, which were intended for the use of the Gentile churches, should not have been written in the language of Palestine, which is, that the language of Palestine was confined to a single nation; and, that although many Jews understood Greek, few, if any Gentiles understood either the Hebrew or Aramæan. One would naturally expect, that if a religion was about to be established at that era of the world, which was to be communicated first to the Jews, and afterwards to the Gentiles; certain documents, intended for the instruction of the Jews, would be written in the mother tongue of that people, and that others, designed for the Christian world at large, would be indited in the language used by that people to whose keeping they were to be in the first instance committed. Whether this language should be Greek or Latin, would depend upon the actual circumstances, both of the writer, and of the persons to and for whom he wrote. When the new religion should be once firmly established, and authentic memorials in the possession of one or more communities, copies of these would be multiplied, and translations made into *other* languages, as the necessities of the Christian world should demand. Now, according to the received notions on this subject, we have a state of facts, agreeing very well with this supposition: first, there was a

Hebrew, or Syrochaldee gospel, written by St. Matthew for the use of the Jews; and, four other histories in Greek, intended for the Gentile converts. We have an epistle to the Hebrews, which may have been written in their vernacular tongue, if addressed to the Jews of Palestine, or in Greek, if addressed to those of Alexandria, and of the Dispersion; besides which, we have several epistles in Greek addressed to different churches planted in heathen countries. But here the question recurs, why should these have been written in Greek rather than in Latin? We reply, because the persons who wrote them, and the persons for whom they were intended, understood Greek better than Latin. Our author denies this, and here we join issue. We are prepared to go along with him in many of the arguments, by which he endeavours to prove that the use of the Greek language was not so general as Mr. Falconer, in his Bampton Lectures, states it to have been; but not in all. He infers that the Egyptians did not understand Greek, because in a commotion excited against Paul at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 37.) *as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, may I speak unto thee? who said, canst thou speak Greek? Art not thou that Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar?* upon which passage our author, after Rossi, remarks, that the question would have been absurd, if a knowledge of Greek was general, or even usual amongst the Egyptians. Now it appears to us, that the utmost which can be inferred with certainty from the interrogation of the chief captain is, that having imagined Paul to be the Egyptian alluded to, he was surprized at hearing him speak Greek with *fluency*; for this Egyptian, who seduced so many of the Jews by his false prophecies, must have been able, it appears, to speak either Greek or Syrochaldee; and, a knowledge of the latter language would have been much more surprizing in an Egyptian, than an acquaintance with Greek, seeing that Alexandria was more of a Greek than an Egyptian city, and that there were Greek colonies in the interior of Egypt. It is not possible that such an establishment as that of the Serapeum, at Alexandria, could have flourished for so many years, the Greek language being publicly taught by a long series of eminent grammarians, without diffusing some knowledge of that tongue over a considerable part of Egypt. In Alexandria itself, under the Ptolemies, Greek must have been familiar to the people. Theocritus represents a man as ridiculing the broad Doric dialect of some Syracusan women who were present at the festival of Adonis, at Alexandria, where a Greek female sings a Greek

song in praise of the hero. The Jews, who settled in that city under the auspices of Alexander the Great, and were afterwards joined by great numbers of their countrymen, by degrees ceased to use the Hebrew or Chaldee as the language of conversation, and adopted the Greek, partly for the sake of convenience, and partly perhaps in order to ingratiate themselves with the Ptolemies. Whether the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament was made in compliance with the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or for the convenience of the numerous Jews who resided at Alexandria, it affords a sufficient proof of the prevalence of the Greek language. We say nothing of the Jewish authors who wrote in Greek; the historian of the Maccabees, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristeas, the poet Ezechiel, and Aristobulus the great falsary. It is sufficiently clear, that the common people of Alexandria spoke Greek. Dio Chrysostom composed an oration to the inhabitants of that city in the time of Trajan, in which he uses the phrase "you alone of all the Greeks." (p. 378.) And considering the wealth, population and influence of Alexandria, it is reasonable to conclude that Greek was understood, at least, in a great part of Lower Egypt.

We are surprised to find our author maintaining that a knowledge of Greek was possessed only by a very few Jews, when the fact, with regard at least to those Jews who lived in foreign countries, is notoriously the reverse. He misapplies an expression of Origen, who merely says, that the Jews did not study Greek writers very critically: οὐ πάνυ μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ Ἑλλήνων φιλολογοῦσι. It is well known that the Septuagint version was used in the synagogues of Alexandria*. Our author contends, that Greek was not understood by the common people in Upper Asia, but he does not say much about the countries of Asia Minor.

The learned Jablonsky, in his dissertation *de Lingua Lycaonia*, has endeavoured to prove that the vernacular languages of the Lycaonians, Phrygians, Pamphylians, Lydians, Carians, Lycians, Bithynians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, Galatians, and Cappadocians, were not Greek, but barbarous dialects peculiar to those districts; an opinion which had been briefly stated by Dr. Bentley in his *Confutation of Atheism*, p. 219, who observes that Ephorus and Strabo

* Tertullian, quoted by Scaliger on Eusebius, p. 134, says expressly that the Greek version of the Bible was publicly read by the Jews, in his time, at Alexandria. And it appears that in consequence of this custom, great differences subsisted between the Jews of Jerusalem and those of Alexandria.

make almost all the inland nations of Asia Minor to be barbarians. He therefore supposes that St. Paul, who says of himself, *I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all*, addressed the Lycaonians in their own language. That the ordinary languages used by the various people of Asia did actually differ very greatly from one another, appears from Acts ii. 8, 9. But Jablonsky contends, that most, or all of those people understood Greek, although they usually conversed in their own dialects. After the conquest of Asia by Alexander and his successors, not only were a great many Greek words introduced into their barbarous languages, but the Greek language itself became generally known throughout Asia Minor, so that many districts had more than one dialect. Strabo* expressly testifies of the people of Cibyra, that they spoke four languages, those of the Pisidians, Solymans, Greeks, and Lydians, which last was their native tongue. Jerome says that the Galatians, “besides the Greek language, *which is used by all the East*, had their own dialect, which was nearly the same as that of the Treviri.” But our author calls this “an exaggerated phrase.” Jablonsky proceeds to say, that the Lystrans heard the Apostles preach in Greek, and understood them, but uttered the exclamation recorded in Acts xiv. 11. in their national dialect. That the Apostles did not address them in that dialect, as Bentley supposes, seems very evident; for if they had, why should St. Luke have mentioned, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that the people answered them in the same; when the remarkable circumstance would rather have been that St. Paul spoke Lycaonian? Yet the supposition that he spoke Greek cannot be admitted, unless we suppose that the inhabitants of Lystra understood Greek †; and if they did, it was very natural for them to be struck with the eloquence of Paul in a language, which was universally considered as worthy of being the language of gods. We cannot help thinking, that the Lystrans, who seemed to have worshipped the gods of Greece, with Grecian rites, would have expected those gods, if they made their appearance upon earth, to address them in the Greek language. We take this opportunity of observing, that the cases which our author has more than once put, of the employment of modern lan-

* P. 936.

† Unless indeed we suppose St. Paul to have spoken in Greek, his ordinary language, and the Lystrans to have understood him as though he were speaking Lycaonian; but there are strong objections to explaining the gift of tongues, in this manner.

guages, for instance, that of a letter written in French to the inhabitants of Birmingham or Manchester, are nothing to the purpose. There is scarcely any resemblance between the state of the civilized world at the present time, with regard to the use of languages, and that in which it was in the time of the Apostles. Whatever conclusion we may come to, as to the popular use of Greek in those days, it was unquestionably the universal language of literature. Very few works of merit had been then written in Latin, and of them the knowledge was confined to Italy. The Hebrew, or Chaldee language, was understood but by one small nation; whereas the Greek poets, historians, orators, and grammarians, were read every where. Large collections of their works had been formed at Alexandria and at Pergamus, from which copies had been multiplied. Schools of rhetoric subsisted in various parts of Asia Minor; and with the exception of Latin, which was scarcely known out of Italy, Greek was the only language which was taught grammatically.

We have also to remark one fact, concerning the dialects of Asia Minor, which is, that most of the words which are cited by grammarians and others, as Carian, Phrygian, &c. have a *Greek* form; as the reader will perceive, upon consulting the lists given by Jablonsky, and some of them are sheer Greek; as *Ξενών*, "a guest's chamber;" *Οὔριος*, a surname of Jove; *Φιλέταιρις*, the name of a plant; *Κῶς*, "a sheep." To this we may add the very obvious question, why should the Greek lexicographers have cited words, as peculiar to the Phrygian, Carian, &c. dialects, if these dialects had no connection with the Greek language? A person who wished to compile a universal dictionary of Italian, would insert many words peculiar to the Venetians, Neapolitans, &c. as distinguished from the pure Tuscan; but he would never think of inserting English or Scotch words. Strabo says expressly that the Carians spoke *bad Greek*. (xiv. 28.) He quotes Philippos, a writer on Carian affairs, who says that the Carian tongue had a great many Greek words mixed with it.

Lucian says of a barbarian from Pontus, in the time of Nero, that he was *μιξέλλην*. This person told Nero that he lived in the neighbourhood of barbarous tribes, speaking different languages, and that it was not easy to find an interpreter for them all. If the story be true, which is by no means certain, we must conclude that a knowledge of *Greek* was not common in the northern parts of Asia Minor. Yet we have Greek coins of Mithradates and Pharnaces. That there is no absurdity in the supposition of cer-

tain tribes speaking two languages, appears, not only from the instance mentioned by Strabo, but from that of the inhabitants of Magna Græcia, who, in the time of Ennius, spoke both Greek and Latin*. Thucydides speaks of some barbarous tribes as being *διδύλωσσοι*, (iv. 109.) And that Greek was actually spoken by the common people in the parts about Pontus, although in a very corrupt form, appears from the express testimony of Ovid; from which also we learn, that in the same province, Greek was better understood than Latin—

“ In paucis remanent Graiæ vestigia linguæ,
Hæc quoque jam *Getico* barbara facta sono.
Unus in hoc populo nemo est, qui forte Latine
Quælibet e medio reddere verba queat †.”

And again,

“ Barbarus hic ego sum; quia non intelligor ulli:
Et rident stolidi verba Latina Getæ ‡.”

He calls the language of the Getæ, “a Greek language, spoiled or overpowered by a Getic *pronunciation*”—

“ Nesciaque est vocis quod barbara lingua Latinae,
Graiaque quod *Getico* victa loquela sono §.”

Yet Dionysius of Halicarnasus, says that the Achæan colonists in Pontus were in his time the rudest of all the barbarians. If then *their* Greek was very barbarous, that of the other tribes in Asia Minor was less so.

Why should the Ilienses have struck coins with Greek, rather than with Latin inscriptions, when they were a Roman colony, unless the Greek language was familiar to them? And the same question may be asked of many other cities in Asia Minor, whose coins and marbles still testify the prevalence of the Greek tongue. The Rhodian ambassadors in Livy are made to say to the Roman senate, *Non quæ in solo modo antiquo sunt, Græcæ magis urbes sunt quam Colonia earum illinc quondam profectæ in Asiam* ||. Josephus speaks of the Greeks and Macedonians inhabiting Mesopotamia ¶. Tacitus says, *At Tiridates, volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthimusîada, ceterasque urbes, quæ Macedonibus sita Græca vocabula usurpant, Italumque et Artemitam, Parthica oppida, recepit.* And the Arsacidæ affected the title of *Φαλλάνες*, by way of flattering the Asiatic Greeks of

* See Schol. in Horat. l. i. s. x. 30.

† V. Trist. viii. 51.

‡ Ibid. x. 34.

§ Ibid. ii. 68.

|| xxxvii. 54.

¶ Antiq. xiii. 9.

Syria and Mesopotamia. These remarks are borrowed from Spanheim's learned *Dissertation De Præstantia et Usu Numism.* p. 486. In the same work we have representations, or accounts of Greek coins, struck in various parts of Asia; amongst others, one of Hidricus, a Carian potentate; another of the Termessenses, a people of Caria. A still more decisive testimony to the fact, that Greek was well understood in Caria, is afforded by the Aphrodisian monument, illustrated by Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 150. containing a letter of Mark Antony, and a *Senatusconsultum*, both in Greek; the latter having been translated from the original decree at the request of Solon, the ambassador of the Aphrodisians at Rome. More than one inscription prove that Greek was spoken in Galatia, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius; and although the Ancyran monument itself is in Latin, the other honorary inscriptions in the same temple are Greek.

We come now to the state of Greek learning in Italy. Our author remarks, that there is no reason to suppose any great knowledge of Greek to have emanated from Magna Græcia to Rome, in the times of the earliest Roman authors. But what is this to the purpose? The question is, whether two or three centuries afterwards, the intercourse of the Romans with the different Grecian states, and the influx of Greeks into Italy, had not rendered the Greek language familiar to a great part of the Roman people? The derivation of Greek from Latin is a point of no importance whatever to this question. He says, that the advocates for the universality of Greek adduce, as one proof, and almost the only proof of their plan, the well known assertion of Cicero, in his oration for Archias,—“*Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus; Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.*” He argues that Cicero only refers to well educated people, who understood Greek as our gentry understand French. Our author's reasons are ingenious, and learned, but not, we think, decisive. The very circumstance mentioned by him, that Tiberius forbade the insertion of a Greek word in a public decree, proves that the people of Rome were very apt to mix Greek phrases with their vernacular tongue, an affectation which is censured by Horace. The author maintains that Latin was a more general language than Greek, in the time of the Apostles. His own quotations prove the contrary. Apollonius of Tyane told Vespasian, that the Governor of the Peloponnese “*knew nothing of Greek, nor did the people know any thing of him.*”

Hence arose innumerable mistakes. From this it is clear that the people there knew nothing of Latin. Apollonius of Rhodes, in the time of Cicero, did not understand Latin; and therefore Cicero declaimed to him in Greek (Plut. Cic. p. 444.) How are we to reconcile these facts with an expression of Plutarch's, quoted by our author, that in his time almost every body used the Latin language? That this assertion must not be understood to the letter, his own example proves. Plutarch's meaning seems to have been, that Latin was coming into general use, with Greek; which agrees with Juvenal's expression, (xv. 110.)—

“Nunc totus Graias, nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.”

As for the common use of Greek by the Roman females, the same poet speaks very strongly, even if we make allowance for satirical hyperbole, (vi. 187.)—

“Omnia Græce,
[Quum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine]
Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta.”

But all these testimonies, our author contends, relate only to the higher classes. Perhaps they may; if by the higher classes we understand all those, who had the advantage of education. The comparison which he draws between the use of Greek at Rome, and of French in England, is not just; had he instanced the use of French in Russia, it would have been more accurate. That the Roman people of quality were accustomed to converse in Greek, appears very probable from the circumstance related by Plutarch, that when Cæsar exclaimed to Casca, who had wounded him, *Scelerate Casca quid agis?* Casca said to his brother, in Greek, ἀδελφί, βοήθει. The author says, that when Quintilian advises that the pupil should begin with Greek, he is not speaking of the humbler, or even the middling classes of the community: but he omits to notice a remarkable fact, to which Quintilian alludes in the next sentence, that most of the Roman boys, for a considerable time in the early part of their education, learned and spoke Greek *only*—the consequence of which was that they were very apt to retain the Greek idioms when they came to speak Latin. Something similar to this happened to Gibbon, when he first attempted to write English after his education at Lausanne. The fact seems to be, that education itself was confined to the better classes at Rome, and that the sons of tradesmen, generally speaking, had little or none. Horace mentions it to his father's credit,

that instead of sending him to school with the sons of colonels, to learn accounts, he took him at once to Rome.

The author thinks it strange in Mr. Walpole to suppose that any of the foreigners who were called *Astrologi* and *Chaldæi* were Greeks. It is rather strange in *him* not to have known that *Chaldæi* was a general term for all who professed judicial astrology. The expression of Cicero, (*Divin.* l. l.) "*Qua in nationi Chaldæi, non ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati,*" &c. proves that in common parlance the term *Chaldæus* referred to the art, and not to the nation.

He argues that the early Syriac, the Coptic, and Sahidic versions of the Scriptures, would not have been necessary, had Greek been universal. If this argument be valid, it is equally valid against the general prevalence of Latin, which the author maintains. When we speak of the universality of Greek, all that we mean to say is, that Greek was far more generally understood in those times than any other single language. There was no city of importance in Italy, or the Roman provinces, in which the principal inhabitants did not understand Greek. And this is all we want to prove; if, indeed, we want to prove even this; for it will probably appear that this question, of the universality of one language in the age of the Apostles, has very little to do with the enquiry in what language they wrote. Still the investigation is curious, and not unimportant.

With regard to Gaul, our author seems to have overlooked the express testimony of Strabo, that the example of the inhabitants of Massilia (Marseilles) had made the Gauls so fond of Greek, that they even wrote their contracts in that language; and betook themselves to those studies, "not only individually, but as a public body," and sophists were hired both by private citizens and by cities, (*iv.* 5.) This, however, of course, applies only to that part of Gaul which was in the more immediate neighbourhood of Marseilles.

Upon the whole, even if we concede to our author that the Greek language was not spoken by the mass of the people in the provinces (for he has not proved that it was *totally unknown* to them), he has certainly *not* shown that the Latin was in more general use. He says, in the conclusion of his first Disquisition, that "*Latin must have been the language in which our Lord was tried, and which was spoken by those who guarded his cross, and perhaps, his tomb.*" This is a bold assumption. Before we can grant it, he must prove that the trial of our Saviour was conducted according to the strict forms of Roman Jurisprudence, a supposition which the circumstances of the case render, in some degree, improbable. But even if we allow that this has been proved by

Eckhard, it does not affect the question in any way whatever; for it only proves that Pilate must have interrogated Jesus and his accusers by an interpreter; this was all the trial that took place; no pleading of advocates, no appeal to the *judices*.

The length to which we have extended this article compels us to reserve the rest of our observations for a future Number. The discussion into which we have been insensibly led, might perhaps, in great part have been spared; for, as we have already observed, the solution of the question, in what language did the sacred penmen write? does not, after all, depend upon the universal prevalence of this or that language; but, in great measure, upon the question, what language was best understood in common by the writer, and by those for whom he wrote. In the absence of other testimony, the existence of the writings themselves in a particular language, is a *prima facie* proof that they understood *that* language. What we mean is this, that having certain books, which profess to have been written for certain people, in a certain language, and having the best historical evidence which could be expected, under the circumstances of the case, that they were originally written in that language; we have in fact one strong ground of probability for the supposition, that the writers, or the persons for whom they wrote, did understand that language, in such a degree as was requisite for the purposes of the communication. If it can be satisfactorily proved that they were better acquainted with any other language, we shall be naturally led to suspect that the documents were originally in that language. But we think that no reader of the *Palæoromaica* will consider this first position to be established by our author; of whom, for the present, we take our leave.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. II. *A History of the British Empire, from the Accession of Charles the First to the Restoration; with an Introduction, tracing the Progress of Society, and of the Constitution, from the Feudal Times to the opening of the History; and including a particular Examination of Mr. Hume's Statement, relative to the Character of the English Government. By George Brodie, Esq. Advocate.* 4 vols. 8vo. Longman & Co. 1822.

THERE is no portion of English history about which political writers are so much at variance as the reigns of the first James and Charles. That a great change took place in the opinions

of men at that period, in regard to the principles according to which it behoved them to be governed, is admitted on all hands; but whether that change was connected with the revolutionary spirit which had recently animated the greater part of Europe, and had led to considerable innovation upon the established order of things; or whether it was entirely provoked by an unusual stretch of prerogative, and by the introduction of tyrannical maxims and practices in the government of this kingdom in particular, is a point which is not yet by any means determined.

The obscurity which naturally belongs to such an enquiry as this, has all along been amazingly increased by the mists of prejudice and party feeling. For nearly a hundred years after the death of Charles, history, in most cases, appeared under no better form than that of special pleading; and it was not, in fact, till about the middle of last century that the tone of public sentiment had become sufficiently moderate to admit of any reasoning on this subject, which did not openly and avowedly proceed either to a direct defence or to a pointed condemnation of that unfortunate monarch. Thus we find, as soon as we have opened the pages of Clarendon, Sanderson, Symmons, Warwick, and Carte on the one side, or those of Prynne, Neal, Whitelocke, Harris, Oldmixon, and even Birch, on the other, that we are perusing the arguments of counsel, retained by the spirit of party, and actuated solely by the love of their cause, or by hatred of its opponents. The most upright and conscientious of these writers are at very little pains to conceal the bias which affects all their movements, or to repress the animosity towards certain men and principles which inflames their zeal, directs all their researches, and modifies almost all their conclusions. The ascendancy of monarchical feeling immediately after the Restoration, discouraged, during many years, all free enquiry into the causes and history of those important events which had led to the interruption of kingly power in England; whilst, during an equal period after the Revolution, the popularity of whig principles withheld the patronage of public favour, with a force not less sensibly felt, from every attempt to set in a clear light, the apparent motives of the two great contending parties, and to estimate with precision the amount of the change ultimately induced, by their struggle, upon the practice of the British Constitution. Hume was the first who undertook to write the history of Charles, with any just claims to impartiality; and nothing could illustrate so strikingly the prejudiced and irritable state of mind which even at that period prevailed both among whigs and

tories, as the very remarkable fact that the view of the King's conduct and character given by the author now named, was received by each party with equal displeasure and indignation. In truth, the one faction and the other had been accustomed, down to the date in question, to read those books only which had been produced by their respective partizans; and, as far as the motives and actions of Charles the First were concerned, every work was either a glowing eulogy or a fierce satire.

Reflection, however, and the progress of moderate sentiments have induced the majority on both sides to adopt the conclusions of Hume. In opposition to this remark, it must indeed be allowed that several individuals, distinguished not less by talent than by their support of popular principles, have, from time to time, muttered their disapprobation of this historian's kingly predilections, and even threatened to expose his inaccuracies both in point of fact and reasoning. Mr. Fox, for instance, was wont to condemn Hume, long before he himself had begun to study the subject on which the other had written; and when at length he did proceed in earnest to the task of refutation, he had still to ask his friends where the materials were to be found. Sir James M'Intosh, again, has permitted his bookseller to announce a work on the history of Great Britain, the principal object of which, we presume, is to counteract the tory prejudices of his philosophical countryman; but if report speaks truly in regard to Sir James's undertaking, the world will yet remain some time in ignorance as to the real character of the men and things which occupy the annals of the seventeenth century.

These remarks naturally remind us of the work which constitutes the subject of the present article, and which likewise obviously proceeds from the school of Charles Fox and Sir J. M'Intosh. The author, confident in abilities, which we doubt not, will at some future day, confer upon his country a lasting credit and produce even a more splendid monument of their power than that now before us, has boldly achieved what the others have only meditated, and fearlessly laid before the world what they have only conversed about among their friends. We do not, however, profess to say that Mr. Brodie has been completely successful in every thing that he has undertaken, or that his conclusions are, in every instance, as satisfactory as they are decisively pronounced. On many points our opinions are diametrically opposed to those which he wishes to establish; and we have not found much reason, either from the additional facts which he has brought to

light, or from the arguments which he has raised upon them, to alter materially any of our former judgments. Still we are ready to acknowledge that, after all the writing and investigation which had preceded his attempt, there is no small credit in having produced facts not hitherto established ; and in having originated views which had not disclosed themselves to others, who professed to have walked over the ground which he has more carefully examined. On several occasions Mr. Brodie has secured his claim to this rare merit, as will afterwards appear in the course of our analysis.

There is obviously a great difference between searching for and examining documents, in order to ascertain the facts on some particular point, which has fallen into controversy, and the perusing of the same documents when an author is simply in search of materials for a general narrative, embracing numerous and various particulars. In the one case, the most trivial circumstance rises into importance, and assumes, from its connection with the litigated topic a value, in the eyes of a party writer, which it could not possibly have in the estimation of a mere annalist; and on this account it must frequently happen that the author of a life or of a single reign, guided and restricted by the very speciality of his enquiry, will detect occurrences, and can make a plausible conjecture into motives, which the purposes of the more general historian did not require that he should weigh with particular accuracy. On the principle now suggested, Mr. Brodie has, in some instances, added to the information previously collected by Mr. Hume.

There is another advantage enjoyed by our author which was not so amply provided to his predecessor, and of which he has availed himself with such a degree of industry, as has given no small additional value to his work. We allude to the immense materials for history which have of late years been laid before the public, arising from the resolution adopted by many noble families of printing such papers in their possession as might contribute to throw light on certain national events, as well as on the policy of the statesmen who directed them. The public records, too, and more particularly the statutes of the kingdom and the parliamentary history, are in a much more orderly and accessible condition than they were fifty years ago : a circumstance of the very first importance to him who has to authenticate facts, correct dates, and trace the chain of connection among political transactions and resolves, which, though mutually dependent,

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seem but slenderly related in the order of their occurrence.

These are advantages peculiar in a great measure to the circumstances in which Mr. Brodie has written ; and we repeat that he has improved them with an assiduity which commands praise, and with a degree of success which cannot fail to reward his utmost pains. But we regret that we cannot bestow equal commendation on the spirit and temper with which his work is composed. There is in it an acrimony which ever and anon discomposes the mind of the reader, and stirs him up involuntarily to a corresponding bitterness, not only against the author himself, but against those historical personages on whose account, and in vindication of whose measures, he thinks he does well to be angry. Mr. Brodie, too, often forgets his character of historian, and assumes that of the advocate ; and we find him, accordingly, in numerous passages of his book, using all the freedoms of a barrister in attacking character and defaming witnesses ; and occasionally also addressing to his readers that sophistical species of logic with which he might hope to influence a jury. From the outset he labours to secure a verdict of guilty against Charles, Strafford, Laud, and Monk. He admits no palliating circumstances : gives no credit for good intentions,—allows nothing for involuntary error and the difficulty of situation ; whilst certificates of character and all remembrance of former merits are at once disregarded and thrown aside. He acts on the maxim of a late police judge, that “ we have all good characters till we are found out ; ” and seems to think that when kings, ministers, and bishops *are found out*, the law ought immediately to take its course, and rid the country of such nuisances. Mr. Brodie, in revising his volumes for another edition, must contrive to get himself into better humour, and soften down his asperity to the more moderate tone of readers in the present age. Why should he emulate the blood-hound pertinacity of Pym, and the vindictive harangues of Bradshaw ? There may, indeed, be honesty in taking a side, and in avowing an object. But whenever an author allows himself to be hurried on by his prepossessions beyond a candid statement and comparison of facts, he arms his reader against him, and excites suspicion as to the use which he makes of even unquestionable authorities. On all occasions, in every variety of fortune, in the conducting of every enterprize, in the deliberations of the council, and in the operations of the field, Mr. Brodie stands by the parliament ; triumphs in their success, and condoles with their misfortunes ; whilst for Charles, and his cause and his ad-

herents, he entertains neither sympathy nor candour ;—even in cases where human motives should be the least suspected, and where suffering, even when deserved, seldom fail to excite commiseration. In short, it requires but a slight exercise of imagination in the reader to identify Mr. Brodie with some of the more virulent orators of the Long Parliament, when expatiating on the guilt of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or when pressing the condemnation of Charles Stuart.

One of the main qualities of Hume's history of the unhappy reign to which these remarks bear an allusion, is the perfect equanimity with which he records the events and counsels which enter into his narrative ; never allowing himself to imbibe the spirit of a partizan, or to enlist his passions on the one side or the other. He preserves, too, an air of candour even where his feelings and prejudices are the most active ; and he uses at least the language of impartiality even in those particular cases in which his opponents have been most successful in detecting his political bias. But Mr. Brodie has either too much honesty or too little art and temper to assume the appearance of these virtues so essential to the character of an historian. His intellect, vigorous as it may be, is, on all occasions, equalled by the fervour of his emotions ; and his happiest exercises of acumen and critical discernment, are rapidly succeeded by a corresponding burst of indignation or of triumph.

The first volume of this "history of the British Empire" is introductory, and follows a method a good deal similar to that of Millar's work on the English Government. After tracing, in the first chapter, the progress of society and of political institutions from the feudal times down to the close of Elizabeth's reign, the author proceeds, in the second chapter, to encounter the assertion of Hume, that the government of this country, under the queen just named, bore some resemblance to that of Turkey. In order to convict the Stuarts of tyranny, and of entering into a regular plan for destroying the liberty of the subject, Mr. Brodie endeavours to prove that the principles of our constitution were perfectly ascertained and established in the time of the Tudors ; an undertaking which, we need hardly observe, is attended with very little success, and which, in fact, establishes nothing besides the writer's ingenuity and zeal. Before the reign of Henry the Seventh, the government of England, we shall grant, was a limited monarchy : but how was it limited ? Why, by the power of the barons ; who were accustomed to repress by their formidable combinations, and even by the arms of their followers, every encroachment of the crown upon the privi-

leges and possessions of their order. The power of the king was limited in those days, exactly as the arbitrary dominion of the Turkish emperor is limited at the present day ; namely, by the fear of his pashas and the scimitars of their retainers. The union of the two roses, which depressed one large body of the nobility and bound the other to the throne, tended no doubt in more ways than one to augment very materially the personal influence of the monarch, and even to enlarge the royal prerogative ; but still the main check to the power of Henry was derived from the hereditary strength of the peerage, and the vast extent of rights and immunities claimed by that potent class of subjects. In a word, the limits of royal power were by no means fixed in those turbulent times ; and generally speaking they were found to expand or contract, according to the talents and ambition of individual monarchs, or according to such accidental circumstances as raised or diminished the antagonist power of the great barons.

It had been the policy of our kings, during several reigns, to foster the interests of the Commons and increase their influence in the State, with the obvious purpose of reducing the preponderancy so long exercised by the great vassals of the crown. This object, favoured by a variety of circumstances, arising out of the improved condition of commerce, and division of landed property, was at length effected to such an extent, that the lower House of Parliament found itself in complete possession of the power, which it had been raised to counteract, and the royal prerogative was ultimately limited in its operation by that very body of men who had at first been courted with the view of supporting it.

During this change various Acts of Parliament were passed, obtained by the influence of the king and the commons, in favour of the latter ; which, together with the several concessions wrested from the crown at a more early period, gave to the theory of government a degree of perfection which it did not at all possess in point of practice. The historian, therefore, who would measure the degree of freedom, and protection actually enjoyed in England, by the number of statutes enacted, from time to time, for repressing the authority of the sovereign, or for confirming the franchises of the people, would form a very incorrect opinion, indeed, in regard to the real condition of things. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, all the safeguards of public liberty which had been created under former kings were still in existence, and yet no one requires to be told that the government of that monarch was arbitrary in the extreme. Speaking of the Commons at this era, Blackstone observes that " intent upon

acquiring riches, and happy in being freed from the insolence and tyranny of the orders more immediately above them, they never dreamt of opposing the prerogative to which they had been so little accustomed; much less of taking the lead in opposition, to which by their weight and their property they were now entitled. The latter years of Henry the Eighth were, therefore, the times of the greatest despotism that have been known in this island since the death of William the Norman: the prerogative as it then stood by common law, and much more when extended by act of Parliament, being too large to be endured in a land of liberty."

The servility of parliament under this choleric sovereign has never been exceeded even in a land of slaves. Besides complying with his most eccentric inclinations, they at length carried their complaisance so far as to relinquish entirely all their privileges, and even the shadow of their independence. In the thirty-first year of his reign it was enacted, "that the king, with the advice of his council, might issue proclamations, under such penalty as he should think necessary, and that these should be observed as though they were made by act of parliament." There was indeed a limitation subjoined, on which Mr. Brodie seems to lay great stress, importing, that these proclamations "should not be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods, chattels or life." What are the particular subjects of proclamation, says Professor Millar, which do not fall within the restrictions mentioned in this act, is not very clear. But there can be no doubt that it contains a delegation from parliament of its legislative authority, which, in practice might soon have been extended beyond the original purpose for which it was granted.

As to Elizabeth, again, she was neither less arbitrary nor less powerful than her father: as the heat excited by the first collision of opinion in the Reformation had somewhat cooled down; and the different orders of men in the kingdom, whose rank and weight in the constitution had shifted ground, were now becoming accustomed to their new places, the exercise of authority was less imperiously called for, and less frequently displayed. The queen had penetration enough to discover that a large share of the efficient power of the nation was already transferred to that class of her subjects, who were the readiest to support her claims and uphold her right to the crown; on which account, as well as for other reasons, she abstained from all arbitrary proceedings, except on such occasions as might seem to justify a stretch of power, or, at all events, compensate by the object to be gained, any loss

of popularity that she might happen to incur. She very seldom, as Blackstone remarks, exerted her prerogative so as to oppress individuals; "*but still she had it to exert; and therefore the felicity of her reign depended more on her want of opportunity and inclination, than want of power, to play the tyrant.*"—"This," he continues, "is a high encomium on her merit; but at the same time it is sufficient to shew that these were not those golden days of genuine liberty that we were formerly taught to believe: for surely the true liberty of the subject consists not so much in the gracious behaviour, as in the limited power, of the sovereign."

Hume, likewise, maintains that it is ridiculous to talk of any regular plan of liberty in the English government, at any period prior to the dynasty of the Stuarts. Nor has any historian, whose works we have read, held an opinion, on this head, which, when properly defined, could be said to differ materially from that now given. "On the accession of James the First," says Blackstone, "no new degree of royal power was added to, or exercised by him."—"The unreasonable and imprudent exertion of what was then deemed to be prerogative, upon trivial and unworthy occasions, and the claim of a more absolute power inherent in the kingly office than had ever been carried into practice, soon awakened the sleeping lion." In truth, James was ruined by his pedantry in politics—a much more dangerous folly than his pedantry in literature. Not content with the exercise of a power which no one perhaps would have questioned, he insisted upon reducing the theory of government to a set of first principles and maxims, of which the absurdity as well as the dangerous import disgusted every man of common taste and understanding. He chose to prate where Elizabeth chose to act; and in cases where she would have carried her point by swearing that she would send the rascals to the Tower or take off their heads, James would have arrayed his authorities and his syllogisms in order to convince his refractory subjects that he had a divine warrant for exercising such high powers. The first Stuart made the prerogative more formidable in the eyes of Englishmen, by laboured expositions on its principles and extent, than the last Tudor had done by the most arbitrary of her measures; and in the several encroachments on the liberty of the subject, with which Elizabeth and James are respectively chargeable, there is the same kind of difference as there is between the act of taking a man's purse under the influence of a loaded pistol, and the abstracting of his money, during the delivery of a speech on the rights of man and the equalization of property.

But though James, instead of a timid prosing analysis of words, had possessed all the courage and firmness of all the Tudors, he could not have prevented the accomplishment of those high political objects on which the people of England had for some time fixed their eyes. The progress of the arts, of manufactures, and, above all, of commercial industry, had now not only completely freed them from the tyranny of the great barons, and raised them to a degree of importance altogether unknown during the earlier periods of the monarchy; but, what is more to our present purpose, we find that they considered themselves in a condition to defend their privileges against both the crown and the nobility, and to demand the actual enjoyment of additional rights which, by the theory of the constitution, they held themselves entitled to claim. "This," says Mr. Millar, in his *Historical View of the English Government*, "gave rise to a *new spirit* which became conspicuous after the accession of James the First, but of which the dawn began to appear in the reign of his predecessor: a spirit of liberty in the commons by which they were incited to regulate and to restrain such branches of the prerogative as appeared the most liable to abuse, and most inconsistent with the enjoyment of those rights which they were disposed to assert."

The new spirit of which Mr. Millar speaks, gained daily more and more strength during the reign of James, mild and pacific as it was; and had assumed such attributes and avowed such intentions by the time his son mounted the throne, that even now, instructed as we are by the events and by the experience of nearly two hundred years, we should find it extremely difficult to point out any line of policy by which the tremendous concussion which ensued could have been altogether avoided.

But Mr. Brodie appears inclined to deny that there was any new spirit in operation among the commons of England, or that they had acquired any new notions in regard to liberty, rights, and privileges, beyond such as had been entertained by their ancestors, and even enjoyed by the people at large, from the time of Edward the First. At no period, according to our author, did the people "lose sight of the grand principles of constitutional freedom." Though they permitted steps to be taken which were altogether inconsistent with liberty, and even allowed the privileges of Parliament to be invaded, if not totally relinquished; "yet," says he, "the grand principles of the constitution were preserved, however its spirit might occasionally slumber." Elizabeth, it is admitted, interfered with elections to parliament; interrupted

the discussions of the lower house; made the commons throw out bills which were disagreeable to her; imprisoned such members as dared to speak after she had commanded them to desist; gave new activity to the Star-chamber, and created the Court of High Commission; whose officers were empowered to tender oaths at pleasure with the view of convicting offenders, to ransack houses, and to punish with fine and imprisonment according to their discretion:—and yet Mr. Brodie is pleased to add, that “even in these, there are circumstances which distinctly prove that the watchful spirit of freedom in regard to stretches of prerogative, was still alive!”

Mr. Hume, in order to prove that there was no regular system of liberty in the government of England prior to the reigns of the Stuarts, and that the people, accordingly, did not wrest from Charles that which they had been accustomed to possess, and of which he or his father had deprived them, enumerates, in one of his appendices to the reign of Elizabeth, a variety of institutions and practices which were totally incompatible with the enjoyment of national freedom. Amongst these he particularizes the Star-chamber, the Court of High Commission, martial law, imprisonment on the warrant of a secretary of state, the use of the rack, impressments, forced loans, the power of dispensing with the laws, proclamations, wardship, monopolies, purveyance, benevolences, and persecuting statutes. To invalidate Mr. Hume's statement, our author inquires into the history of these articles of the prerogative, and endeavours to ascertain the extent to which they were actually carried, in the ordinary exercise of regal power, during the government of Elizabeth. The result of his investigation confirms generally the assertions of his predecessor, in regard to the powers which the sovereign possessed “to play the tyrant,” as Blackstone expresses it; but as to the precise limits within which she employed the tremendous energies of her prerogative, no satisfactory conclusion can be formed, because, as the spirit of the age had become averse to the pains and penalties with which she occasionally visited the refractory, no record seems to have been kept of the particular victims who felt the weight of her hand. Mr. Brodie, however, in most cases, admits the position at large, and then proceeds to weaken the effect of every separate statement, by adducing more favourable instances, or by denying that instances of any kind can be brought forward to substantiate the charge.

As to martial law, for example, he does not hesitate to acknowledge that the queen could enforce it as often as she

pleased, and on whatsoever occasions might appear to her wisdom to justify so violent a measure. But in reviewing the particular cases given by Mr. Hume, he labours to lessen their importance, and to counteract their impression. "There remains a letter," says the historian of England, "of Queen Elizabeth's to the Earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law; though it is probable that near eight hundred persons suffered one way or other on account of that slight insurrection." Now, in reference to this statement, which is, he will acknowledge, moderately enough expressed, Mr. Brodie does not call in question the particular exercise of prerogative or the ferocious disposition of the sovereign—the only points, however, which are of any consequence for determining the nature of the government in Elizabeth's reign—but satisfies himself with an attempt to reduce the number of the victims who suffered the penalty of rebellion, and adds, that "the very fact of criminals not having been executed by martial law, in this case, is a striking proof of the general feelings and understanding of the age." It is extremely obvious, however, that the matter in dispute is not what were the "feelings or understanding of the age"—for all ages have a feeling against violent death when inflicted by the command of a despot—but whether the Queen of England had the *power* as well as the inclination, to butcher her subjects, whensoever her own safety seemed to require it. In speaking of the constitution, as affecting individual liberty and protection, we are to consider, not so much what was the practice at any particular period, as what were the legal and established boundaries which guarded life and goods from the assault of prerogative during the ordinary tenor of administration.

But the queen did not always confine the operation of that extraordinary expedient to times of rebellion and tumult. "There remains," says Mr. Hume, "a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be issued against all such as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets from abroad; and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, *any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.*" What, then, does Mr. Brodie say in reply to this? He reminds us, in the first place, that such proclamations were often issued in *terrorem*, and were not meant to be literally executed; and, secondly, sets forth the hazard to which the queen was exposed from her Roman Catholic subjects, and

the great excitement which might have been produced by the free admission of popish bulls and controversial tracts. Now, as to the first part of the apology, we are ready to allow that all such threatenings and exhibition of penalties are meant to frighten men into their duty, and to deter from the commission of the particular crime against which they are pointed. At Algiers, even, and Constantinople the most savage tyrant that ever trampled on the necks of slaves, never meant to take off every head that his edicts might reach. *Terror* is the object with all tyrannical rulers, in the most unwarrantable stretches of their power; and this equally, whether they actually take away life, or only shew that they have the power to do it. And would Mr. Brodie call that a free constitution, where the sovereign, at her mere caprice or apprehension of personal danger, could suspend all the laws which protect the lives and property of her subjects, subject them to martial law, and even prohibit all questioning of her lieutenants and their deputies for their arbitrary punishment of offenders!

We have another act of hers, continues Hume, still more extraordinary. "The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons. The lord mayor had endeavoured to repress the disorder; the Star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted punishment on the rioters. But the queen finding these remedies ineffectual revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial, granting him authority and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of the peace in London or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attack and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to the justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences."—"I suppose," the historian remarks, "it would be difficult to produce an instance of such an act of authority nearer than Muscovy."

In reply to this representation, the reasoning which Mr. Brodie employs is somewhat singular. After observing that the only authority quoted by Hume for the above statement, is the "commission itself," he repeats his remark, that proclamations were sometimes issued *in terrorem*, and adds, that "it would have been murder in the commissioners to have acted upon them!" What! would Sir Thomas Wilford have been chargeable with murder, had he hung up a score of rioters in the presence of the justices, and with the queen's

commission in his pocket, "granting him authority and commanding him to attack and take the same persons, and to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly?"

Every one must remember Elizabeth's famous proclamation, prohibiting all her subjects from cultivating woad, because she disliked the smell of that useful plant. She was also pleased to take offence at the long swords and high ruffs then in fashion; and accordingly sent about her officers to break every man's sword, and clip every man's ruff which was beyond a certain dimension. "This practice," says Mr. Hume, "resembles the method employed by the great Czar Peter to make his subjects change their garb." These facts, which cannot of course be denied by our author, do not however, in his estimation, afford any proof either of an arbitrary rule, or of an extended prerogative. Elizabeth, he reminds us afterwards, yielded the matter of the woad to her parliament, who were informed of its value in certain manufactures; and, as to the other, he shrewdly remarks, that "it would not be any great proof of slavishness in the people that they were *above contesting* a trifle of this kind with a beloved monarch!"

How differently do the same things strike different people! To us it has always appeared that the very essence of arbitrary power consists in interfering with domestic concerns, and with the trivial arrangements of personal comfort or decoration: and, viewed in this light, we maintain that the queen's proclamations, forbidding the growth of a useful vegetable merely because it offended her nostrils, and prohibiting elevated ruffs and long swords merely because they were displeasing to her royal eyes, are more expressive of an arbitrary disposition, and present a stronger proof of her despotic authority, than even the revival of martial law against the pope's bull and the importation of catholic tracts.

There is an ingenuity sometimes in Mr. Brodie's reasoning which goes far to make up for his questionable logic. Hume, in proof of the absence of all regular notions of liberty at that period in England, quotes from Strype a speech of Lord Burleigh, in which that statesman proposes that the queen should erect a court for the correction of all abuses, and should confer on the commissioners a general inquisitorial power over the whole kingdom. He sets before her the example of her wise grandfather Henry the Seventh, who by such methods extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends that this new court should proceed "as well by the direction and ordinary course of the laws, as by virtue of her majesty's *supreme regiment, and absolute power, whence*

all law proceeded." In a word, he expects from this institution greater accession to the royal treasure than Henry the Eighth derived from the abolition of the abbeys and all the forfeitures of ecclesiastical revenues. "This project of Lord Burleigh," adds Mr. Hume, "needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government must be very arbitrary indeed where a wise and good minister could make such a proposal to the sovereign."

In relation to this extraordinary piece of ministerial counsel, Mr. Brodie first reprobates the application of the words "good and wise" to a statesman who could make such a proposal, and then proceeds to rescue the memory of Burleigh from so odious an imputation as seems to be implied in the above quotation from his speech. We know not, however, whether the great lord keeper would be much gratified to find that his vindication rested on the remark, that his address to her majesty was "a mere harangue without point or immediate object, flattering the queen, yet enigmatical." It cannot be imagined, says our author, that he would advise her to attempt a measure without parliament which she could not accomplish with it; "and therefore we must presume that her *absolute power* was to be exerted through her grand council." It is perhaps enough to observe, in reply to Mr. Brodie's conjecture, that the concurrence of parliament is no where alluded to by Lord Burleigh; and, moreover, that the idea of exercising absolute power through the two houses of the legislature, is a novelty in government which it is probable did not occur to the ingenious Cecil.

We cannot proceed through the whole catalogue of practices and institutions which Hume has quoted with the view of making out his position, that there was no regular scheme of liberty in England when the Stuarts ascended the throne; nor can we follow Mr. Brodie at greater length in this early stage of his work, where he shews so much zeal and talent in the attempt to establish his favourite hypothesis, relative to the freedom of our ancestors under the Tudor kings. Suffice it to observe, that constitutional liberty could not be very secure in a country where the sovereign possessed a power superior to the laws; where a process in a court of justice could be suspended by a warrant from the crown; where a member of parliament could be sent to prison for the free expression of his sentiments; where bills were stopped in their progress through the lower house at the command of the monarch; where private dwellings could be ransacked, and the inhabitants compelled either to confess their guilt, or to purge themselves by oath; where none could travel with-

out permission, and where no one of noble birth could marry without the consent of the king; where the productions of the press were regulated by martial law, and the rack applied to extort confessions of religious nonconformity; where monopolies and arbitrary imposts undermined the prosperity of commerce; where the caprice of a queen could restrict her subjects in the use of cambric, or in the pattern of their side arms; and where even *words*, spoken seditiously, that is, disrespectfully, against the head of the state, incurred the dreadful penalty of death. Taking these things into view, and connecting them with the imperious temper of Elizabeth, the reader will probably share in our surprise when he peruses the following sentence:—"We have now," says Mr. Brodie, "travelled over a vast variety of ground; and it must be apparent that, though there were institutions, as the Star-chamber, not consonant to the genius of a free government, and occasional proceedings of a dangerous kind, *the grand constitutional principles were clearly defined, as well as recognized by the monarch in the general course of administration.*"

Before the accession of Charles to the throne great changes had taken place in England, which, by removing the principal supports of kingly power, placed the monarchy on a footing almost entirely new. The military services of the crown vassals having long been commuted for an uncertain pecuniary tax, the monarch could not now, as in former times, devolve the defence of the country and the prosecution of foreign wars on his great barons; and, as the subsidies and benevolences which were substituted for personal attendance, in the ranks of the national army, were scantily and reluctantly measured out by parliament, who had, on all occasions, some invidious condition to attach to their grant; the influence of the crown was much lessened, while its duties and responsibility were incalculably increased. The revenues, too, attached to the royal office were very much impaired. The Tudor princes, rather than encounter the murmurings of parliament, or consent to barter away their prerogative for votes of money, chose to support their state on the spoils of the Church; and in this way, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the greater part of the ecclesiastical property seized by her father, as well as the lands which belonged to the crown, and constituted the chief source of its income, had been alienated or sold. In the earlier times of the monarchy, the commons yielded with less reluctance to the imposition of taxes, both because very little, comparatively speaking, was drawn from their pockets, and more particu-

larly because it was their interest, at that period, to strengthen the throne against the feudal lords, who were wont to oppress and despise them. But in Charles's days circumstances were completely changed. A large share of the wealth of the kingdom was now transferred from the nobles to the ~~lower~~ lower orders; commerce had enriched the towns, and spread intelligence over the face of the country; and, as the ~~commons~~ commons had no longer any thing to fear from the great barons, and were called upon to contribute more extensively than formerly for the support of the government; they were, of course, less willing to give without obtaining from the crown something in return, either in the shape of a concession or a privilege. Nor was this the only source of embarrassment to administration; for whilst the revenue of the sovereign was diminished in the actual amount, the prices of commodities rose to an unprecedented height. Corn was dearer in the reigns of James the first and his son than it is at the present day. Beef was, at the average of a year, about four-pence a pound, and poultry cost more money in London, at the period of which we are now speaking, than it does in our own times. There is no difficulty, therefore, in perceiving whence the necessities of the first two Stuarts arose, and their constant dependence upon parliament. The army, the navy, the courts of justice, and the royal household were all to be supported by the king; and he was obliged to importune the commons for money, or to raise it by means, which, in the temper that they now assumed, were sure to provoke their hostility, and afford them a pretext for shutting their purses.

We shall not attempt to accompany Mr. Brodie over the beaten ground of general history during the first years of Charles's reign, nor record the melancholy bickerings which took place from time to time between the king and his parliament. The topics of dispute, so often canvassed between the ministers of the crown and the popular members, are known to every one in the least conversant with the annals of those unhappy days; whilst, as to the motives of either party, there is so much room for conjecture and so little ground of certainty, that we cannot hope to attain, even from the most industrious writers, fuller information than we already possess. We shall, therefore, confine our attention to the views which are here exhibited of the characters, the merits, and the treatment of Strafford, Laud, and of the king himself.

Strafford, we need scarcely observe, is no favourite with Mr. Brodie, and meets, of course, with rather scanty justice

from his pen. He listens, with avidity, to all the recitals of his avowed enemies, of whom he had a great number, and even on one occasion, condescends to repeat the silly exclamation of a prejudiced divine, in regard to the studied humiliation of that celebrated Lord Lieutenant. When he was first conducted to the house of commons, to hear the charge on which his impeachment was founded, his carriage was removed from the place where he had left it; so that, when returning, he was obliged to pass through the crowd, who, as was to be expected, were taught to rejoice in the downfall of so unpopular an individual. After he did reach his coach, and was about to step into it, the usher of the black rod, into whose custody he had been delivered, and who did not till that moment recollect his duty, informed him that, being his prisoner, he must accompany him to the tower, not in his own, but in the usher's carriage. "Intolerable pride and oppression," observes Baillie, justly, on this occurrence, "cry to heaven for vengeance!" A contemptible observation, surely, when the vengeance was evidently the contrivance of the mob-leaders, who wished to cover with indignity, a man whose name they had long regarded with apprehension and terror.

Though Mr. Brodie, in recording the trial of Strafford, gives way too much to his private feelings, which we are willing to identify with the love of constitutional freedom; he yet displays a great deal of ingenuity in defending the measures adopted by the parliament, and in setting forth in a strong light some particulars which Hume has thrown into the shade. But no degree of talent or artifice of words will ever be found sufficient to justify the condemnation of the Earl. It is in vain to allege that, though not guilty of violating any particular law, he was chargeable with breaking or undermining all the laws. Of all species of guilt, as Mr. Hume well observes, the law of England had with the most scrupulous exactness defined that of treason; because, on that side it was found most necessary to protect the subject against the violence of the king and of his ministers. In the famous statute of Edward the third, all the kinds of treason are enumerated, and every other crime besides, such as are there expressly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that appellation. But with regard to this guilt, *an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws*, the statute of treasons is totally silent. The means, too, employed for the conviction of Strafford were equally violent and unusual. The examination of privy counsellors with regard to opinions delivered at the board, the accusation and imprison-

larly because heads that they might not
 the throne, the trick of Sir Harry
 press at any public prosecution,
 were in other respects. If it be main-
 the king's liberty had, from the circum-
 next necessary or expedient, let the
 spruce on that dubious ground; but let
 cor state delinquent may suffer justly,
 re created a single statute that could be
 t any one law known to the constitution.

was a man of imperious disposition, and
 measures, will be readily granted; but
 that, in the government of Ireland, he
 employed his power for the good of the coun-
 stretched his authority farther than he was
 the example of his predecessors, and by the
 of the people among whom he had been appointed
 it. Besides extending materially the military
 and industrial resources of that kingdom, he laboured to in-
 duce, also, the spirit of industry and all the arts of peace.
 The stopping was augmented a hundred fold; the customs,
 without any increase of rates, were tripled; the trade assumed
 a more favourable aspect by enlarging the balance of exports;
 manufactures, particularly that of linen, were greatly encour-
 aged; agriculture was promoted, and the protestant religion
 was advanced without occasioning either the persecution or
 discontent of the catholics. These things were not denied
 even by Pym; who, however, makes some remarks on the
 subject of religion, which, paltry as they are, seem to be
 quoted by Mr. Brodie with approbation.

"Many churches," says the parliamentary orator, "have
 been built since his government. Truly, my lords, why he
 should have any credit or honour if other men built churches
 I know not; I am sure we hear of no churches that he hath
 built himself; If he would have been careful to have set up
 good preachers that would have stirred up devotion in men,
 and made them desirous of the knowledge of God, and by
 that means made more churches, it had been something.
 But I hear nothing of spiritual edification—nothing of the
 knowledge of God, that hath by his means, been dispersed
 in that kingdom. And, certainly, they that strive not to
 build up men's souls in a spiritual way of edification, let them
 build all the material churches that can be, they will do no
 good; God is not worshipped with walls but with hearts."

Mr. Brodie condescends too frequently to use the pre-
 judiced observations of party men, and thereby greatly injures,

in the mind of a candid reader, the effect of his own better reasoning, and more dignified style. We know not, however, whether the following remark is not original, and entirely the property of the learned author. When Lord Mount Norris was condemned by the court martial, in which Strafford appeared as prosecutor, the latter assured his lordship that he would intercede with the king for his life, and that himself would rather lose his arm than that Mount Norris should lose a *hair* of his head or a drop of his blood. "A speech, says our author, which instead of soothing the convict, appeared to add fresh insult to injury, *by putting the deputy's arm in comparison with his head.*" There are too many of those *littlenesses* introduced into the work, and which afford but too ample scope to the malignant critic for arraigning the taste and impeaching the equanimity of the ingenious and laborious writer. But we return to the subject in hand.

Almost all our histories have condemned the decision of parliament in relation to Strafford as a manifest breach of constitutional justice. Professor Millar, indeed, in his historical view of the English government, makes use of a very sophistical and absurd argument, in order to prove that the lord deputy was in fact guilty of high treason, and that, therefore all the proceedings of his enemies were perfectly legal. It is admitted by this writer that Strafford acted throughout, not only in concurrence with the king, but even in virtue of his Majesty's commission; and yet, because the sovereign is bound to support the constitution, and may in certain circumstances be called upon to risk his life in its defence, it follows we are to be told that he, who, by obeying his king's commands, undermines the fundamental laws of the realm, may be justly accused of *imagining the king's death*. A very precious piece of constructive treason, no doubt; and founded on a process of ratiocination, altogether unworthy of the conclusion which it was meant to establish! Strafford, it is allowed, served his master faithfully, and obeyed his orders, even to the extent of compromising his own safety; but, both his master and himself, it is presumed, were mistaken in regard to their interests, and followed a line of policy detrimental as well to the crown as to the country; and, therefore, as the true interest of the one is inseparable from that of the other, we are, it seems, bound to infer that he who counsels or obeys his sovereign in matters which may eventually prove disastrous, imagines, *ipso facto*, the death of the said sovereign, and is guilty of high treason against his person and government. It is remarkable that this powerful

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ment of all the property of Pym, or to the solicitor, St. John, appear in his notes. These have been reserved for these latter days. Vane's notes, however, are legal acquirements of a northern protestant, and he went more plainly and directly to work; he went up to the bill of attainder to the lords, he restated that the Earl had no title to plead law because he was a traitor. "It is true" said he, "we give rewards and deers for they are beasts of chase. But it is accounted either cruel or unfair to destroy foxes wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of chase." The solicitor general is, at least, perfectly intelligent, whereas Mr. Millar is neither reasonable nor just.

Let us attend to the opinion of Mr. Fox, as given in the introductory chapter to his history.

The prosecution of Lord Strafford, or rather the manner in which it was carried on, is less justifiable. He was, doubtless, a great delinquent, and well deserved the severest punishment; but, nothing short of a clearly proved case of self-defence can justify, or even excuse a departure from the sacred rules of criminal justice. For it can rarely indeed happen that the mischief to be apprehended from suffering any criminal, however guilty, to escape, can be equal to that resulting from the violation of those rules to which the innocent owe the security of all that is dear to them. If such cases have existed, they must have been in instances where trial has been wholly out of the question, as in that of Cæsar and other tyrants; but, when a man is once in a situation to be tried, and his person in the power of his accusers and his judges, he can no longer be formidable in that degree, which alone can justify (if any thing can) the violation of the substantial rules of criminal proceedings."

In reply to these judicious remarks, our author writes as follows; and we give his opinions at some length, because the extract we are about to make will afford a fair specimen both of his style and his manner of thinking.

"It is not without hesitation that I differ from this author fortified as his opinion is by that of writers in general; but it has ever appeared to me that there is a fallacy in the argument, in consequence of the distinction between the legislature and ordinary courts of law, having been overlooked. Courts of law, as they act by delegated authority, must necessarily be governed by the rules which the state that appoints them has thought proper to establish. The one is a necessary consequence of the other; and were any other principle to be recognized for an instant, the legislative power would be centered in these tribunals. But it is a very different question, indeed, whether on some great and crying occasion, when

all that is estimable in society has been invaded and rescued with difficulty from utter ruin; the perpetrators of this unprecedented wickedness, who acted upon the idea that the enormity of their guilt would protect them—Who, 'judging themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, feared not extraordinary, and by degrees, thought that no fault which was like to find no punishment,' may not be questioned by the legislature itself, in whose power are the lives and fortunes of the whole community? Whether, in short, that power which binds the whole, may not pass an act to touch an individual who has been guilty of the last degree of criminality. The sound principles of justice are not impugned, for here is no precedent set for ordinary courts to transgress the limits prescribed to them; and the guilt is such as requires no written law to define it. Well may it be questioned, too, whether it be not most advisable for a state to leave such monstrous iniquity undefined, lest, on the one hand, the study be how to commit wickedness in a new way, so as to evade the statute; and on the other, lest such definition may not unnecessarily clog the administration. It has been argued (by Laing) that the innocent may by bills of attainder be sacrificed to the vengeance of a prime minister; but this is assuming that the legislature might be converted into a mere tool in his hand; and if that were to occur, surely the mention of law and justice would become a mockery; while there could not be any legal restraint against the commission of the act, whenever the minister had an object to accomplish.—An act of attainder, where the guilt of the accused is established by competent evidence, and amounts to that of attempting to overturn the constitution of the government, in a manner which had not been contemplated by the law, is not liable to such objections. In vain does the accused pretend that there was no statute to warn him of the crime, since it is an intuitive truth that, if to violate one law be criminal, the violation of all the laws, which is involved in the attempt to subvert the whole system, must be infinitely more so."

The meaning of the learned historian seems to be this: a man may be guilty without having infringed any specific law; it is therefore right to make a new law in order to establish his guilt: and to the intent that others may, from time to time, fall into the same snare and be punished also, the rules of conduct must not be too nicely defined, lest a new way be found out of evading the statutes, or lest administration be unnecessarily clogged. Had Mr. Brodie lived in the time of the long parliament, such doctrine would have hanged him. "An impeachment before the Lords by the Commons of Great Britain is, says Judge Blackstone, a prosecution of *the already known and established law*, and has been frequently put in practice; being a presentment to the most high and supreme court of criminal jurisdiction by the

English Establishment could receive neither lustre nor power from the College of Cardinals, resident in the diminished capital of Italy. The same spirit of intrigue, perhaps, which suggested the sending of Romish priests to act the part of puritan ministers, with the view of bringing the Reformation into contempt among the better informed classes of society, might dictate the mischievous policy of commencing a negotiation with the Archbishop, which, in whatever way the proposal might be received, could have no other effect than that of exposing him to the rage of his enemies, and of exciting suspicions of his sincerity even among his friends. The mere offer of preferment in another Church implied, on the part of those who made it, such an unfavourable idea of Laud's integrity or steadiness, that, as they knew well, the very rumour of their intention to invite him to accept of it would be regarded, either as an insult, and would thereby gratify their revenge, or as a token of their affection and confidence, and would thereby inflame the opponents of the hierarchy. On this topic Mr. Brodie recurs to his minute logomachy. "Laud," says he, informs us in his Diary, "that when the offer was made to him, he acquainted the King both with the thing and the person: and adds, that my answer again was, that something dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is." "It is beyond all question," continues the historian, "from this that Laud suffered a struggle in his own bosom; and from his haste to acquaint the King of the circumstance, it is evident that his own answer was in some measure to depend upon his Majesty's pleasure. It will be remarked that in mentioning the second offer, he, after stating that he had apprized the King of it, adds, that his answer *again* was that something dwelt within him, and yet that he does not think it necessary to state what answer he returned, speaking of the first: and that which is most important, it does not appear to whom the answer was made, whether to the King, or to the person who proposed the Cardinalship."

We cannot see the object of this microscopic view of a case, which as it was altogether private, and exhibits nothing more than the current of secret thought that passed through the mind of the Archbishop, cannot possibly prove against him any thing more atrocious than that, if the Church of Rome had been somewhat reformed, he would have had no objection to become a Cardinal. We admit, at the same time, that had Laud acted with proper firmness, he would have given such an answer to the first proposal, as would have precluded all attempt at farther negotiation.

Whatever may be said of the imprudence of Laud, and his want of tact in the management of delicate affairs, he must be allowed the merit of consistency and steadiness in his religious principles and views of discipline. The government of the Church in the hands of his predecessor had not only permitted, but positively encouraged many innovations, and a total disregard of ancient usage as well as of recent statutes. The house of Abbot was the rendezvous of those schismatical puritans, who, whilst they accepted the livings, and bound themselves to observe the ritual of the Church, sought, on all occasions, an opportunity to bring her ceremonies and her authority into contempt. Gliding into the palace under the shades of night, to concert with the primate new means for promoting their cause, these unworthy sons of our holy Mother, acquired the appellation of *Nicodemites*, founded, it is hardly necessary to add, not on a reference to their desire for knowledge, but on their very suspicions and contemptible love of concealment. In opposing this treacherous system, Laud had to meet the hostility not only of the avowed enemies of the Church, but also of that more dangerous and malignant class of professional men who lurk in her bosom, only to betray her confidence, or to invite and second the assault of her more deadly foes. The unhappy spirit of the age too, was against him. Concession was demanded; and he knew not how to concede, without submitting to sacrifices which neither principle nor expediency would warrant. He fell a victim to the times in which his lot was cast; and died because he would neither truckle nor trim. Whenever we find a man standing boldly up against the current of popular opinion, and labouring to consolidate and establish what all others are labouring to undermine and destroy, we are ready to give him credit for strength of nerve and firmness of principle: and how low soever may be our estimate of his practical skill in human nature, or of his worldly wisdom in reference to his own interests, we must admit that he follows a clear and strong light in his own particular path, and enjoys unalloyed the approbation of his own conscience. Such a man was Laud: and such is the opinion of his character which a fair review of his actions has impressed on our minds.

As a proof of the ignorant calumny which continues to darken the fame of this celebrated metropolitan, we are induced to mention a rare piece of blundering illiberality which has just appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*. The author of an article in that Journal on the affairs of our Church, selects for condemnation "Laud's Lambeth Articles," which the said author, himself a reputed member of the English Establish-

ment, describes as rank *Arminianism*!!! Most profound historian!! That a writer in the northern Periodical should have mistaken Laud for Whitgift is not surprising, considering the general character and object of the work; but that the Lambeth Articles should have been pronounced Arminian, when every novice in theology knows that they contain the very quintessence of Calvinism, expressed too in the most direct and revolting language, was a blunder which we were not sanguine enough to have expected. Not satisfied, however with this double blunder, the enlightened ecclesiastio goes on to mention that the said Lambeth Articles, written by Laud and stuffed with Arminian heresy, were afterwards incorporated with the Irish Articles, drawn up under the direction of Archbishop Usher; upon which, as if by magic, the Arminian positions are all at once converted into pure Calvinistic tenets!! Hereafter who will dare to question the infallibility of the Edinburgh Review; a journal which, by dint of a few delicate figures of speech, can change the reign of Elizabeth into that of Charles the First; the Archbishop Whitgift into the primate Laud; and, above all, the Lambeth Articles into rank Arminianism!

We have already hinted, that Mr. Brodie's estimate of the character of Charles is not very flattering to the memory of that unfortunate Prince. Opposing his views to the encomiastic representations of Hume, he allows himself to be carried too far in his hostility to a sovereign, who was placed in the most difficult circumstances that can easily be imagined, and which, even at the present day, when we have the advantage of a better knowledge and a more extensive experience in political questions, would seem to set at defiance the wisdom and genius of the ablest statesmen. Be it remembered, in the first place, that innovation did not begin on the part of the crown, but on that of the people. Charles was willing to conduct his government on the principles recognized in his own age, and acted upon in that of his immediate predecessors; but the Commons of England, now become a powerful and ambitious body, were not contented with the share of freedom and influence formerly allowed to their order; and finding that, from the dilapidated condition of the hereditary revenue, the king was entirely at their mercy, they were determined that he should purchase all their grants of money, by a successive relinquishment of the main attributes of his prerogative. It will be allowed, in the second place, that the steps which Charles was induced to take, in order to compensate for the reluctant and niggardly supplies of parliament, were such as had been rendered familiar to the constitution by the practice of former sovereigns; and

that, though his necessities compelled him to have more frequent recourse to arbitrary measures than his father or Elizabeth had done, he never acted but agreeably to precedent, and after the example of the most popular princes. The spirit manifested by the Commons could not fail to rouse the apprehensions of the king in relation to the power which he had been taught to regard as inherent in the crown. And as one concession only paved the way for the demand of another, it is not surprising that he should have endeavoured to meet violence by employing intrigue, or resolved to subdue pretensions which appeared so incompatible with the exercise of regal authority. He saw no limits, in short, to the claims which he was called upon to satisfy; whilst, in return for his concessions, he was only assailed with new applications, enforced with an increasing importunity, and justified by an appeal to first principles which the practice of the government had at no former period either allowed or sanctioned. In this state of things, the motives of either party were viewed through an unfavourable light by the other; and to justify the steps which each was prepared to take, it became necessary to impute to their antagonists designs equally violent and purposes equally selfish with those which they themselves cherished. After the war had commenced, the Parliament were driven by the feeling of self-preservation to strengthen their own interests by rendering the cause of the king unpopular; and this they effected chiefly by impeaching his sincerity, and by representing that, whilst no oaths could bind him, he entertained the most deadly resentment against all who had opposed him either in the council or in the field. They gained their object. The popular party soon allowed themselves to believe that their own safety was incompatible with that of the monarch; and thus, whilst they professed a desire for an accommodation with Charles, they never failed to afford the most indubitable evidence that a lasting peace with him was not in all their thoughts. Mr. Fox, who is by no means an advocate for the king, and even maintains that there was just ground for suspecting his sincerity, is yet ready to acknowledge that the Parliamentary demagogues carried their suspicions much too far. "Is the failure of the negotiation when the king was in the Isle of Wight, to be imputed to the suspicions justly entertained of his sincerity, or to the ambition of the parliamentary leaders? If the insincerity of the king was the real cause, ought not the mischief to be apprehended from his insincerity, rather to have been guarded against by treaty, than alleged as a pretence for breaking off the negotiation? Sad, indeed, will be the condition of the world, if we are

never to make peace with an adverse party whose sincerity we have reason to suspect. Even just grounds for such suspicious will but too often occur, and, when such fail, the proneness of man to impute evil qualities as well as evil designs to his enemies, will suggest false ones."

These remarks are sensible and candid; but the historian now before us, whilst he defends the Parliament on all occasions, even when their conduct was most violent and ambitious, speaks of Charles as follows:—

"Accustomed from his earliest years to intrigue and dissimulation, he seems, like his father, to have regarded hypocrisy as a necessary part of *Kingcraft*: he had reconciled his conscience to the most uncandid protestations, and had studied Divinity in order to satisfy himself of the lawfulness of taking oaths to break them. Though he loved the Church of England only as a prop to his own power, he had latterly endeavoured to persuade himself, that by upholding it he was rendering a service to religion; and he was now surrounded with clergy, who, regarding the ecclesiastical establishment with reverence, partaking in no small degree with the feeling of self-interest, were ready to assure him, (and well did they practise the lesson they taught) that a pious fraud which promoted such an object, was not only justifiable, but commendable in the sight of God. Thus did his faith, instead of controlling the dictates of his will, encourage them; and the interests and welfare of his family appeared to him to demand such a sacrifice of principle. Deeply, however, must every man who regards sincerity, deplore that the firmness displayed by Charles on the scaffold was disgraced by the speech he uttered. His whole government and all his measures—as proved by authorities and documents which can admit of no dispute—had been subversive of Parliament, the privileges of the people, and in short, of the law of the land, on which alone was founded his right to govern; and yet like his two grand criminal ministers, Laud and Strafford,—whose own correspondence, in the absence of all other proof, would indisputably establish their guilt—he averred on the scaffold that he had always been a friend to Parliaments and the franchises of the people."

In a word, Charles the First was, according to Mr. Brodie one of the weakest and most unprincipled of human beings—a disgrace to the moral and religious nature of man—a tyrant and a monster—stained with perjury and falsehood, and accustomed to study divinity only to learn how he might take oaths so as to break them with impunity—the enemy of his people, the destroyer of the constitution, the subverter of its laws, the patron of bad ministers, and the encourager of all heresy and damnable doctrines, among divines. He was besides, a hypocrite, a dissembler and a breaker of promises; and yet, with singular inconsistency, our author represents

the promise that Charles made to his queen, not to make peace without her knowledge, as the main bar to an accommodation with the parliament. In short, he deserved to lose his head; and Mr. Brodie is not sorry that he did lose it, though on a scaffold.

The spirit of Mr. B's book, we repeat, is the worst part of it: so little to our taste, indeed, that reading it for the fourth or fifth time, we still find ourselves, at every return, as much out of humour with the author as he is with Charles's government, and, of course, as little qualified to act the part of good critics as he is to act that of a good historian. The passions should be resolutely dismissed from the breast of him who holds the pen either of history or of criticism. They confound his discernment, and distort every object upon which he fixes his eye. They call good evil and evil good, put sweet for bitter and bitter for sweet: they bring out of a man's character all the weakness which nature placed there, and add much of their own creation. Pleading guilty to the infirmity with which we charge Mr. Brodie, we are willing to allow him all the advantages of this acknowledgement; namely, that in opposing his sentiments we have done but bare justice to his literary merits, and indefatigable research; that we have fixed chiefly on those parts of his work which most excited our gall; and that, consequently, there are many beauties and historical excellencies to be enjoyed by readers of a less irritable order than we are, and to be highly applauded by such as hold the opinions or are influenced by the prejudices which stick so fast to the mind of the author. Mr. Brodie may look to the Whigs for boundless adoration; and, unless they change their character, he will not be disappointed.

ART. III. *An Authentic Narrative of the Extraordinary Cure performed by Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, on Miss Barbara O'Connor, a Nun, in the Convent of New Hall, near Chelmsford; with a full Refutation of the numerous false Reports and Misrepresentations.* By John Badley, M.D. Protestant Physician to the Convent. 8vo. pp. 38. 1s. 6d. Whittaker. 1823.

"THE pretended miracles of Paganism and Popery have, I hope," says Bishop Douglas, in his "Criterion," when summing up his admirable "rules" for distinguishing truth from fiction, "been sufficiently exposed by placing them in

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their true light, as being either the interested contrivances of imposture, or the fanciful misconceptions of credulity." Such having been, indeed, the nature of miracles since the days of the inspired promulgators of our holy faith, we cannot desire to see a taste for them re-introduced, among other continental fashions, into our wonder-loving country. Nor are we willing that any event which has obtained any share of the public attention, should be suffered to rest under the magnifying effects of mystery, when a little trouble spent in investigation of the fact may at once dispel the cloud that overhangs it, and expose to the light whatever may have been intentionally or unintentionally concealed.

Now, a pamphlet purporting to give an authentic narrative of a cure *performed* by an individual on one side of the German Ocean upon a patient residing on the other side, without any communication had between them save and except one short epistle, and without the use of any external means, carries with it an air bordering on the miraculous, and is likely enough either to be turned to account by the infidel and scoffer, or to do serious harm amongst the credulous and wavering. It is for this reason that we have paid the earliest attention to Dr. Badeley's "Authentic Narrative."

That such an event as that recorded in the demi-official pages now before us should be termed a miracle, and boasted of as such by Roman Catholics, is no great wonder,—that it should be disbelieved "entirely" by many Protestants may be pardoned; and that a medical man should discover a middle theory, and, denying the miracle, but admitting the facts, should ascribe it to some physical, or at least natural, cause, is just what might be expected. Here, however, the marvel subsists not so much in the case—a pretty clear one it would seem, whatever name may be assigned it—but in the ingenuity which could educe from it the following conclusion: "It forms this remarkable coincidence, that Protestants and Catholics unite, at last, in one belief;—by faith bodies are saved here, and souls hereafter." P. 37.

We have not been aware, till now, of the general interest which the public, in England, France, and Ireland have taken in the extraordinary recovery of Miss O'Connor, and the illiberal reports, misrepresentations, and wilful falsehoods which have been "circulated" respecting it. Nor have we read the illiberal disquisitions which are almost daily issuing from the press, upon this extraordinary case; all occasioned by Catholics attaching the word *miracle* to it. Even Dr. Badeley's statement, had it been merely a plain professional report, would not have induced us to take part in the

discussion of a case to which, in all probability, there are some hundreds of well authenticated parallels :—such a report would indeed have rendered any further observations superfluous. But little as a pamphlet of thirty-eight double-ledged pages can at any rate contain, that little is in the present instance intermixed with so many passages of ambiguous meaning, that we trust Dr. Badeley will not be offended with us if we endeavour to sum up and shew the real weight of his evidence before we send it to our readers for their verdict—thus to guard, as much as lies with us, against any misapprehensions that may be pregnant with danger to weak minds, or furnish encouragement to wicked ones.

“ Folly begets knavery by the most natural generation,” affirms Dr. Warburton, in his “ Critical and philosophical enquiry into the causes of prodigies and miracles, as related by historians.” And again, “ there is a flaw which was certainly in the original formation of the mind that all its reason could not solder. But it will ever be an inlet and most hospitable harbour of *imposture*: of which nothing is more clear and melancholy proof than our great facility in deceiving ourselves, and our complacency and constancy in the cheat.” In order to be convinced that Bishop Warburton is right we need not turn to Livy or the Romish Calendar, to the incredible narration of Pagan prodigies, or to the lives and legendary tales of saints and martyrs; some few of whom have this trifling slur cast upon their memory—that they certainly never did, for they never could by any possibility exist. Every day's experience proves how necessary it is to be cautious that we do not give occasion to the knavish to impose upon the simple; to be upon our guard that we do not confound faith with superstition, hope with presumption, and charity with a criminal indifference to the limits of truth and falsehood.”

This being premised, we cannot but express our regret that the New Hall wonder, which it seems has kindled some contention because, forsooth, the Catholics would attach the word *miracle* to it, should not have been set at rest, as far at least as relates to Protestants, by a more distinct professional opinion with regard to the nature of the recovery and its probable causes; or by a fuller recital of facts and *corroborated* evidence divested of all speculation on the religious part of the enquiry. The matter certainly is not elucidated either pathologically or theologically: but still we are bound to give Dr. Badeley credit for intending a kind act towards his friends of “ the convent,” namely, to

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exonerate them from the charge of having practised artifice in getting up a pretended miracle.

"To defend truth, and vindicate the respectable inhabitants of New Hall from groundless ill-natured calumny, is my object in this address; and for that purpose I will first give a short history of Miss O'Connor's case, to correct the misrepresentations and false reports that have been published respecting it." P. 9.

Before we enter on the narrative, it is but due also to Dr. Badeley, his protégés, and ourselves, to disavow every intention of imputing the daring and blasphemous deceit, too often falsely denominated a pious fraud, to any of the individuals concerned, or to reflect upon their honesty and honour. We are very far from being desirous to hold up to ridicule strong religious impressions, if they be not unquestionably feigned and hypocritical, though we may consider them erroneous and enthusiastic: still less are we inclined positively to deny that circumstances, however unusual, have occurred, when their occurrence is unequivocally asserted by reputable persons. We would not affix a stigma on the character of a witness without reasons far more cogent than those which meet us here.

Most assuredly, if we had any doubts, the statement before us is not calculated to remove them; for we shall shew (*passim*) that it is very incomplete as evidence, and by no means "a full refutation of the numerous false reports and misrepresentations" which we are assured have been propagated on the subject.

"On the 7th of December, 1820, Miss Barbara O'Connor, a nun, in the convent at New Hall, near Chelmsford, aged thirty, was suddenly attacked, without any evident cause, with a pain in the ball of the right thumb; which rapidly increased, and was succeeded by a swelling of the whole hand and arm, as far as the elbow. It soon became red and painful to the touch. Mr. Barlow, the skilful surgeon to the convent, was sent for; and applied leeches, lotions, blisters, fomentations, poultices, long emersions in warm water, and every thing that was judged proper, a long time, without much benefit. One cold application diminished the swelling, but occasioned acute pain in the axilla and mamma. Leeches were applied to the axilla, and the same cold lotion; by which means the pain was removed from the axilla, and the hand and arm became as bad as before.

"On the 5th of January, an incision was made in the ball of the thumb; only blood followed, no pus. Mr. Carpue, an eminent surgeon, from Dean-street, was sent for on the 7th, and enlarged the incision, expecting pus; but none appeared." P. 9.

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A temporary amendment procured by a course of medicines, partly mercurial, was but of short duration.

"The symptoms soon returned, as bad as ever, notwithstanding the general health was perfectly re-established; and notwithstanding every thing was done which the London and country surgeons, in consultation, could suggest, during *a whole year and a half*."

"Mrs. Gerard, the superior of the convent, having heard of many extraordinary cures, performed by Prince Hohenlohe, of Bamberg, in Germany, employed a friend to request his assistance, which he readily granted, and sent the following instructions, dated Bamberg, March 16, 1822." P. 11.

" TO THE RELIGIOUS NUN IN ENGLAND.

"On the 3d of May, at eight o'clock, I will offer, in compliance with your request, my prayers for your recovery. Having made your confession, and communicated, offer up your own also, with that fervency of devotion and entire faith which we owe to our Redeemer Jesus Christ. Stir up from the bottom of your heart the divine virtues of true repentance, of Christian charity to all men, of firm belief that your prayers will be favourably received, and a steadfast resolution to lead an exemplary life, to the end that you may continue in a state of grace.

"Accept the assurance of my regard.

" PRINCE ALEXANDER HOHENLOHE."

P. 13.

"Miss O'Connor's general health being re-established, and the surgical treatment of the hand being out of my province, I did not see her for some weeks; but having occasion to visit some of the ladies on the 2d of May, I was requested to look at Miss O'Connor's hand and arm, which I found *as much swollen and bad as I had ever seen them*. The fingers looked ready to burst, and the wrist was fifteen inches in circumference. I did not then know the reason of my being desired to see the hand and arm on that day, *not having heard of the application to the Prince*."

"On the next day, the 3d of May, (a day of particular notice by the Catholics,) she went through the religious process prescribed by the Prince. Mass being nearly ended, Miss O'Connor, not finding the immediate relief she expected, exclaimed, 'Thy will be done, O Lord! thou hast not thought me worthy of this cure.' Almost immediately after, she felt an extraordinary sensation through the whole arm, to the ends of her fingers. The pain instantly left her, and the swelling gradually subsided; but it was some weeks before the hand resumed its natural size and shape. *Now, I can perceive no difference from the other.*" P. 15.

Here Dr. Badeley breaks off the thread of his narrative; and we shall take the opportunity to remark on some important omissions in his evidence. It is not said whether the

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letter dated the 16th of March is known to have been the only one received from Prince Hohenlohe. It is moreover rather to be inferred from the terms of it that some previous correspondence had taken place; and how is it to be ascertained what this communication might have been? Other directions might have been given, and followed; and these of a medical description.

With regard to the account of what passed at the mass, and of the commencement of the recovery, it is not stated from whom it was received. The only Protestant who perhaps could properly have been called in to bear witness to the sudden change which was anticipated, was it seems not only cautiously excluded, but denied any previous information of the expected miracle. What assurance have we beyond the general character for veracity, which we suppose the nuns to bear, that there was any sensible effect produced on the 3d of May, at eight or nine o'clock? Did any one who was inclined to *disbelieve* the miracle perceive the immediate subsidence of the swelling. It is plain that the personal testimony of Dr. Badeley thus far amounts only to his having seen his patient in a state of good bodily health, but with her arm still swollen on the 2d of May. All the rest was hearsay.

"But let us return to Miss O'Connor, whom we left in the chapel, free from pain. This was on the 3d of May. I did not see her again till the 11th. Then it was that I first heard of the application to the Prince. Upon her being informed that I was in the convent, she came into the room, to my great astonishment, putting her hand behind her, and moving her fingers without pain, and with considerable activity, considering the degree of swelling; the hand and arm having hitherto been immovable, and constantly supported in a sling. I immediately exclaimed, 'What have you been doing?'—'Nothing, I declare,' she said, 'except following the instructions of Prince Hohenlohe.'

"As she could already use her fingers a little, although only eight days had elapsed, and they were still much swollen. I asked for a sheet of paper, and folding it up in the form of a letter, inquired if her London surgeon had been informed of the cure. On her replying in the negative, 'Then be so obliging, Madam,' said I, 'to address this to him, and I will write the letter as soon as I reach home.' She immediately complied, and wrote very legibly.' P. 19.

Here the admissible evidence is just this;—that on the 11th of May the size of Miss O'Connor's arm was considerably reduced, and that she could use her fingers a little though they were still much swollen. Her declaration that

no external application or kind of medicine had been employed might be very true, but her "Protestant physician" cannot speak to this important point of his own personal knowledge. In short, that a real affection of Miss O'Connor's arm remained incurable, or at least uncured, *though it was relieved*, for a year and a half, cannot, we think, be fairly doubted by any one who believes Dr. Badeley's word—and this we do implicitly. But it may be said, with much justice, that the Doctor does not perform all that his title-page promises, when he merely attests a gradual and partial cure having taken place, between the 2d and the 11th of May, of a complaint which he does not represent as unlikely to give way with more rapidity than many others. And this is all he does—for he bears no personal attestation to the instant or mode of the recovery. We do not say that they were not as they were described, but still some mercy should be shewn to those persons who may have been less inclined than ourselves to accept the testimony of the inmates of New Hall. They might not be either "ignorant" or "illiberal," and yet might pause before they gave full credence to that which was "professed to be a miracle," unsupported, as it appears to stand, by any "impartial" testimony but such as Dr. Badeley here adduces.

Admitting, however, *the fact*, that the letter from Prince Hohenlohe was actually received before the 3d of May, and that the recovery of Miss O'Connor's arm was not incipient before that date, but sensibly commenced at the time previously determined on, as the day and hour on which prayers should be offered up on her behalf; and that no medicine or sanative treatment of the arm was employed, but that the Prince's directions, relative to her devotional exercises alone, were simply followed—admitting all this, and it is perhaps quite enough,—we arrive at the knotty question, to what cause are we to ascribe this "extraordinary cure?" Was it *miraculously* "performed by" Prince Hohenlohe? Was it "*performed by*" the Prince without a miracle? or was it not at all performed by him, but by the operation of certain natural causes, which were not only sufficient, but eminently calculated to produce the desired effect?

Now, this recovery either was a miracle, or it was not one: either it was wrought by an especial act of the Almighty First Cause, or it was to be attributed to the operation of natural second causes. The Catholic denominates it a miracle, and unhesitatingly imputes it to the efficacy of Prince Hohenlohe's prayers. The Protestant on the other

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hand affirms,—or at least on Protestant principles must be expected to affirm,—that, supposing the circumstances attending it to be duly authenticated, it was produced in some way or other by second causes, in the common course of nature; for he sees nothing to warrant his belief that any special exercise of Divine power was either required, or was manifested, in a recovery by no means unusual under similar conditions. The Catholic very consistently makes use of the term *miracle*, if he believes the cure to have been performed by Prince Hohenlohe, that is, by virtue of his prayers at a certain pre-appointed moment: under the same conviction, who could deny that it was a miracle? For surely to be vested by God himself with a power to heal the sick without the use of external means, and simply by intercession for them, is to partake of the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, to possess the power of working miracles such as the Apostles had, and such as we believe none since their age have had.

What greater claim to the title of miracles can one assert for those wondrous cures, which have for so many centuries been accepted as authentic by the Roman Catholic Church, and which have canonized their respective authors? To a consistent Catholic the case must appear equally miraculous, whether the Saint whose prayers are supposed to have effectuated the recovery be living or dead; whether it be St. Thomas à Becket, or Prince Hohenlohe, whether supplications be addressed to the tomb of the former, or a request be written by the post to the friend of the latter, to secure their respective good offices and prevailing intercession. It would be ingratitude to refuse to the Prince what would be eagerly accorded to the Saint,—the credit of having wrought a miracle.

We admit, then, that on Roman Catholic principles, it is not wonderful that the Nuns of New Hall should boast their miracle; we attempt not to argue with them, for it were in vain: but it by no means follows that Protestants are justified in viewing the matter at all in the same light. We cannot but express our astonishment, that any persons should be found to reason with reference to it, on exclusively Romish principles, and yet by omitting the word miracle deceive themselves into a belief that they are holding very anti-catholic opinions. What says Dr. Badeley of the first class of persons who received his *confirmation* of this "*wonderful*" recovery? What says Dr. B. of himself? "I told them that their sentiments were very much my own!!" On the adopted sentiments of Dr. Badeley's we have an observation or two to

make. 1st. To the first quere it may be replied : something *more than a shadow* of reason may be produced why the cure was not the effect of the prayers, for if it were so, it would be a miraculous event, and as Protestants we cannot admit the existence of a miracle, where any other solution of a difficulty can be found ; and here a most probable and sufficient solution *may* be found. 2. There is no evidence that Prince Hohenlohe did actually offer up any prayers. He *might*, for aught we know, have been smoking his pipe in the streets of Bamberg, altogether unmindful of his engagement. The biographical *notices* of wonder-workers in modern times do not furnish any strong presumption in his favour. 3. There was an interval of ten days, during which Miss O'Connor's arm was not subjected to the inspection of any Protestant whatever, so far as appears ; and this period was long enough to admit of a partial cure, had a proper application or mode of treatment been discovered. 4. We have already shewn that the evidence, except of the disease, and of a gradual cure, is not corroborated by impartial or uninterested witnesses : and upon all such questions, involving the most momentous truths, we are at liberty, if not bound, to demand stronger evidence before we decide. 5. When the prayers of the Church are desired for a sick person, it is doubtless in the humble hope that they may be so far effectual, as that God may please, in answer to them to bless the means which he has appointed,—human methods of recovery—to the end that, in God's own time the sufferer may obtain comfort and relief—that if it be expedient for him he may have a happy issue out of all his afflictions. But we presume no sober member of the Church of England ever yet expected that the prayers of the congregation would instantly be answered, or that, however fervent and sincere the supplicant might be, the course of nature would be turned aside, and the arm of the Lord visibly stretched out to bring that to pass which his good providence has decreed shall be effected, if it is to be at all, by natural agents and customary modes. That some enthusiasts have entertained different notions is too true ; but it is not with such enthusiasts that we are now at issue.

This part of the subject well deserves to be argued at much greater length. Our space will not permit it ; but we must not overlook a passage connected with the above remark, which calls for strong animadversion.

“ From the numerous cases that are published in France and

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Germany, we have no right to doubt that the prayers of the Prince have been more successful than the prayers of others; probably owing to the greater faith and confidence which their celebrity had occasioned. This success and celebrity will, doubtless, continue reciprocally to increase each other: because, united, they will double the confidence and faith that will be placed in them. The prayers of our clergy would, no doubt, be attended with equal success in restoring health, and prolonging life, if the minds of the sick were impressed with the same degree of firm belief, *that the prayers then offering would affect their recovery*; but our clergy confine their visits to the paramount duty of preparing them for their departure from this, to a better world." P. 22.

Now the first part of this paragraph assumes what cannot be conceded, that *the prayers* of Prince Hohenlohe have been successful in effecting cures. This takes for granted, what we positively deny, that in the cases published in France and Germany, it is necessary to suppose that *the prayers* of the Prince were the cause, either efficient or meritorious, of the restorations to health or soundness. If they were so, the cures were so many miracles.

Having assumed what his own medical experience must have convinced him was by no means essential to the result before him—the efficacy of the Prince's prayers: Dr. Badeley writes a sentence, the first branch of which contains a position: one of the most dangerous to the cause of sound religion, that we have ever met with: so palpably dangerous that it is needless to discuss it; and the latter what we are sure Dr. B. will thank us for pointing out as a hastily penned assertion, unintentionally, we doubt not, but most unjustly reflecting on our offices and on our clergy. The office for the Visitation of the Sick is sufficient evidence that the Church does not confine her pastoral care to the "paramount duty" of preparing the dying Christian for his translation to another life. "*When any person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the Parish;*" and the service which he is directed to use, is by no means exclusively adapted to a person quitting the world. A certain omission is indeed directed "*if the person visited be very sick*" which proves that the office is not intended only for the last extremity. That the Clergy in general are so miserably deficient in the performance of their duty, so forgetful of one of their *most* important functions, as to neglect to pray with, and for, the sick, whenever they are called upon to do so; that they do not through long periods of illness continually offer up by the bedside of the lingering patient their earnest prayers for the ease and recovery as well as for the eternal

welfare of their charge—all this we trust it is not attempted to insinuate. Medical men know better.

We are almost led to suppose that the "Protestant physician" had begun to imbibe some of the prejudices of the Convent, when he drew a parallel which, if just, would indeed degrade the religion he now professes. The error into which he has been surprized by his charitable desire to shield his friends from suspicion, is one of those dangerous mistakes into which such a pamphlet as his is most likely to allure either those who only half investigate the circumstances, and then only half reason on the data; or those who intentionally shut their eyes upon the plain truth, in order that they may convert any false impression made on the public mind to their own sinister ends. We may expect to hear much more of these results.

With the class of persons which Dr. Badeley next mentions as endeavouring to explain the cure by referring it to some medicine secretly prescribed, or to some discharge which had taken place, and as rejecting it altogether, if it cannot be so explained—with this class we do not agree; for though we be equally with them convinced that natural and even very usual causes produced all the effects observed—yet so highly probable does the fact seem, on other ground, than that of medical treatment, that we cannot consent on the one hand to call it a "miraculous cure," and to regard it as very "extraordinary," or on the other hand to doubt the veracity of such highly respectable gentlemen as Dr. Badeley and Mr. Barlow.

Our reasons for thus declining to be astonished are partly those with which the pamphlet itself supplies us, and partly such as we glean from other quarters. The Protestant does not admit the authenticity of any miracles since the time of the first preachers of the Gospel. He finds in the Holy Scriptures, that *all* who are therein recorded as having been gifted with miraculous power, assumed the office of teachers sent from God, and performed the marvellous works attributed to them as evidences of their divine mission. The same tests which, when applied to the apostolical miracles, prove them to have been genuine, disprove the genuineness of those which have been asserted in the Roman Catholic Church from early days up to the dawn of the Reformation. Some of these tests apply rather, perhaps, to the historical accounts of pretended miracles, than to recent wonders: but the great axiom with respect to miracles in general—that we are not justified in attributing to supernatural interposition any event which we can trace to the operation of natural

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adequate causes—is not less applicable to the cures said to be performed by Prince Hohenlohe, than to those of earlier date. This German Prince does not assume, as we believe, the character of a messenger sent from God for an especial purpose—to promulgate a new law, or to teach a new method of salvation. To what end then would be his miracles? They would be the credentials of an ambassador who has no mission. On this ground alone they might safely be rejected as fictitious. And if he be not vested with a power of working miracles—then are not the cures, however sudden and extraordinary, to be attributed to his prayers; but, such as are well attested, must be ascribed to some other cause. That this cause is *the influence of the mind upon the body*, we think can hardly be doubted by any one who will consider the matter seriously.

It is a little remarkable that the cure at New Hall is extremely similar to some among the comparatively few pretended miracles which have been published since the Reformation. When the Jansenist cause was on the decline and their antagonists the Jesuits had for a while obtained the ascendancy in France, about the beginning of the last century, it was thought expedient by the persecuted party to prop their tottering credit, by having recourse to the old support of miracles. Besides the well known wonder which was effected at Port Royal, and which has been rendered notorious by the still greater wonder of its obtaining the sanction of Racine's name; besides this cure of an ulcerated eye by the touch of *one of the thorns of the real crown!* there were many kinds of healing attempted at the tomb of the Jansenist Saint, the Abbé Paris. The zealous memorialist of the eight successful and manageable recoveries "*performed by*" the dead Saint, or by the dust of his grave, has in a splendid work, *dedié au roi*, given every possible effect to his authentic narrative. M. Montgeron exclaims in his Preface

"Voici, Sire, déjà la douzième année, que celui qui est le Roi des Rois et le Seigneur des Seigneurs est entré dans une carrière de merveilles. Il y est entré, et il continue. Il s'avance sans s'arrêter et sans interrompre sa course, comme un vainqueur pour continuer à vaincre. Il a commencé par se montrer pour ainsi dire; en personne par le miracle, &c."

And again,

"Les miracles dont j'ai l'honneur de présenter les preuves à votre Majesté, ne sont pas des prodiges qu'on puisse traiter de faits obscures, douteux, incertains, et qui laissent à ceux mêmes dont

le cœur seroit droit et l'esprit solide, des raisons légitimes de les contester. Ce sont des miracles éclatans, des miracles qu'on peut appeller du premier ordre, des miracles de creation, ou du moins de regeneration, et dont je rapporte des preuves invincibles."

After all this high pretension, some of the facts were disputed; and through the jealous scrutiny of the Archbishop of Sens, any one, who will take the pains, may satisfy himself that those cures which were unquestionable, were easily to be accounted for on very natural principles. Bishop Douglas shews in a masterly manner, from the very documents adduced in support of them, that we cannot reasonably believe them to have proceeded from any other cause than the influence of the mind. And indeed it is sufficiently obvious, that in the scenes which took place in St. Medard's church yard, every circumstance conspired to render this influence more than usually powerful, and that the complaints removed were just such as were most subject to the operation of a strongly excited imagination. An enthusiastic persuasion of the efficacy of the intercession of the Abbé Paris, and an excessive agitation of soul, arising from fervent and continued devotion, might well produce a frame of mind fitted for extraordinary action; and diseases originating in obstruction of the vessels, and a morbid state of the circulation would naturally render the body peculiarly susceptible of sudden change, in consequence of any violent affection of the mind. Such was the excitement, and such were the diseases in every well authenticated case of recovery recorded by M. Montgeron. But these cures, though assignable to a certain time as to their commencement, were not at once complete: in some instances they were defective, in others gradual. They bore not the impress of the immediate hand of the Omnipotent; they manifested no distinct tokens of supernatural interposition.

Nothing can be more striking than the great similarity which exists between the case at New Hall and the above-mentioned instances of sudden recovery or amendment of health, both in the nature of the complaints and in the method taken to subdue them. Had we a doubt of the adequacy of the cause to produce the effect, it would be removed at once by the narrative which Dr. Badeley gives of much more surprising cures. These, however, it cannot be necessary to extract; for who has not heard of the effects of animal magnetism, of metallic tractors, of Leutherburg's charms, of stroking by Greatrakes, and touching by the Kings of England for the cure of Scrofula? And who has

not heard from the most credible testimony, or read in indisputable records, that considerable success has attended all these seemingly miraculous performances? There is little doubt but that hundreds have thus been cured, who had previously defied the power of medicine: and yet with the exception of the last instance we do not believe that prayers constituted any part of the ceremony of healing. Why then should *the prayers* of Prince Hohenlohe be supposed either by Catholics or Protestants to be the cause of Miss O'Connor's cure, or of any of the cures wrought under his directions? The "Protestant Physician to the Convent" tells us with singular inconsistency, that the sentiments of those persons who attribute the cure to the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe are very much his own; and then takes some pains to shew that there is nothing in this "extraordinary," "wonderful," "miraculous" event, but what has happened repeatedly before—that a violent excitement of the mind has effected what medicine could not effect. That the cause of the swollen arm, whatever it might be; a complaint at any rate, as it would seem, of the blood-vessels, in which no pus or disorganization had been produced, but in which violent inflammation and enlargement were the chief symptoms; that a complaint of such a description should gradually have subsided in consequence of the removal of some obstruction of the healthy circulation by the violent and sudden operation of the mind, cannot, surely, be deemed a mighty wonder, though it may not happen every day.

In short, we cannot, as Protestants, properly ascribe the honour of the event recorded in Dr. Badeley's "authentic narrative," to the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, because it would be conceding, that he receives from above the power of healing diseases without the intervention of external means; or, in other words, of working miracles. As reasonable men we are not justified in attributing to a supernatural cause that which may be, and has often been, the effect of a natural one. But the recovery of Miss O'Connor might *very probably* arise from the strong affection of the mind, produced by her confidence in Prince Hohenlohe's character; for similar cures have been performed by similar persuasions. To the state of mind, then, into which she was thrown by the act of fulfilling his directions, and by the ardent enthusiasm, probably excited by the concomitant circumstances; and still more probably by the sudden transition from hope to despair, by the excessive mortification of seeing her expectations blighted, and believing herself rejected by the Almighty, as unworthy of the mercy which she sought; to

the mental agitation occasioned by all this whirl of feeling, and not to the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, which might or might not be offered, must we in consistency and common sense, attribute that revulsion which produced the sensation in her arm, and laid the foundation for her gradual recovery.

This appears to us to be the just view of the subject, and to simplify the matter so much as to prevent its assuming a dangerous form, either as a snare to the weak, or a handle to the wicked. We have devoted more time and space to the consideration of Dr. Badeley's suggestions than we intended, having meant to confine ourselves to the narrative; but we could not allow many of the inferences which might be drawn from his opinion, and some of his own remarks which affect the fundamental principles of the Protestant Faith, and the credit of the Priesthood of the Church of England, to pass unnoticed.

Before we conclude, however, we must be permitted once more to observe upon the strange, not to say irreverent, assertion, that "Protestants and Catholics unite at last in one belief; by faith bodies are saved here and souls hereafter." Surely Dr. Badeley does not mean to put upon a footing that superstitious confidence, that imaginary security, that absurd and groundless trust which is placed by the ignorant or the enthusiastic in the horse-shoe on the threshold, or the relic in the shrine, with *saving* FAITH in the Divine Redeemer of Mankind. There is every reason to believe, for there are examples of the fact, that any one passion of the mind—that fear, grief, hatred, anger or disappointment suddenly and violently excited, would no less than confidence, have effected such a change as that which took place in Miss O'Connor's arm: supposing that faith is the agitating principle, it may be widely different from religious faith, as when it rests on the instrument, the ceremony, the charm, the relic, or the man; any where but on the Creator, and the one Mediator between God and us.

As a member of the Church of England, as a medical man, and as an advocate, we do not think that Dr. Badeley has executed his self-imposed task in a useful manner, or made the best of his very slender materials. We shall be glad to find that he does not rather aggravate than allay, the spirit of the controversy, which has already been stirred up by the use of the word *miracle*, and that no harm ensues from his interference.

Of Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, or of the general nature of the cures performed by him, we have not at present

sufficient authentic documents to enable us to speak decidedly, but at some future opportunity we may return to the subject, and tell some greater wonders still.

ART. IV. *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs: collected by Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins.* Vol. I. 8vo. 9s. pp. 366. Rivingtons. 1822.

IF our disposition led us to refinements of revenge, we should be little contented with the simple wish that our enemy would write a book. The style and manner in which his pen is to be employed must be specifically defined, if we are to have our fill of vengeance; and he must not only write a book, but his book must be a book of auto-biography. The reading world will then take ample care to satisfy us for the rest; and the good and evil which all *real* confessions must embrace will be respectively extenuated and set down in malice, till the outline of himself which the author sought to preserve, with a fidelity which no one else could attain, is completely lost and obliterated by the varied colouring which has been rubbed in by the hands of others. Miss Hawkins, in her present publication, without immediately undertaking to write her own life, has employed herself on a task of scarcely less difficulty and danger, that of recording how her life has been passed in relation to those with whom she has been associated; or, in other words, of telling all that she thinks worthy of being told of such persons, with whom she has been thrown in collision during the course of more than half a century. Of the delicacy of her attempt, if we may judge from its execution, it is impossible that any one can be more thoroughly apprised than she herself has been. And though much may be allowed to an undeviating correctness of principle and of taste, which has prevented this lady from mingling in any society but that of which the memorial deserves a higher praise, than that it is merely agreeable, yet we cannot but think that something and that not a little, is due to the nice propriety and fine adjustment, if we may so say, of feeling, which has enabled her carefully to exclude from 350 pages of contemporary memoir a single anecdote which, even remotely, could give pain to a single individual.

After having premised that which Miss Hawkins premises for herself, and every syllable of which is fully borne out by

her subsequent pages, we shall endeavour to place our readers in possession of a summary of their contents. A severe and tedious indisposition, which for many months put an end to more operose employment, induced a mind unaccustomed to, and therefore intolerant of idleness, to throw together such scraps of circumstance as a life of some length had been able to collect, and which a habit of committing them to paper had assisted in preserving. These are "the motives" and "the authorities" alluded to below.

"Little of preface is necessary to this light work. I have said in the outset all I could, to explain to the reader, the motives to compiling it, the authorities on which the facts contained in it rest, and the spirit by which I have been guided in the selection. I have anticipated censure and I have asked for indulgence. I have therefore, now one volume is closed, only to express my hope that I have not disappointed expectation or forfeited confidence. If I have, after all my care and circumspection, been the cause of a moment's pain or painful recollection to any human being, I shall repent my undertaking. If, by placing good actions in a luminous point of view, I have gratified any person connected with those who have acted well, I shall feel rewarded:—if I can excite any one to imitate what is praiseworthy, I shall indeed be over-paid for my labour.

"Should another and a very contrary species of error from that which gives pain, be laid to my charge, and it be said that I have flattered, I must plead 'not guilty,' and excuse myself for any such appearance, by saying, that having never had acquaintance with any but 'the worthy and the good,' I have it not in my power to produce specimens of what is very wrong." P. vii.

Sir John Hawkins the father of Miss Hawkins, lived in the best literary society of that which may be considered as among the best of our literary ages: and from her earliest years Miss Hawkins was introduced to the knowledge of the giants of bye-gone times. She "*found*" her father (and this "periphrasis for her first acts of memory" needs no apology, for it is a highly expressive phrase) in intimacy among others, with Johnson, Hawkesworth, Horace Walpole, Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Bennet Langton, Tyrwhit, George Steevens, Garrick, Paul Whitehead, Thomas Warton, Cracherode, Dr. Farmer, Bishops Lowth, Halifax, Percy and Hurd. This was indeed a goodly company, and it amply explains the "sort of Hibernian regret" expressed by Miss Hawkins, that she "was not born older."

That the estimate formed of many of these characters (which are so entirely *publici juris* that we have a right to

form our estimate of them also) does not always coincide with our own, cannot be a matter of surprise to any one who knows the difference between an author seen only through the mist of years in full *prelary* costume, and a plain coat and waistcoat author, seen by a tea-table fire side. Thus we think Miss Hawkins, in the vivid remembrance which she preserves of Johnson's personal *desagrémens*, when he leant his powdered wig on her shoulder in fondling urbanity, is led unconsciously to detract from that unmeasured power, that *ingenium ingens* in a bark only *incultæ corporis*, which made him the monarch, grim, perhaps, but not on that account only, the unapproachable monarch of the literature of his day. Again, we doubt not that the natural and laudable influence which the courtesy of high rank exercises over a youthful mind has produced an impression in favour of Horace Walpole, from which we, who know him only by the littleness of his first ponderous volumes, and the worse than littleness, the ripened malignity of his recent Memoires are wholly emancipated. With Paul Whitehead's privacy we are totally unacquainted: but our recollection of his poetry would induce us to place him far above the very low standard to which he is here reduced, when Sir John Hawkins is said to have had for him "that relish which any one may have for the attendant of a mountebank." It is not often since the days of Pope, that antithetical versification has been executed with as much pointedness as will be found in Paul Whitehead's "Manners."

A near neighbour to Sir John Hawkins on Twickenham Common, was the Marchioness of Tweeddale, at that time a widow; and a familiar intercourse subsisted between the families.

"The Marchioness herself had been Lady Frances Carteret, a daughter of the Earl of Granville, whom, I believe, I may distinguish as the elegantly, if not the classically read Lord Granville, and had been brought up by her jacobite aunt Lady Worsley, one of the most zealous of that party. The Marchioness herself told my father, that on her aunt's upbraiding her when a child, with not attending prayers, she answered 'that she heard her ladyship did not pray for the King.'—'Not pray for the King?' said Lady Worsley, 'who says this? I will have you and those who sent you, know that I *do* pray for the King;—but I do not think it necessary to tell God Almighty who is King.'" P. 63.

His profound knowledge of that science of which he was afterwards the historian, introduced Sir John Hawkins to numerous musical acquaintance. One morning when he

called on Handel, the great composer made him sit down and listen to the air,

"See the conquering Hero comes," concluding with the question, 'how do you like it?' My father answering 'Not so well as some things I have heard of yours,' he rejoined, 'Nor I neither; but, young man, you will live to see that a greater favourite with the people than my other fine things.'" P. 195.

It is we believe, well known that Handel, diffident of his acquaintance with the English language, on common occasions employed another person to write, or to select and arrange words for his Oratorios; but that when composing the "Messiah," as if elevated by the magnificence of his subject, he marked all the passages from Scripture himself. To this anecdote Miss Hawkins, on the authority of the present Dean of Raphoe, furnishes an agreeable commentary, "that Handel being questioned as to his ideas and feelings when composing the Hallelujah Chorus, replied in his imperfect English, "I did think I did see all Heaven before me, and the great God himself."

We have very recently had occasion to mention Mr. Holman the blind traveller, who as we learn from Miss Hawkins, has again embarked, and on a far more extensive tour, no less than to Constantinople. The wonder is not so great that he should travel as that he should feel any desire for travelling. But the varieties of ambition are endless, and Mr. Holman probably is content to sacrifice pleasure and safety to a love of distinction. The feat which Miss Hawkins has mentioned of another blind man, Mr. Stanley, is less extravagant, but little less remarkable.

"Mr. Stanley had great arithmetical quickness, and a mind capable of great tension, increased no doubt by that privation which is so often atoned for by a superabundance in other gifts. He, soon after his settlement as a domestic man, showed himself an excellent whist-player, when informed only of the principles of the game; but, the impossibility of knowing what were the cards he himself held, was an obstacle which his sister-in-law obviated, by marking a pack in a way not perceptible to others, and which, nothing less than the acuteness of feeling he possessed, could have rendered useful to himself. Great curiosity was excited to see these cards; and to possess a pack was considered as a distinction in the world of miscellaneous collectors. I have seen many, and therefore can explain what I remember to have seen treated like necromancy. How the court-cards were marked I really forget, but the others were simply pricked with a very fine needle, and only with the number of what are called the pips;—but the specific difference consisted in the locality of these marks, and that

had been settled by Mr. Stanley himself, that is to say, that hearts should be marked in one corner, diamonds in another, and so on; there still remained the necessity of placing the cards properly by sorting them and turning them all the right way; a card the wrong end upwards, would have thrown him out; but one of the ladies was always at hand; and it then required only that each person should name the card they played, and the game went on as quickly as if he could have seen." P. 203.

Besides this, Mr. Stanley conducted the Oratorios, rode on horseback, not led but followed by his servant, "knew every sign in Cheapside when every shop had a sign," could distinguish colours, and ascertain the size of a room, officiated as his own butler, and on being led to a house informed his guide that the house which he wanted was next door. Really these instances almost lead us to ask what can be the use of eyes?

An anecdote related by Dr. Cooke, who formed one of Sir John Hawkins musical connexions, will perhaps recall similar passages to all who have been engaged in any species of tuition.

"He was giving lessons on the violin to a young man of a noble family: the young man was beginning to play; but, in the common impetuosity of a novice, he passed over all the rests, and therefore soon left his master far behind him. 'Stop, stop, Sir,' said the Doctor, 'just take me with you.' This was a very unpleasant check to one who fancied he was 'going on famously;' and it required to be more than once enforced; till at length it was necessary to argue the point, which the Doctor did with his usual candour, representing the necessity of these observances. The pupil, instead of shewing any sign of conviction, replied rather coarsely, 'Aye, aye, it may be necessary for you, who get your living by it, to mind these trifles, but I don't want to be so exact.' P. 233.

When the late Duke of Leeds was Secretary of State, he had a remarkable adventure: it is here related on the authority of Mr. Clark, the venerable Chamberlain of London.

"In going home from his office on foot and alone, he was one night attacked on Constitution-hill by two footpads, who having taken his money, demanded his watch. It was very valuable, and he had deposited it so securely, that he thought he might venture to deny having one: he did so; and at the moment, and while the men had their hands on him, the watch itself betrayed him by striking. The hour was unfortunately twelve!—he heard it; and as he said himself, thought it never would cease striking. He gave his life up for gone; but providentially the men did not hear it, and made off with what they had obtained. A strong sense of this wonderful escape remained on the Duke's mind." P. 236.

Perhaps the musical world in general, is little aware of the risk which it once ran of losing one of our late finest singers before his voice had arrived at its fulness of power. Miss Hawkins saw much of Bartleman when he was a boy. He was then very slight in make, and delicate in complexion and appearance; easily made hoarse, and with a constitution prognosticating a brief existence. Before he was fourteen he twice narrowly escaped death. An obstinate cough was conquered only by a quack medicine, the basis of which was lead. To fall by a pulmonary attack might be considered as only a natural, or, at least, a professional death for one whose lungs formed his stock in trade; but *little Bat*, as he was familiarly called, encountered a much more inglorious danger. His early patron gave him the run of his house; and one day, when a haunch of venison was roasting, *Bat* posted himself by the cook and purloined as much of the circumambient paste as his fingers could secure*. His recovery was despaired of for many days after this unlucky *gormandize*.

The world has given Johnson the credit of largely assisting Sir Joshua Reynolds in literary composition. It is but just to the memory of this great man to shew, on indisputable evidence, that the pen was not less at his command than the pencil. Miss Hawkins in a note has put the matter wholly at rest.

"My brother says that he remembers to have heard Johnson say, when Sir J. H. alluded to the general opinion that he had been of great assistance to Sir Joshua in writing his Discourses, that his assistance had never exceeded the substitution of a word or two in preference to what Sir Joshua had written." P. 333.

In the course of this volume a few detached criticisms are furnished by Mr. Henry Hawkins. They bear the marks of candour, good sense and cultivated taste. In that on Horace Walpole, in spite of the predilection to which we have before alluded, and which we are very far from condemning, we think that we observe some little struggle with a tacit consciousness that he was not altogether worthy of the commendation with which he meets. As a specimen of manner we subjoin some remarks on Warburton, to which we cordially assent.

"Of Bishop Warburton's powers my father had a very high idea, particularly in controversy. His 'Divine Legation,' I believe

* This haunch was roasted Homericallv—

μυρὸν ἢ ἑξήκον, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ ΚΝΙΣΗ: ΕΚΑΛΥΨΑΝ.

he never read; and when the subject was mentioned, he never expressed any interest in the argument. That Warburton was a very superior man cannot be denied; but the general opinion of him now, when he may be fairly appreciated without prejudice, seems to be, that he was greatly deficient in judgment. His disputes with Bishop Lowth show great acuteness and powers of irony. He was no orientalist, or if at all conversant in the eastern languages, in no degree sufficient to enable him to refer to them to rectify any of his hypotheses. In this respect, Lowth, who was not his equal in acuteness, was eminently skilful. But the great fault of Warburton was, his fondness for some favourite hypothesis, which, when he had once adopted, made him see every object as, in a greater or less degree, a confirmation of his scheme; and even when he professed to state, in candour, the objections to the scheme, he would omit the most strong and the most obvious. 'This the reader cannot but perceive in the 'Divine Legation.' As a critic on Shakespeare, his notes are, I believe, but very little regarded; and the employing his assistance in elucidating the obsolete language of Shakespeare, only shows that men of eminence were called in to join in the great work, without much consideration of what their habits or pursuits had been. Bentley esteemed him a man of abilities, but who was at that time reading with not much judgment, or sufficiently digesting what he read." P. 297.

In the volumes yet to come, as they approach nearer the present, and respect the living more than the dead, Miss Hawkins's difficulties of necessity are increased. Admonition from us would most probably never reach her ear, even if it were offered; and indeed, if she perseveres in the same system in which she has commenced, to offer it would be more than impertinent. Her book is valuable as an authentic record of times and characters to which considerable interest attaches; and as such, we doubt not, will meet with very general circulation.

ART. V. *Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Libri decem. Ejusdem de Vita Constantini Libri IV., necnon Constantini Oratio, ad sanctos, et Panegyricus Eusebii. Græce et Latine, ad fidem optimorum librorum edidit, selectam lectionis varietatem notavit, indices adjecit, Ernestus Zimmermannus, S. S., Theologiæ Doctor. Francofurti ad Mœnum, in Libraria Hermannianæ. Super-royal. 8vo. pp. 1252. 1822. [Imported by Bohte.]*

THOUGH furnished with a distinct title page, which is given above, and sold separately, this is the first volume of a *Corpus*

Patrum Græcorum, long since announced by Professor Zimmermann. The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius has been too long before the learned to render any examination of it necessary, on our part. We may, however remark, that it is peculiarly valuable for the numerous interesting and copious extracts, which it contains, from different works, many of which are no longer extant, as well as from those which still remain; as the latter prove that the writings, which we have now under the names mentioned by Eusebius, are precisely the same with those from which he made his extracts. Notwithstanding some instances of reprehensible credulity, and some other defects, his Ecclesiastical History will always be a most important and valuable work to the Church. Without it we should have had scarcely any knowledge of the history of the first ages of Christianity, or of the authors who wrote during that period. And it is worthy of remark that all the Greek authors of the fourth century, who have undertaken to write the history of the Church, have commenced where Eusebius ended, as having nothing considerable to add to his labours.

The three principal critical editions of Eusebius are those of *Valesius*, *Reading*, and *Stroth*. The first of these was published at Paris in 1659, (and again in 1677), in Greek and Latin, with the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates, Theodoret, Théodore the Reader, Sozomen, and Evagrius. Valerius (or Henride Valois) corrected the text from the collation of four manuscripts, and added a new Latin version, together with numerous valuable annotations. Reading's edition, also in Greek and Latin, was published at Cambridge in 1720: it is founded on that of Valerius, and has some not very important critical additions. Stroth, who published a German translation of Eusebius at Quedlinburg in 1777, commenced a new edition of the original work, with valuable critical notes, of which, however, the first volume only was published at Halle, in Saxony, in 1779. All these editions having become scarce and dear, Professor Zimmermann was induced to offer the present impression to the students of ecclesiastical history, to whom it will doubtless prove highly useful as well as acceptable.

The Greek text of this new edition is founded on that established by Valerius, from which the editor has rarely departed, unless the deviation is supported either by the Cambridge edition, or by that of Stroth. It fills the upper half of the page: beneath it are disposed the principal various readings, the authorities for which are omitted for the sake of brevity;

F

and below them is the Latin version accommodated to this edition. In order to facilitate reference, the editor has noted at the top of every page the corresponding pages of the editions executed at Amsterdam,* Cambridge, Mayence,* or Mentz, (a reprint we understand of the Parisian edition) and Turin* ; which are respectively designated by the letters A. C. M. and T. A copious Index is subjoined ; the volume is very neatly printed, and on rather better paper than we commonly meet with in the ordinary productions of the German press. We cordially unite with Professor Zimmermann, in his wish that the present edition of the venerable ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, may promote and facilitate the study of ecclesiastical antiquity and of sacred literature.

ART. VI. *Conversations on Mineralogy, with Plates, engraved by Mr. and Miss Lowry, from original Drawings.*
2 vols. 12mo. Longman & Co. 1822.

UNTIL the appearance of Mrs. Marcet's well-known volumes, few works on Science existed which were calculated for any, but the scientific. Elementary Treatises for the most part, are any thing but elementary : and those who are themselves sufficiently well informed to instruct others, too often, like Commentators on Greek Plays, puzzle the Critic while they profess to write for the Tyro. The Lady whom we have just mentioned deserves no slight praise for her productions ; and it is but natural that the example which she has so well set, should be eagerly followed ; if it is always as well imitated as in the work by the family of Lowry now before us, we shall heartily rejoice in every succeeding adventurer who pursues a similar track.

A modest and unassuming preface notices the rapid advance which the study of Mineralogy has made of late years in England, and assigning to its rightful owner the praise of applying the conversational method to science in general, points out that this mode has not yet been adapted to Mineralogy in particular. The writer then states that it is not his intention to enter into minute details, nor to support any favourite system ; but to convey to the uninitiated clear ideas of the principles of Mineralogy and Crystallography. On the latter subject the theory of Haüy has been

* These editions have never fallen under our observation.—EDITOR.

taken as a ground-work ; but many original observations are introduced, and the figures which illustrate them are wholly new. The recent system of Professor Mohs is passed over ; and, as appears to us, for good reasons : first because it only *describes* crystals without explaining their structure and formation ; and secondly because its acknowledged abstruseness rendered it irreducible to the form of these volumes. It is upon the commoner minerals that the authors very naturally have been most diffuse ; and they have usually appended an account of their application to the several arts and manufactures.

Mineralogists are much accustomed to vaunt the philosophy of their classification, and to claim a superiority for their study above all similar studies, on account of the immutable basis, as they call it, of their arrangements ; but few sciences in fact, are less substantially fixed ;—the following apology therefore is almost unnecessary, except as a proof of the diffidence of the writer :

“ My classification of Minerals differs in some respects from all that I have seen ; but as it is not, to say the least, calculated to perplex the learner more than any other arrangement, I trust it will not be severely criticised : it is, perhaps, as defective as those which I have examined, and rejected because I was dissatisfied with them ; for I am far from presuming that I can effect what has hitherto baffled the attempts of the most able Mineralogists and Chemists.” Vol. I. p. vi.

The principal synonymes, with the English names annexed, are inserted in an Index. Such technical terms as are necessarily used, are defined at the beginning, but they are wisely used with a sparing hand ; and the young Mineralogist, who does not bring a cargo of Etymology with him, is farther presented with a catalogue of 187 derivations. On this point we would suggest to the “ *classical friends*” upon whom Mr. Lowry has relied in the Greek and Latin languages, that *ἀνὰ* does *not* signify “ without,” and that such words as Analcime and Anhydrite, have nothing to do with *ἀνὰ* in their composition.

Our readers may wish for a single extract to show the *manner* of these volumes, and it is of so little importance from what part it comes, that we shall present them with one caught at random. The *Sortes Mineralogicæ* have opened on Vol. I. p. 75.

“ MRS. L.

“ It is of the greatest consequence to observe the fresh fracture of a mineral ; that is, the appearance of a fresh-broken part ; because it is perfectly clean, and you can better observe the form

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and lustre which are peculiar to it, than in a part which has been exposed to the weather, or otherwise injured by external causes: but observe, that when I speak of the different kinds of *fracture*, I do not include under that term *cleavage*, which is peculiar to some crystallized minerals.

"FRANCES.

"Are not all minerals which crystallize capable of division by cleavage?"

"MRS. L.

"In some crystallized minerals, the cleavage is obtained with such difficulty, that were not the primitive form known, it might be doubted whether they possessed a cleavage; in such substances the fracture is generally conchoidal.

"MARY.

"What sort of fracture is that?"

"MRS. L.

"The word conchoidal means, literally, having the form of a shell; but as that expresses nothing precise, I should say, that a conchoidal fracture very much resembles the form of a muscle shell. I mentioned that it is exceedingly difficult to obtain the cleavage of some minerals, as spinal ruby, zircon, and quartz: on the contrary, there are substances which divide so readily, parallel to the primitive form, that it is difficult in *them*, to produce a fracture; such are sulphate of barytes, diamond, carbonate, and fluato of lime; a specimen of any of these having a conchoidal fracture, is valuable to a collector.

"You must not expect always to find a *perfect* conchoidal fracture; it is very often confused and irregular. The form of the fracture varies with the texture of the mineral: in those which are compact, it is even, conchoidal, splintery, uneven, earthy, or hackly: the last kind is peculiar to the native metals; and you may see it by breaking a piece of silver or copper wire: common chalk and fuller's earth are good and familiar examples of earthy fracture."

These who wish for a popular acquaintance with Mineralogy, will do well to consult these volumes; and we think a desire for somewhat more than a popular acquaintance will soon be excited by them. We had almost forgotten that which it would be most unjust to forget, the delicacy and accuracy with which the plates to this work are executed. But it is enough to say that they are from the burin of Mr. and Miss Lowry.

ART. VII. 1. *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.* By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. (of St. John's College, Cambridge,)

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Curate of the united Parishes of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and Saint Leonard, Foster Lane. Second Edition, revised, corrected and enlarged. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Fac-Similes of Biblical Manuscripts. In 4 vols. 8vo. Cadell. 1821.

2. *Supplement to the First Edition of the Introduction.* 1. vol. 8vo. Cadell. 1821.

3. *The Introduction. Third Edition, corrected.* In 4 vols. 8vo. Cadell, 1822.

4. *Supplementary Pages of the Second Edition of the Introduction.* 8vo. Cadell. 1822.

IN our Number for July 1819, we introduced the first edition of this work to the notice of our readers; and as the author, in his preface, solicited hints and corrections "from the organs of public criticism," we freely offered such hints as occurred to us, for improving the arrangement of the whole, together with various strictures on particular portions of it, which seemed to require further consideration and correction. It is gratifying to us, on examining the second and third editions, to find that our well-intended suggestions have been adopted by the author, who has corrected all the errors which we pointed out; and as our hints and remarks have had the effect of inducing him to re-cast and almost to re-write the "Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures," we think it but just to him,—as we trust it will be satisfactory to our readers,—to give an analysis of the work in its present greatly improved state.

The *first* volume is devoted to a critical inquiry into the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; which, to an *experienced* biblical scholar, may almost appear a work of supererogation, after the many elaborate and (we may safely affirm) unanswerable treatises on this subject, with which the English language is enriched. The motives, which induced the author to discuss this subject *de novo* are thus assigned by him; and our readers, we think, will deem his reasons perfectly satisfactory.

"In the former impressions of his work the author had given a very brief outline of the evidences for the genuineness and inspiration of the Old Testament, and a more extended view of the genuineness, credibility, and inspiration of the New Testament, and, being unwilling to augment, unnecessarily, the number of treatises extant on these subjects, he referred his readers to a few which are justly accounted the most valuable. In preparing the present edition for the press, it was his intention to condense these remarks,

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and to subjoin a few additional considerations : but he has been induced to deviate from this design by the extensive circulation of infidel works and tracts, whose avowed object was, by the unblushing re-assertion of old and often refuted objections, or by specious insinuations, to undermine and to subvert the religion of Jesus Christ,—‘ the pillar of society, the safeguard of nations, the parent of social order, which alone has power to curb the fury of the passions, and secure to every one his rights ; to the laborious the reward of their industry, to the rich the enjoyment of their wealth, to nobles the preservation of their honours, and to princes the stability of their thrones.’ *Called upon, by name, from the press,* to consider these objections to Divine Revelation, the author felt it his duty not to shrink from the task ; and as the antagonists of the Scriptures have in some degree varied the ground of their attacks, he indulges the hope that a temperate discussion of this subject, accommodated to the present times, may not be unacceptable to the biblical student, who may, perhaps at some future time, be exposed to meet with the enemies of the Scriptures. To his own mind, indeed, the result of the laborious inquiries, in which he has thus been necessarily involved, has been highly satisfactory :—for, not having access to all the numerous and able defences of Christianity against the infidels of former ages, he has been obliged to consider every objection for himself ;—and in every instance he has found that the numerous—he had almost said innumerable—contradictions, alleged to exist in the Sacred Writings, have disappeared before an attentive and candid examination. It may, perhaps, be thought that the gross and illiberal manner, in which some of the productions in question have been executed, renders them unworthy of notice ; but nothing surely is unworthy of notice that is calculated to mislead the ignorant or the unwary ; and though some of the objections raised by the modern opposers of Divine revelation, are so *coarse* as to carry with them their own refutation, yet others are so concisely and speciously expressed, as to demand several pages,—the result of many days’ laborious research, in order to detect their sophistry and falsehood.” Vol. 1. Pref. p. ix. 3d. edit.

In conducting his inquiry into the genuineness, authenticity and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the author in the first chapter shews the necessity of a Divine revelation, from the defective state of moral and religious knowledge among the ancient pagan nations, and also from the actual state of religion and morals among the modern heathen nations ; he then proceeds to refute the objection (so frequent in the lips of the self-styled philosophers of our day),—that philosophy and right reason are sufficient to instruct men in their duty, —by presenting in their own words an abstract of their absurd and contradictory tenets both in religion and morals. The necessity of a Divine revelation being proved, and the

probability that such a revelation would be vouchsafed by the deity being shown, the author advances to a rigorous and scrutinizing investigation of the claims of the Bible to be that revelation. Our account of this portion of Mr. Horne's work would almost assume the form of a disquisition on the genuineness and inspiration of the Scriptures, were we to follow him in a minute analysis of his first volume. We shall therefore briefly remark, that he demonstrates, most satisfactorily, the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the Old and New Testament, considered simply as the compositions of the persons to whom they are ascribed or whose names they bear, from the language and style of writing ;— from the circumstantiality of the details, and from the moral impossibility of establishing forged writings as authentic in any place, where there are persons strongly inclined and well qualified to detect the falsehood, as well as to expose the falsification or corruption of these writings, if any attempts had been made to vitiate or to falsify them. The arguments in this part of the work are exclusively founded on facts ; and, although they are necessarily prosecuted to a considerable extent, in consequence of the perverseness of the modern infidel opposers of Divine revelation, yet they are so closely compacted together, that we find it difficult to select any passage, which will give our readers a *full* view of the manner in which this portion of the inquiry is conducted. The following account of the evidence for the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament generally, will however give them some idea of the closeness and force of the author's proofs. His method is, to commence with the earliest date, at which the *existence* of the Old Testament, (considered simply as a composition) is universally admitted, and thence to trace it backwards by induction to its origin. The same rigid analysis is subsequently applied to prove the genuineness of the Pentateuch in particular, which part of the Old Testament is peculiarly the object of attack with our modern sceptics ; but it is too long to be copied entire, and it would suffer by partial extraction.

From the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures, the author proceeds to investigate the internal evidences of their credibility, and the very strong collateral external testimonies to the truth of the facts therein recorded, which are furnished by natural and civil history, by profane authors (whose evidence is given at length in their own words with suitable comments), and especially by coins, medals, and ancient structures.

The testimonies of Pliny, Celsus, and other enemies of Christianity follow with similar comments. The following

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extract is from the concluding part of the section on the collateral testimonies to the truth of the facts recorded in the Scriptures, which are afforded by coins, medals, and ancient marbles. This sort of testimony may in some degree be considered as a new branch of evidence: for though it has incidentally been noticed by Bishop Marsh in his admirable Lectures, yet we have to thank Mr. Horne for having condensed and brought the whole together in one compendious argument.

"V. In Acts xvi. 11, 12, Luke says,—*'We came to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony.'* This passage has greatly exercised the ingenuity of critics and commentators. It may, more correctly, be thus rendered:—*Philippi, a city of the first part of Macedonia, or of Macedonia Prima*; and this is an instance of minute accuracy, which shews that the author of the Acts of the Apostles actually lived and wrote at that time. The province of Macedonia, it is well known, had undergone various changes, and had been divided into various portions, and particularly four, while under the Roman government. There are extant many medals of the first province, or *Macedonia Prima*, mostly of silver, with the inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ*, or, *the first part of Macedonia*, which confirm the accuracy of Luke, and at the same time shew his attention to the minutest particulars*. It is further worthy of remark, that the historian terms Philippi, a colony. By using the term *κολωνία* (which was originally a Latin word, *colonia*) instead of the corresponding Greek word *αποικία*, he plainly intimates, that it was a Roman colony, which the twenty-first verse certainly proves it to have been. And though the critics were for a long time puzzled to find any express mention of it as such, yet some coins have been discovered in which it is recorded, under this character, particularly one, which explicitly states that Julius Cæsar himself bestowed the dignity and privileges of a colony on the city of Philippi, which were afterwards confirmed and augmented by Augustus. This medal corroborates the character given to this city by Luke, and proves that it had been a colony for many years, though no author or historian but himself, whose writings have reached us, has mentioned it under that character†."

* Of this medal there are engravings in the fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. cclxxiii. plate i. no. 6. and in Taylor's Geographical Index to the Holy Scriptures, article Macedonia, plate, no. 7. In no. 8. of the same plate is a medal of the second Macedonia, or *Macedonia Secunda*. There is no medal published of the third Macedonia, but one of the fourth Macedonia has been engraved by Wielhamer, in his *Animadversiones in Nummos*, &c. p. 44. no. 11. Vienna, 1738. Eckhel has described the medals of Macedonia Prima, Secunda, et Quarta in his *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, vol. ii. p. 64. And Mr. Combe, has described, seven of Macedonia Prima in his '*Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium, qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, Descriptio*,' p. 179.

† Spanheim, *De Usu et Præstantia Numismatum*, dissert. ii. p. 105, 106. fragments to Calmet, No. cclxxiii. plate i. no. 5.

"VI. In Acts xvii. 23. Paul tells the Athenians that as he passed through their city, and beheld the objects of their worship, he found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD (ΑΙΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ.) No altar with this inscription has come down to our times; but we know from the express testimony of Lucian, that there was such an inscription at Athens. And the occasion of this altar being erected, in common with many others, bearing the same inscription is thus related by Diogenes Laertes.—The Athenians, being afflicted with a pestilence, invited Epimenides to lustrate their city. The method adopted by him was, to carry several sheep to the Areopagus; whence they were left to wander as they pleased, under the observation of persons sent to attend them. As each sheep lay down it was sacrificed on the spot to the propitious God. By this ceremony, it is said, the city was relieved: but, as it was still unknown what deity was propitious, an altar was erected to the unknown God on every spot where a sheep had been sacrificed*.

"VII. In Acts xix, 35. the Γραμματις, recorder, chancellor, or town clerk, of Ephesus,—in order to quell the tumult which had been raised there by Demetrius and his workmen, who gained their livelihood by making silver shrines or models of the temple of Diana in that city,—says to the Ephesians, *What man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana?* The original word, ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ, is very emphatic, and properly signifies a person dedicated to the service of some god or goddess, whose peculiar office it was to attend the temple, and see that it was kept clean. Originally, indeed, it signified nothing more than a sweeper of the temple, and answered nearly to our *sacristan*: in process of time the care of the temple was intrusted to this person; and at length the ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΙ, or *Neocori*, became persons of great consequence, and were those who offered sacrifices for the life of the emperor. Whole cities took this appellation†, as appears on many ancient coins and medals; and Ephesus is supposed to have been the first that assumed this title. There is a medal still extant, in which it is given to that city; it exhibits the *pronaos* or front of the temple of Diana; in the centre is an image of the goddess clothed, and around the side and bottom are the words ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ‡. The coincidence furnished by this medal is of that description, that it is sufficient of itself to establish the authenticity of the work, in which the coincidence is found. Besides the testimony furnished by this

* Diogenes Laertius in Epimenide, l. i. c. 10 § S. (tom. i. p. 117—119, ed. Longolii.)

† Philip Rubenius, has written a learned Diatribe de Urbibus Neocoris, which the reader will find in Gravius's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum, tom. xi. pp. 1350—1365.

‡ The medal above noticed is engraved in the Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. cxxvii. p. 42. Concerning the meaning of the word ΔΙΣ, in this medal, antiquaries are not agreed. See Rubenius, p. 1353.

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medal, there is now extant at Ephesus an ancient Greek inscription, on a slab of white marble, which not only confirms the general history related in Acts xix., but even approaches to several sentiments and phrases which occur in that chapter*.

"VIII. Lastly, the triumphal arch erected at Rome by the Senate, and Roman people in honour of the emperor Titus, (which structure is still subsisting, though greatly damaged by the ravages of time) is an undeniable evidence to the truth of the historic accounts, which describe the dissolution of the Jewish state and government, and also relate to the conquest of Jerusalem. This edifice likewise corroborates the description of certain vessels used by the Jews in their religious worship, which is contained in the Old Testament. In this arch, are still distinctly to be seen the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, with a cup upon it, and the trumpets which were used to proclaim the year of Jubilee. And there are extant several medals of Judæa vanquished, in which the conquered country is represented as a desolate female, sitting under a tree, and which afford an extraordinary fulfilment of Isaiah's prediction (iii. 26.) delivered at least *eight hundred* years before, as well as a striking illustration of the first verse of the Lamentations of Jeremiah †." Vol. I. pp. 241.

* The following is Dr. Chandler's Translation of it:—"To the Ephesian Diana. Inasmuch as it is notorious that, not only among the Ephesians, but also every where among the Greek nations, temples are consecrated to her, and sacred portions; and that she is set up, and has an altar dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself; and that besides, the greatest token of the veneration paid her, a month is called after her name; by us Artemision, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, and in their cities, Artemision; in which, general assemblies and Hieromenia are celebrated, but not in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian goddess. The people of Ephesus deeming it proper, that the whole month called by her name be sacred and set apart to the goddess, have determined by this decree, that the observation of it by them be altered. Therefore it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and that nothing be attended to on them, but the yearly feasting, and the Artemisiac Panegyris, and the Hieromenia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess; for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in its prosperity for ever."—The person who obtained this decree, appointed games for the month, augmented the prizes of the contenders, and erected statues of those who conquered. His name is not preserved, but he was probably a Roman, as his kinsman, who provided this record, was named Lucius Phœnius Faustus. The feast of Diana was resorted to yearly by the Ionians, with their families. Dr. Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 134. The original Greek inscription is printed in Dr. C.'s *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 13. no. xxxvi.

† The best engravings of the arch of Titus are to be found in Hadrian Reland's treatise, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani*, in *Arcu Titiano Romæ conspicuis*. Ultrajecti, 1716, 4to. Tolerably well executed copies of Reland's plates may be seen in Schulze's *Compendium Archæologiæ Hebræicæ*, tab. i. ii. iii. p. viii.—x. Dresden, 1793, 8vo.; and also in the Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. cciii. pp. 14—17. The destruction of Jerusalem is also said to be commemorated by an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, 'who by his father's directions and counsel, had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem.'

The discussion of the evidences for the genuineness, authenticity, and credibility of the Old and New Testament being closed, Mr. Horne next proceeds to investigate their claims to be received as divinely inspired productions, by a full view of the arguments afforded by miracles and prophecy, and by the sublimity and excellency of the doctrines and moral precepts revealed in the Bible,—by the harmony subsisting between every part,—the preservation of the Scriptures to the present time,—and their tendency to promote the happiness of mankind, evinced by an historical review of the beneficial effects actually produced in every age and country, by a cordial reception and belief of the Bible;—together with a refutation of the very numerous objections which have been urged against the Scriptures in recent Deistical, or rather Atheistical, productions. An Appendix to this first volume comprises a particular examination of the miracles supposed to have been wrought by the Egyptian magicians, and of the contradictions which are falsely alleged to exist in the Scriptures. This examination is followed by very copious tables of the chief prophecies relative to the Messiah, (with their fulfilment) and by an investigation of the pretensions of the Apocryphal Books, of the Old and New Testament, to be received as canonical. In the last noticed article, the “Apocryphal New Testament,” published by Hone, is minutely analyzed, and its mischievous tendency exposed. The course of argument is here necessarily much the same with that of Mr. Rennell’s masterly tract, which we lately introduced to our readers: but in justice to Mr. Horne we think it right to state, that his observations were published, in his second edition, before Mr. Rennell’s work appeared,

lem, which had never been destroyed by any princes or people before. The following is the inscription alluded to:

IMP. TITO. CÆSAR. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.
VESPASIANO. AUG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO
TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P.
PRINCIPI. SUO. S. P. Q. R.
QUOD. PRÆCEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILISQUE. ET.
AUSPICIS. GENTEM. JUDEORUM. DOMUIT. ET.
URBEM. HIEROSOLYMAM. OMNIBUS. ANTE. SE.
DUCIBUS. REGIBUS. GENTIBUSQUE. AUT. FRUSTRA
PETITAM. AUT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

It is, however, proper to remark, that some doubts have been entertained concerning the genuineness of this inscription. The diligent antiquary, Gruter, (from whom we have copied it,) acknowledges that it is not known where this inscription stood; and that Scaliger is of opinion, that it was the invention of Onufrio Panvinio. See Gruteri Inscriptiones Antiquæ, tom. i. p. ccxliv. no. 6.

who evidently was not apprised of their existence. In reviewing the various investigations, contained in this volume, we have noticed with pleasure the temperate and candid manner in which the author fairly and fully meets the specious and too frequently scurrilous objections of the modern impugnors of the Scriptures. But the whole of the long section, or the objections of unbelievers to the doctrines and morality of the Bible, demands to be especially noticed. In this part of the work, the author has, very properly, avoided mentioning any names: but he has evidently had in view the case of those seditious spirits, who are now justly suffering the punishment of their efforts to subvert the foundations of civil society and good government.

The second volume, which is divided into two parts, treats on the criticism and interpretation of Scripture. The defective arrangement, which we justly censured in the former edition of this part of Mr. Horne's labours, has now given way to an orderly disposition of his materials, in which those two divisions of sacred literature are kept perfectly distinct. The chapters on Manuscripts, and editions of the Old and New Testaments, have been very materially enlarged and corrected, they are illustrated with many well-executed fac-similes. A new and sufficiently copious history of modern Versions, particularly of our admirable authorized English Version, is now given, in conformity with our suggestions. The chapter on various readings has been greatly enlarged, especially in the examples adduced, which before were not sufficiently numerous. The copious and useful tables of quotations from the Old Testament, which occur in the New, (and which, in the first edition, consisted only of references) are now printed at full length, in Hebrew and Greek, accompanied with the corresponding passages of the English Version, and with philological notes. These tables greatly enhance the value of the work from the saving of time and labour which they will produce to biblical students. The construction of them must have cost the author no small portion both of time and labour. In this part of the second volume, we have a new chapter on "Harmonies of the Scriptures:" and the dissertation on Hebrew Poetry, has been re-written and enlarged, chiefly from Bishop Jebb's "Sacred Literature," of which we gave a copious abstract in the fourteenth volume of this Journal. Scripture Interpretation is the subject of the second part of the second volume. It has not been enlarged, but it has been carefully corrected, agreeably to our suggestions; and the notices of Books, which form an Appendix to this vo-

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lane, are greatly improved in point of arrangement as well as information.

In the third volume, (which may be considered almost entirely new) the misplaced and disjointed observations on the Geography of Palestine, and on the political and ecclesiastical state of the Jews, which we noticed in the first edition, are disposed in their proper order, and a due proportion is assigned to each. This volume now contains a summary of Biblical Geography and Antiquities, in four parts, viz.

Part I. includes an outline of the Historical and Physical Geography of the Holy Land.—Part II. treats on the Political and Military Affairs of the Jews, and other nations incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures.—Part III. discusses the Religious or Sacred Affairs of the Jews, arranged under the heads of *Sacred Places, Sacred Persons, Sacred Times and Seasons*, and the *Corruptions of Religion* among the Jews, their idolatry and various sects, together with a description of their moral and religious state in the time of Jesus Christ.—Part IV. discusses the Private Life, Manners, Customs, Amusements, &c. of the Jews and other nations, incidentally mentioned or alluded to in the Holy Scriptures.—An Appendix to this third volume contains (besides Chronological and other Tables of Weights and Measures) a Geographical Index of the principal places mentioned in the Bible, especially in the New Testament; including an abstract of profane oriental history, from the time of Solomon to the captivity, illustrative of the history of the Hebrews as referred to in the prophetic writings, and presenting historical notices of the Assyrian, Chaldee, Median; and Persian empires.

The author professes to have attempted only a *sketch* of Biblical Geography and Antiquities in this third volume. His pages, however, are so ample, and so well filled, that, though we cannot pronounce them to contain a *complete* system of Hebrew antiquities, yet few *really essential* topics have been omitted. In executing this volume, we think it but just to state, that the author has left no source of information unexplored. The recent, numerous, and in many instances expensive volumes of travels, and other works relative to the eastern parts of the world, which have thrown such a flood of light on the sacred writings, have been diligently examined; and the results of their author's learned researches have been compressed into a very small compass.

Few of our classical readers can be strangers to the eminent intellectual acquirements of the great Apostle of the

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Gentiles, St. Paul, and to the singular felicity with which he illustrates important truths, by allusions to circumstances that occur in common life. The chapter on the Military Affairs of the Jews and Romans, contains many happy elucidations of this sort; but it is too long to extract entire, and it would suffer by abridgment. The same remark will apply to the learned and entertaining description which our author gives of the Olympic Games, from which St. Paul has drawn so many beautiful allusions, and animating examples.

The fourth volume, (the second of the first edition) contains the very complete analysis of the Bible, of which we have already expressed our approbation *. The disquisition on 1 John v. 7. has been very carefully re-written; and the evidence for and against the controverted clause is exhibited with great impartiality.

For the possessors of the *first* edition, a most ample Supplement of nearly nine hundred pages has been printed: and those, who have the *second* edition, may render their copies little inferior to the *third*, by procuring the "Supplementary Pages," which comprize all the material additions contained in the latter. These supplementary pages are so commodiously printed, as to admit of being inserted in the respective volumes to which they belong. Among them is a concise Index or Dictionary of the symbolical language of Scripture, drawn up from the best writers who have treated on this difficult subject. Though it fills only eighteen closely printed pages, it has evidently cost the author much time and labour.

The length of the preceding analysis will sufficiently mark the opinion we entertain of these well executed, and with very few exceptions, accurately printed volumes. We cordially recommended the work on its first appearance, with all the imperfections necessarily incident to a first edition: and the demand for two editions, within the space of one year, sufficiently indicates the high estimation in which Mr. Horne's "Introduction" is held by the public. It has been recommended to students by the regius and other divinity professors of the Universities of Oxford, and Dublin; and it has been adopted as a text book in the University of Princetown, (New Jersey) in North America

* See BARR. CRIT. Vol. xi. p. 616.

ART. VIII. *A Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on Thursday the 24th of October, 1822. By William Magee, D.D. M.R.I.A., &c. Archbishop of Dublin. Second Edition. T. Cadell. 1822.*

WE earnestly bespeak the attention of the public, to our present article. We regret that we have been prevented by unavoidable circumstances, from placing it the *first* on the list for our present Number. It will be found to refer to transactions of no ordinary public importance. The best and dearest interests of our established RELIGION, are now assailed by its enemies, in a manner unexampled within the memory of the oldest person living. We will not, *at such a crisis*, defer the performance of our duty, in exposing to our readers, and endeavouring to bring under the notice of PARLIAMENT, and of the loyal body of this great Protestant NATION, *some* of the most dangerous of the assaults to which we have alluded.

We wish not to detain our readers at present by further preface, from the important subjects to be brought before them. But we cannot proceed to make any remark upon the Charge described in the title of this article, without having previously paid the homage of our unfeigned respect, to the venerated Prelate by whom that Charge was delivered.

Widely as the pure doctrines of the Church of England are taught, is the high professional character of the great author of the work on the Atonement known and revered. The honourable report of his virtues, is co-extended with the fame of his learning and talents. We should examine any production of *such* a man, under any circumstances, with great respect for the celebrated author, and the highest expectation of the intrinsic merit of his work. But in contemplating the late Charge of that most distinguished Prelate to the Clergy of his dioceses, and the peculiar and difficult circumstances under which the Charge was addressed to them; we have found more to excite the admiration, and to demand the gratitude of all true friends of the Established religion, even than our warmest anticipations had suggested. We do not say this lightly. Some reasons for the assertion, will appear in the sequel.

The Charge before us, immediately exhibits to the reader, one striking character of the comprehensive and powerful mind which produced it. Though happily adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the dioceses, for whose benefit it

was more immediately intended ; it is, at the same time, a Charge for every diocese in Ireland ; nay, we will add, a Charge, the greater part of which may be applied with signal benefit, to every diocese of the united CHURCH. But, however important it is, on account of the excellent instruction it contains, it has become not less so on account of *most seasonable discoveries*, which it has been the occasion of producing. To these *discoveries*, deeply interesting and important at the present crisis, we shall direct the attention of the public, in this article, reserving a more regular review of his Grace's Charge, for a future Number.

If the Archbishop of DUBLIN, instead of being a bright luminary of the Church, had been a man of ordinary talents and ordinary professional character, he might, without the risk of being held up by artful incendiaries, as an object for the peculiar animosity of their partizans and their dupes, have performed his bounden duty, of admonishing his Clergy to guard the sacred deposit of our religion, against the attacks of its enemies. He might then, as many prelates and divines of our reformed Church had done before him, have adverted to the fundamental errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, without being *singled out* by *Bishops* and *Priests* of that Church, as a *peculiar* mark, for the resentment of all the members of their communion, whose minds they can inflame against him. But when *such* a man, in such a station, and at such a crisis, stands forward the inflexible and intrepid guardian of the pure established RELIGION, against its overbearing enemies : When he delivers in the capital of his country an admonition, which, from the great and extensive influence it must possess with the established Clergy and with members of our Church in general, may present a powerful obstacle to the success of long cherished plans for the subversion of the Church—plans, which appeared to their confident authors, to be fast ripening for execution in Ireland ; we are not to be surprised at his Grace's being immediately assailed, with peculiar animosity by those, whose ardent hope of the overthrow of our Church, his zeal and firmness, his talents and virtues, his learning and pre-eminent character, his exalted station and high authority, all combine to disappoint.

We were not therefore astonished when we heard that parts of the late Charge of the Archbishop of DUBLIN, were attacked with peculiar warmth by sanguine Romish ecclesiastics ; and that, in the ardent zeal of their hostility to our establishment, they even ventured to direct some part of their censure against his Grace himself. It was obvious that such attacks

were *really* levelled against our RELIGION, though profess-
edly directed only against a particular Charge, and against
the great Prelate who delivered it. But, little were we pre-
pared to find so malignant and violent, so daring and
dangerous a spirit, as that, which (most seasonably, we trust,
for the pure established religion and the public welfare) has
discovered itself, in the proceedings of Romish bishops and
priests in Ireland, against the Archbishop of Dublin.

Before we shall state to our readers, the *discoveries* to
which we have alluded, as resulting from his Grace's Charge,
we beg to call their attention to a view, 1st, of the circum-
stances under which the Charge was delivered; 2dly, to the
necessity that existed for the admonition, which his Grace
addressed to his Clergy, to support their reformed religion
against its Romish assailants in Ireland; 3dly, to the plain
meaning, and to the strict truth and moderation, of the *pas-
sage* in the admonition, which certain Irish bishops and
priests of the Church of Rome, have selected as the chief
alleged ground of their attack.

It is very remarkable, that at the various periods, in which
the Romish hierarchy and priesthood have appeared to *ap-
proach* to the attainment of their great object, possession of
the *political power* which they seek in these countries, they,
or some of their body, have, in the ardour of their zeal, suf-
fered discoveries to escape from them, which contributed to
prevent the accomplishment of their wishes. In the con-
fident expectation of the immediate possession of the *certain
means* of extensive influence and power in England, and even
of *dominion* in Ireland, they have been betrayed into an ex-
posure of their dangerous principles and views; notwithstand-
ing their former liberal, and moderate, and tolerant profes-
sions.

In the year 1816, the *Roman Catholic Question*, as it is
called, almost passed the House of Lords. It was then re-
jected, but by a majority of *four* Peers. And about that pe-
riod, the passing of the question appeared to be so highly
probable, and to approach so near, that a well known parlia-
mentary supporter of the measure, publicly congratulated
the Irish Roman Catholics, in a letter to Mr. HAY the
Secretary of their *Board*, on the certainty of their "complete
success" after "a few months." Now let it be remem-
bered, that at this very period, Father GANDOLPHY (formerly
of *Stoneyhurst* in Lancashire, we believe; and either a Jesuit,
or particularly attached to that fraternity) did, in his over-
confident zeal, imprudently *let out* the Popish system, as

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now maintained by the Romish priesthood in these countries. And, be it also remembered, that at the *very same period*, while Father GANDOLPHY with premature ardour was *thus* at work in England, his brethren of the popish hierarchy and priesthood in Ireland seemed to be similarly engaged. The intolerant and persecuting *Rhemish Notes* were *then* revived and published in that country! How far the Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests in Ireland were responsible for the revival and circulation of that shocking instrument of persecution, shall be very briefly considered in the course of this article. At present we wish to make some remarks on the seasonable exposure which took place in ENGLAND, through the confident zeal of Father GANDOLPHY.

The Romish Bishop, Dr. POYNTER, much more cautious than the Priest Mr. Gandolphy, soon perceived that the open avowal made by the latter, of the most dangerous and persecuting principles, as being still maintained by the Church of *Rome*, might contribute to defeat the then approaching suit of Roman Catholics to Parliament, for political power in these countries. How then was Bishop POYNTER to remove the danger? He well knew that all those persecuting principles were still maintained by his Church; and that they had in a great degree ceased to operate, only because his Church had not the *power* to carry them into execution. He also well knew (for what Roman Catholic Bishop in these countries is there, who does not know it?) that the passing of the measure of concession would naturally lead in *Ireland* at least, to a state of things, in which the *Romish Church in that country* might *there* have the *power* of acting upon those principles. How then, we say, was Bishop POYNTER to remove the danger, occasioned by Father GANDOLPHY's premature exposure of the principles and views of the Romish Hierarchy and Priesthood? He adopted the following scheme. He privately censured some passages of Mr. Gandolphy's works, *not* on account of their intolerant and persecuting nature, but on account of their being *too accommodating to the heretical Protestants!* And he *suspended* Father GANDOLPHY. When this Roman Catholic Priest's works were *soon after* referred to in the House of Commons, in the debate on the popish question, as proofs of the intolerant and persecuting spirit of his Church; a member rose, (according to the private instruction he had previously received from the proper Roman Catholic quarter) to assure Parliament, that *the works referred to had been condemned*, and that their author was *then under the censure of the Church*. The member who

thus spoke, and generally those who heard him, really believed that the works were condemned, and their author censured, on account of the persecuting nature of the principles which they contained. And Bishop Poynter's censures of poor Mr. Gandolphy, which were founded *only on such secret objections* as we have described, were blindly advanced by Parliamentary Advocates of concession, amidst cries of *hear him! hear him!* as a triumphant argument, in refutation of the intolerance attributed to the Popish Church in these countries! However, Father Gandolphy took care to vindicate himself. He obtained repeated and decisive sanctions of his works, from the highest authority at Rome: and from the Papal palace it was officially announced, that the sermons of "this most distinguished and well deserving Defender of Religion," which "as far as it was possible to succeed, rendered the *Articles of the Catholic Faith clearer than the Light*," "were worthy of being cased in cedar and gold." These sermons were afterwards gladly received and circulated, amongst the Roman Catholic Priesthood in Ireland, and Mr. Gandolphy in one of his published letters declared, that a letter was "addressed to him, by one of the *most eminent* and learned Prelates of the *Irish Church*" (thus our Jesuits describe the Church of Rome in Ireland) "in which *he*" the said most eminent Prelate of "the *Irish Church*," pronounced "that Mr. Gandolphy's sermons are an *invaluable treasure*; and expressed a wish, that every Priest of his diocese might supply himself with a copy of them."

But, as we observed, while Father Gandolphy was prematurely *letting out* the *system*, in England; some of the Popish Hierarchy and Priesthood in Ireland, in *their* confidence and overweening zeal, thought it high time to revive and republish the inflammatory and persecuting *Rhemish Notes*. This, perhaps the most mischievous production that ever issued from the Popish press, was *then* published in Ireland in *numbers*, for more speedy and general circulation amongst the Roman Catholics. It continued for some time to be circulated, before the danger was known to the Protestant people of these countries. But, in a year or little more after its publication, having received intelligence of the danger, we performed our duty to our Protestant KING and Protestant fellow-subjects, in fully exposing the shocking instrument of Romish persecution. The Irish Romish Bishop Dr. Troy and his brethren took fright. Here was another exposure of their principles and views, which might defeat their next application for *power* to carry those views into effect in Ireland. Dr. Troy's *especial sanction*

had been regularly given to the publication of the *Rhemish Notes*, by an eminent Roman Catholic Priest, whom he selected and deputed for the purpose of examining the publication, and if proper, of approving of it in his name. The names also of Dr. O'Reilly the Roman Catholic titular Archbishop of Armagh, of Dr. Murray, the Romish Archiepiscopal coadjutor of Dr. Troy in Dublin, of a number of other Popish Prelates and Dignitaries in Ireland; to which were added, in *GLOBO*, nearly *three hundred* Irish Popish Priests; were printed in the *title pages* of the *numbers* in which the *Rhemish Notes* were circulated, as "*patronizing*" the work. And with *these title pages*, did the *numbers* continue, for upwards of a year, to be circulated amongst the Roman Catholics in the face of all their Bishops and Priests; and yet not a word of censure was heard from any one of their Ecclesiastics against it, until (as we have stated) in consequence of the exposure in our *Review*, Dr. Troy and his brethren *took fright*, lest their views of obtaining the means of dominion in Ireland, should be defeated.

As in England the dispute between Bishop Poynter and Father Gandolphy brought out the *secret* of the conduct and motives of the former, which we have stated: so in Ireland a dispute between Bishop Troy, and a Mr. Coyne the Roman Catholic bookseller, who published the *Rhemish Notes*, exhibited to the public, Bishop Troy's conduct and views on the occasion to which we *now* refer. But we shall not dwell longer on the subject, than to say, that Bishop Troy sent for the bookseller, that he had a *private* conversation with him, that he assigned to him as the reason (and it was the *only* reason he assigned) for his being *then* dissatisfied with the publication, that it had *found its way into England* and "*armed our enemies*" (as he called them) "*against us*" and just "*at the time when we were seeking Emancipation*;" that Bishop Troy spoke thus, holding in his hand the vile *tell-tale British Critic*; that he forthwith published, as in policy bound, something which he called a censure of the *Rhemish Notes*, but which was ambiguous and evasive, and did not *specify and condemn* any one of the persecuting *principles* therein avowed; that at the Roman Catholic *Board* also, there were speeches made against the *Rhemish Notes*; that it was *there* declared that they had produced such a sensation in *ENGLAND*, that there was no chance of the Roman Catholic question being carried while that sensation should continue, and that the impression injurious to the Romish cause, which they made in *ENGLAND*, should immediately be removed; that a *Committee* of the *Board*, was accordingly appointed on

the 18th of December 1817, "to prepare a disavowal of the bigoted and intolerant *doctrines* contained in the Notes to the Rhemish Bible," which disavowal was to be "as direct, as explicit, as positive, and as complete, as possible." (How different then it must have been from Bishop Troy's, *if it had ever been prepared!*) that it was declared at the Board, that there was "not a moment to be lost;" but that the Catholics should with one voice disclaim those very odious *doctrines*;" that all this took place at the Board in December 1817, and yet that the promised disavowal of those same *very odious doctrines*, has never since made its appearance; but that within a few days after the Roman Catholic Board had ventured to pass their resolution to disavow them, it was announced in the newspaper of the Popish priesthood in Ireland, that the Board was "*extinct*"—and to this hour, it has not been revived. Here the business rested. The Rhemish Notes were laid by, not to be used by the Popish Priesthood, at least until a more fit time might arrive: the *sword was sheathed*; and we earnestly hope, that the convenient season may never arrive for its being *drawn again*.

In the following year, the Roman Catholic leaders did not think it prudent to bring on their question in Parliament. They appear to have been deterred from doing so, by the impression, which the exposure of the Rhemish Notes produced. Afterwards, when that impression was rendered more faint by lapse of time, they came forward again with their Suit to Parliament.

The Accession to Administration of some of their Supporters, which took place in 1821, and particularly the appointment of the Marquis WELLESLEY to the Government of Ireland, inspired them with new confidence. His Excellency has taken an opportunity of *endeavouring* to correct extravagant expectations; by informing the Roman Catholics, that he came to Ireland, "*not to ALTER, but administer the LAWS*"—to administer the Laws, in equal justice and impartial mercy, to ALL who are subject to his government. Roman Catholic agitators, however, began to imagine (and they still *appear* to entertain the expectation!) that the Political power which they sought, was almost within their grasp, and immediately, as on former occasions, the premature ebullitions of a *most dangerous zeal* appeared, and gave warning to the Protestant Public. The exposition of prophecies in the Revelation of St. John, by the popish Bishop WALMESLEY, under the signature of *Pastorini*, was circulated through Ireland, principally amongst the Roman Catholic

Populace. In this *, the Romish Peasantry of Ireland, were assured. that "Luther opened the Bottomless Pit, or Gates of Hell: that a strong Spirit of Seduction, which had been hatched in Hell, and had the Devil for its Parent, at *Luther's* opening Hell's Door, immediately "burst out:" that from the Smoke of the Abyss *opened by Luther*, was generated the swarm of "*Locusts*" mentioned in the Revelation; and that the real meaning of the Revelation is, that then "the spirit of seduction denoted by the smoke of the Abyss, raised up a number of *Sectaries*, or *Reformers* as they call themselves:"—that "Luther was first intoxicated with this delusive spirit, then Calvin, Cranmer and many others:" that "*Heretics*" (as all voluntary, sincere, and stedfast Protestants are held to be by the Roman Church) "are compared to *Locusts*, as Saint Jerome says,—because *Locusts* are a species of insects *extremely hurtful to Mankind*:" that the "*infernal Spirit*," who "was prompter and King of the Reformation and Reformers" is the *Abaddon* of the Revelation, "or exterminator, destroyer;" and that really one should "lament the misfortune of PROTESTANTS, in voluntarily admitting over them such a king, and enlisting under *his* Banner:" but that happily the destruction of *Protestantism* is approaching; and that the overthrow of that work of the *Devil*, and kingdom of the infernal destroying spirit, is, *according to the Revelation*, to take place before the end of the year 1825.

It must be wholly unnecessary for us, to describe to our readers, the *terrible influence*, which, *such* instruction, on the authority of the REVELATION, must have had over the unenlightened minds of the Sanguine Irish Roman Catholic Populace. The Public may have read some of its horrible effects, in the accounts of atrocities committed not long after the period we refer to: and they may have lately read the *proofs* of the sanguinary and most dreadful *Conspiracy* amongst the Romish Populace in Ireland, *to the extension of which, that mischievous instruction was mainly instrumental*. They may have read, in the Reports of late trials and convictions of Irish Roman Catholics of the *lower order*, proofs that a *horrid conspiracy* has, for two or three years, existed amongst *that class* in Ireland; and that the objects of that *horrid conspiracy* were, the overthrow of the Government, the substitution of a *Popish* Government, and the EXTIRPATION OF ALL THE PROTESTANTS, in that country!

* We quote from the Popish Bishop Walmesley's book. We have not seen the Copy of his exposition which was circulated in Ireland.

This frightful conspiracy has been regularly organized. The whole *system* acted on by the conspirators, was precisely similar to the Machinery which was made use of, in the Rebellion of 1798, and which was borrowed from the *French* Revolution. It has appeared, that this conspiracy has been spread to a considerable extent, in each of the Provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and even of Ulster; and that its *wide* extension over the populous Province of *Munster* is peculiarly terrific.

A pernicious auxiliary to such horrible proceedings, was found in a set of inflammatory pamphlets, published by an Irish *Friar* of the name of *Hayes*. This Incendiary called his pamphlets *Sermons*, and actually preached them from the Romish Pulpit in Dublin! Their *tendency* was of a nature perilous to the tranquillity of the Country, and to the security of the Protestants. They were calculated to excite in the breasts of the Irish Roman Catholic Populace, the most dangerous feelings against their protestant fellow-countrymen.

And yet, in the course of the last year, not less than *fifty thousand* copies of these inflammatory pamphlets were publicly circulated amongst the Irish Roman Catholic Populace—a fact, which, while it shews the danger to be apprehended and to be guarded against; at the same time *demonstrates* the countenance, if not the sanction, given to the publication and circulation of those mischievous productions, by the popish Hierarchy and Priesthood in Ireland.

Now, in consequence of the proceedings and events in Ireland, during the last few years, of which we have given a concise history; and particularly in consequence of the sanguinary and most horrible conspiracy, which was detected in the *last year*, and which was found to have been considerably aided and promoted by the circulation of the popish Bishop Walmesley's production from which we have given some extracts; very general feelings of awe and apprehension have, for some time past, pervaded the Protestants in Ireland; and particularly all those, who are truly attached to the Sacred Religion they profess. The Established Clergy throughout the Country, saw with grief and alarm, the inflammatory *Sermons* of Friar *Hayes*, and the pernicious effusions of the Romish Bishop Walmesley, widely circulating amongst the Roman Catholic Populace. They began to feel that their personal safety might be endangered, if they were to maintain, as their duty would dictate, the great distinguishing doctrines of the PROTESTANT FAITH, and to assert the sacred rights of their Church. They hear of the atrocious and widely extended conspiracy formed amongst the Roman Catholic Po-

pulace. Their apprehensions are increased. The consideration, not only of personal convenience, but of personal security, now more strongly suggests to them a temporizing—cautious silence, on the great doctrines which distinguish the reformed RELIGION from the corrupt system of *Rome*. They now feel, that they may best consult their own personal safety, by abandoning the defence of the PROTESTANT FAITH, and leaving it unprotected by its Ministers amidst the growing dangers that assail it. Under such circumstances which of them was to step forward, to give an example to the rest, of a courageous though temperate discharge of sacred duty, in defiance of impending danger? However admirable the conduct of any particular clergyman might be, his example would want notoriety and influence. In this awful state of things, the whole Body of the established Clergy of Ireland, required some warning voice, sufficiently powerful, to excite them to those *energetic exertions* in their sacred office, which the surrounding perils demanded. And if there live a man in Ireland, whose integrity and virtues, whose great name and mighty genius, as well as his High Office, and his Station in the Capital, rendered him capable of sounding such a warning, with commanding—with saving efficacy,—that man is the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

What would have been the natural consequence, if such a man, at such an awful Crisis, in delivering his first solemn admonition to his Clergy—an admonition, which, he must have known, would be read with intense interest by all the established Clergy of the country—had omitted to exhort them to defend the purity of their Religion, against its Romish assailants? The established Clergy throughout Ireland, would then feel a new and strong motive, for silent submission to the dangerous and overbearing encroachments of the Church of *Rome*. Finding that even the Archbishop of Dublin (and *that* Archbishop one of the most renowned of all the defenders of their Church) was silent on the subject, at a *crisis so alarming*, declaring in the Cathedral of the Metropolis, and in the discharge of his solemn duty to his KING, his COUNTRY, and his GOD, those rules of conduct, which the established Clergy of his Dioceses, and indeed of Ireland in general, were bound to follow; finding, that even HE under such circumstances, and in the comparative security of the Capital, did not venture to deliver an admonition, of the necessity of maintaining the PROTESTANT FAITH, against the menacing and perilous attempts of the Church of *Rome*, in Ireland; but that from some timid, some selfish or private motives, he cautiously abstained from uttering a word in

support of our pure religion, against her confident and overbearing Romish assailants ; the Established Clergy of Ireland, might naturally be induced, to observe a similar species of caution, in their respective spheres of duty. Even the most courageous, and upright, and zealous of the Body, surrounded by a Roman Catholic populace in the Country, might then indeed be disheartened. The alarm and depression, which we have described, as pervading the Protestants of Ireland, especially those who are most truly and strongly attached to their Religion, would be most lamentably—most dangerously, increased ; Romish Enemies of the PROTESTANT FAITH in Ireland, would receive new encouragement, in their artful practices, and overbearing attacks against it ; and the perils which surround the Established Church in that Country, might be awfully augmented.

We say then, (and we have not a doubt that the Protestant Public will entirely agree with us) that from the peculiar circumstances, under which the late Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin was delivered, there did exist a necessity for his Grace's admonishing the Clergy, to support the reformed Religion against its Romish assailants, in Ireland. And now, we shall briefly lay before our readers, the *third* subject to be submitted to them, namely—the plain meaning, and the strict truth and moderation of the *expressions* used by the Archbishop, in the *admonition*, which, under the pressing necessity of the case, his Grace felt it his bounden duty to deliver.

Referring to the Romish opponents of the Established Church, in Ireland, he described them as “possessing a Church, without what *We* can *properly* call a Religion.” This expression of his Grace, was immediately selected, by certain Irish Popish Bishops and Priests, as a pretence for their most virulent attacks against him. In their sudden alarm, lest their confident hope of overpowering the Protestant Church in Ireland, might be disappointed through the zeal and talents and commanding influence, of so great and powerful a vindicator of our Religion ; they immediately proceeded, by *misquoting* his Grace's words, and *most grossly and shamefully misrepresenting his meaning*, to excite the violent animosity of the Roman Catholic populace against him ; and by all the arts of calumny and intimidation, to endeavour to silence, if possible, the mightiest defender of the PROTESTANT CHURCH in Ireland, whom a gracious PROVIDENCE has granted to her, in this her day of necessity. But, they knew not the invincible spirit of the man,

whom they hoped to intimidate from the upright discharge of his sacred duties.

His Grace's *words* in the passage, used as a chief pretext for attacking him, have been stated, and his *meaning* is evident. "The Romish opponents of our faith," said he, "possess a Church, without what *we* can *properly* call a Religion." In other words, *their* religious system, considered as a *whole system*, is *not* what *we* ministers of the established Church, who have subscribed to the Articles of our Church, and are bound to maintain those articles, can call a Religion, *strictly* and *properly* speaking. This was the *obvious* meaning of his Grace; and, it is as evident and certain a truth as ever was uttered. The Article prefixed to the word "Religion," (as was justly observed in one of our constitutional journals) would plainly shew, *if it could be requisite to offer any proof of it*, that his Grace referred to the religious system of the Church of Rome, as a *whole* system, and not to every one of its parts separately considered. But, concerning some of the *chief parts* of that system, what says our Church in her Articles? It describes one chief part, as "*blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits*," another, that it "cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety." What say the Homilies of our Church, referring to the image-worship practised in the Church of Rome? they admonish and warn us to "flee from all *idolatry*:" they declare, that

"Our image maintainers and worshippers have used, and use the same outward rites and manner of honouring and worshipping their images, as the Gentiles did use before their idols; and that, therefore, they commit *idolatry* as well inwardly and outwardly as did the wicked Gentile idolaters;" and again, referring to the Sacrament of the Communion. "What hath been the cause of the ruin of God's RELIGION, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this *mummish massing*, but the ignorance hereof? Let us so travel to understand the Lord's Supper, that we be no cause of the decay of God's worship, of no *idolatry*, of no *dumb massing*."

We have adduced these passages, for no other reason, than to shew, how *much more moderate*, the expression of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, according to its plain and evident meaning, was, than the expressions used in the Homilies, and even in the Articles of the Church. Are "*blasphemous fables*," "*dangerous deceits*," or idolatrous ceremonies, parts of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, strictly and properly speaking? Is a system, of which they constitute parts, to be called, as a *whole system*, strictly and properly, the

Christian Religion? most evidently not. And, therefore, it is clear as the light, that no minister, or member of the Church of England can consistently with the Articles of the Church, which he receives as conformable to the Scriptures of God, call the whole religious system of the Church of *Rome*, properly speaking, "a Religion." And, in stating, as we do after the Archbishop, this most evident truth, we request the public attention to the mildness and moderation of the expression, compared with the expressions in the Articles and Homilies of our reformed Church.

The Archbishop did not say, that there were not *parts* of the religious system of the Church of *Rome*, which were not *properly* parts of the Christian Religion; he did not even say, that they had not, *in their religious system*, the essentials and fundamentals of Christianity; he did not say, (and we earnestly request our readers to attend to this point) he did not say, that members of the Church of Rome have "no Religion," or that they have "no religious principles;" his Grace said no such thing. But his Grace, alluding to certain corruptions introduced into the Romish system, the character of some of which corruptions, as given in our Articles, has been stated; alluding to those corruptions, and especially to the *fundamental error* by which those and other corruptions have been maintained, merely said, that the system of which *they* form a part, cannot consistently be called by the Clergy of the Established Church, as *a whole system*, properly speaking, the Christian Religion. And, now we beg to ask any Protestant, be he Churchman or Dissenter, whether he can call *that* "the Christian Religion" (strictly and properly speaking), which denounces him, if he be a voluntary, sincere, and steadfast professor of his FAITH, as an *heretic*, an *enemy* to the REDEEMER, a servant of Satan, accursed of GOD, and justly doomed to Heaven's eternal vengeance? and if he cannot; can *he properly* call the system of which *this* forms a part, (*as a whole system*) the Christian Religion?

We say then, that the meaning, the truth, and moderation of his Grace's expression, as it was announced even before the authorized report of his Charge was published, are perfectly evident. But, in the authorized publication of the Charge, we find *that* clear and true, and moderate meaning, more fully stated; and, we find it remarked by the Archbishop, that "there are preserved" in the Roman Catholic religious system, "though mixed with rubbish, and much tarnished," *some of the "sterling treasures of religion."* It is also observed by his Grace, that the expression to which we have so particularly referred, "only speaks the language

of the REFORMATION, and merely gives in a few words, that which every *sincere* Protestant must maintain*." We entirely agree, that it gives in a few words, that which every *sincere* Protestant must maintain; but at the same time, we decidedly state, that it speaks a language much more mild and moderate, than was the language of the Reformation. Do we entertain a wish, that his Grace had adopted exactly the species of language to which we allude? far otherwise. We rejoice at the Christian moderation, which he shewed, in his zealous discharge of his high duty, without abandoning the defence of our RELIGION against her overbearing assailants—"without compromising vital principles."

The Archbishop also observes, in the first note to his Charge, that the expression on which we have so fully dwelt, "has given offence." Yet we think it will appear certain and evident, that it was not *that* expression, or *any* other particular expression of his Grace which really gave the offence; but the fact, that he stood forward the defender of our Protestant Religion in Ireland, in her day of necessity, against her overbearing Romish assailants. *This* it was, which gave *the offence* to certain Romish Bishops and Priests in Ireland, who immediately made the expression which we have stated, and a few more expressions of minor importance on which it is wholly unnecessary to dwell here, the *pretext* for every measure they could adopt, in order, if possible, to intimidate and to silence the great Prelate of the Irish metropolis; and thus, to deter the established Clergy of the country from following his bright example, and from obeying his salutary admonition.

We shall proceed to draw the attention of the Protestant Public to the *discoveries*, which we have promised to lay before them, as resulting from the Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin. But we request them to remember, that in the Rhemish Notes, of whose revival and circulation in Ireland we have given an account, it is declared that—

"Our *Protestants* shall find all definitions and marks of an *Heretic*, to fall upon themselves," that "the Church of God" (meaning the Romish Church) "calling the *Protestants* doctrine '*Heresy*,' in the worst part that can be, and in the worst sort that ever was, doth right and most justly," that "the *new pretended Church service of England* is . . . † in schism and heresy, and therefore not only unprofitable, but also damnable," that as "*HE*" (our Saviour) "could

* Page 45.

† Any omissions in our quotations, are only for brevity. We do not, in the slightest degree, exaggerate the pernicious meaning of the original.

not abide to see the temple of God profaned," even by business otherwise lawful and honest, "how much less can *HE* abide the profaning of the Churches now with *heretical* service, and preaching of *heresy* and *blasphemy*!"—that "it is the proper description of *Heretics* to forsake their former faith, and to be apostates,—to give ear to *particular spirits* of error and deception, rather than to the spirit of Christ in *his Church*,—to follow in *hypocrisy* and *shew of virtue*, the *pernicious doctrine* of DEVILS, who are the suggesters and prompters of all sects, and are *lying spirits* in the mouths of all *Heretics* and *false preachers*," . . . that "howsoever *Heretics* pretend, . . . by the apostle's own testimony, *we*," (observe, *We*, the popish priesthood, and all who shall believe *Us*—all true members of *our Church*) "*We* are warranted so to judge of them, as of men, that indeed, have no religion, nor conscience." It is not, that they have not what *We* can properly call a Religion, but that even, by the apostle's testimony! "*We* are warranted to judge of them as of men that, however they pretend, in deed, have no Religion nor conscience,"—that "in such times and places where the community, or most part, are infected, necessity often forceth the faithful to converse with such in worldly affairs, to salute them, to eat and speak with them; and the Church by decree of Council, for the more quietness of timorous consciences, provideth that they incur not excommunication or other censures, for communicating in worldly affairs with any in this kind, except they be by name excommunicated, or declared to be *Heretics*; yet even in worldly conversation and secular acts of life, we must avoid them as much as we may, because their familiarity is many ways contagious and noisome to good men, namely, to the simple; but, in matters of religion, in praying, reading their books, hearing their sermons, presence at their service, partaking of their Sacraments, and all other communicating with them in spiritual things, it is a great and damnable sin to deal with them,"—that St. Jerome "useth the place, wherein the apostle (St. Paul, Gal. 1. viii.) giveth the curse or anathema to all false teachers, not once but twice, to prove that the zeal of Catholic men (who are according to the popish priesthood, members of the Church of Rome exclusively) ought to be so great towards all *Heretics*, and their doctrines, that they should give them the anathema, though they were never so dear unto them; in which case, saith this holy Doctor, I would not spare mine own parents,"—that when St. Paul says, (1 Cor. 16.) "If any love not our Lord Jesus Christ, be he anathema," it is "to say away with him! accursed be he! beware you accompany not with him!"—and that "the Church and Holy Councils use the word" (anathema,) "for a curse and excommunication against *heretics*, and other notorious offenders and blasphemers:"—that *heresy* and the like damnable revolts from the Church of God, is no more than a rebellion and disobedience to the Priests of God's Church:" that "this disobedience and rebellion from the Spiritual Governor, under pretence of obedience to

the temporal, is the bane of our days*, and especially of our country:" that, "whoever taketh upon him to preach without lawful sending, and to administer Sacraments, and is not canonically ordained by a true Catholic Bishop," (meaning a Bishop of the Church of Rome,) "to be a curate of souls, parson, bishop, or what other spiritual pastor soever, and cometh not in by lawful election and Holy Church's ordinance," (meaning ordinance of the Church of Rome,) "to that dignity, but breaketh in against order, or by force or favour of men, and by human laws, he is a thief and a murderer:" that "so came in Arius, Calvin, Luther, and all heretics; and all that succeed them in room and doctrine; and generally every one that descendeth not by lawful succession, in the known or ordinary line of Catholic," (confining the epithet to Romish,) "Bishops and Pastors;" that "of all things, Christian People," (especially Bishops,) "should have great zeal against heretics; and hate them; (that is, their wicked doctrine and conditions,) even as God hateth them: for which only zeal, our Lord saith, . . . that He beareth with some Churches and Prelates, and saveth them from perishing:" that "He," (the Son of God,) "warneth Bishops to be zealous and stout against false prophets and heretics, by alluding covertly," (in Rev. ii. 20.) "to the example of holy Elias, that in zeal killed four hundred and fifty false prophets of Jezebel; and spared not Achab nor Jezebel themselves, but told them to their faces, that they troubled Israel, that is, the faithful people of God;" (the Popish Priests always distinguish the members of their Church as exclusively 'the faithful,' and exclusively 'Catholics!') that though 'the good must tolerate the evil, when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed, without danger and disturbance to the whole Church, and commit the matter to God's judgment in the latter day;' yet "where ill men, (be they heretics or other malefactors,) may be punished or suppressed, without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed;" that "in short time God detecteth them" viz. heretics, "and openeth the eyes of men to see their deceits . . . all wise men, in a manner seeing their falsehood; though for troubling the state of such commonwealth, where un luckily they have been received, they cannot be suddenly extirpated;"—that "the word Roman is added to Catholic, where sects do abound, for the better distinction of true believers, and heretics, which in all ages did hate and abhor the Roman faith and Church, as all malefactors do their judges and correctors."

Let the public also remember, that Father Gandolphy in

* Though this was originally published by Queen Mary's Popish Priests, during the reign of Elizabeth, it can scarcely be necessary to observe, that the great bulk of the Irish Roman Catholics, would naturally apply it to their own time, and their own country.

his *Sermons*, "fit to be cased in cedar and gold," published precisely similar principles: that he defended the Inquisition—that he contrasted himself and the other Popish Priests, with the Protestant Clergy, as *Elijah* with the *false Priests of Baal*: that he calls upon Christians to *anathematize* all Protestant Preachers, applying to them the denunciation of Scripture —

"Let him be *anathema*!" and adding, "Christians, give ear to this *solemn imprecation* of the Apostle; and know, that as the word of truth, it shall be ratified at the last day, to the eternal confusion of those who teach, as well as of those who obstinately adhere to error:" that he says, "the Church of England was, *until the Reformation*, a limb of the true vine, and abiding in it, brought forth much fruit: but having been once severed by the destructive hand of schism; with a *hateful eye*, HE," (our SAVIOUR,) "now views the sickly sprouts, which issue from its fallen, crushed, and broken branches. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, so THIS shall wither, and they shall gather IT up, and cast IT into the *fire*, and IT * shall *burn*:" and that "it is impossible to describe the religious principles of a *Protestant*." But that the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, sanctioned and lauded from the Papal Palace, "carries the point still farther, and maintains, that He has *none* †."

Let the public also remember that the Divinity Class book of Maynooth, maintains the fundamental principle from which the various corruptions, and all the persecuting tenets detailed in the Rhemish Notes, and published in Mr. Gandolphy's *Sermons*, necessarily follow—the infallibility of the Popish general Councils: that it is taught in the Maynooth Divinity Class Book, that they who shall die in *voluntary*, and *stedfast adherence* to the Protestant Religion, will be damned: and that "the deadly tongues of *heretics*;" and therefore, according to the same Class-book, of all *voluntary sincere*, and *stedfast Protestants*, are "the *gates of hell*."

And lastly, let the public bear in mind, that Friar *Hayes*, in his *Sermons*, as he calls them, of which, it seems, upwards of fifty thousand copies have, within the last few months, been circulated in Ireland, exclaims against any one who dares to deny *Transubstantiation*.

* The words here printed in capitals, are so printed in Father Gandolphy's *Sermons*.

† Vol. ii. p. 219.

" *O Blasphemy!*—Why thy very murderers, O Divine Victim! who were to hang thee upon thy cross on the morrow;—the very Jews, though they called thee seducer and impostor, never charged thee with an imposition so gross as this!" He adds—"Well Calvinists: What shall I do to remove your *obstinacy*?" (viz. in denying Transubstantiation,) "for it is so absolutely void of the slightest shadow of common sense, that I cannot even palliate it, with the name of *delusion*."

Now let the public particularly attend to this man's words. The pernicious object here is evident. It is to persuade the Roman Catholic populace in Ireland, that Protestants who shall continue to adhere to Protestantism, and to deny *Transubstantiation*, are both guilty of *blasphemy*, and of *wilful* and *obstinate* resistance to an article of Roman Catholic faith: or in other words, that they are *heretics*. Friar Hayes assures the Roman Catholic populace of Ireland, that who-soever "denies Transubstantiation his denial charges imposture upon CHRIST:" and then he adds, "What follows? Why, that the whole Scripture, from beginning to end, is an imposture, where it relates any thing which we do not comprehend;" and that the principle on which he says *Transubstantiation* is denied, "is a *besom* of destruction, which sweeps clean away *every relic of Revelation*." He describes deniers of *Transubstantiation*, as "unbelievers;" and exclaims to them—

"*Blasphemers!* Oh, ye Scripture readers! * " "Well, my *Protestant* friends can you expect the mercy of your God hereafter, when you abjure his infallible truth," (meaning of transubstantiation,) "with a contempt which you would not evince, in the most trivial concern of this life?" "Unfortunate sectaries!—unhappy Scripture readers!—Are you then destined, by your *obstinate* rejection of the Sacrament, and sacrifice of the altar, to give the most direct contradiction to your God in the New, and to your God in the Old Testament? Blind, *wilfully* blind religionists!"

Thus he continues to impress on the minds of the Roman Catholic populace, that they who deny Transubstantiation, are *wilful* opposers of the Roman Catholic truth, and so, *heretics*. But we shall not detain our readers by dwelling on

* Our limits prevent a quotation in full of any of the mischievous effusions of this man. Indeed they are, in general, too absurd for citation. But their tendency amongst the Irish Roman Catholic populace is *most dangerous*. We merely give some of his expressions respecting Protestants.

the effusions of such a man ; which, however, we repeat, are calculated to spread the most dangerous feelings amongst the Irish Roman Catholic populace ; and which have been circulated in Ireland, evidently with the countenance of the Popish Hierarchy and Priesthood. But he seems to *let out* one intimation in particular, that may be well worth attending to. Speaking of his

“ Humble voice being instrumental in bringing back to the bosom of the *ancient faith*,” (as the Popish Priests call the faith of the Church of *Rome*,) “ those unhappy souls, who for three centuries have been tossed about on the waves of delusion *an event*,” (he says,) “ *which* the present hourly derangement of their religious ideas, *combined with many other causes* that are now at work, promises to be, by no means so remote, as *they themselves imagine*.”

And in a subsequent sermon, (the VIIth,) he informs the Roman Catholic populace, that

“ The man, who after hearing or reading *these Sermons*,” (Friar Hayes's Sermons on Transubstantiation,) “ shall continue the ridiculous charge of superstition, must blame himself, when *every rational Christian* shall stamp, upon *his brazen forehead*, the burning brand of *wilful and incorrigible falsehood*.”

Thus, after Friar Hayes's Sermons have been, for some time circulated in Ireland, the Roman Catholic populace are to look upon all the Protestants, or all who shall deny Transubstantiation, and who shall consider the ceremonies of the *mass*, superstitious ; as having *stamped upon their brazen foreheads*, the *burning brand of heresy*. Afterwards this Friar, in his VIIIth Sermon, compares himself, like Father Gandolphy, with *Elias galling the Prophets of Baal* : and he concludes his VIIIth Sermon with some insolence to the Archbishop of Dublin. Here we shall take our leave of his effusions, having merely stated a part of an advertisement which he published in Ireland, and, it would seem, delivered from the Roman Catholic pulpit.

“ I will pass in review the following productions And, to crown this climax of ignorance, impudence, scurrility, and hypocrisy, with a document, which in each disgraceful quality, out-tops them all—the *Charge*, the insolent Charge of HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. WILLIAM MAGEE—NOT by the grace of GOD, or by the mission ordinary or extraordinary of Jesus Christ—BUT by Royal Commission, derived, in *legitimate* succession, from HARRY

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of bloodless memory, and Bess of virgin fame.—**LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND PRIMATE OF IRELAND *!!!†**

We say then, let the public bear in mind the persecuting and dangerous tenets—awfully *dangerous* indeed, if the Romish Hierarchy and Priesthood shall obtain the political influence and power which they seek : let the public bear in mind those tenets, and the confident boldness with which those tenets have been lately avowed, precisely at those periods, when the Popish Priests in these countries, entertained the most sanguine hopes of *speedily* obtaining concession of the power† which they seek from the Protestant Parliament. Let the public, we say, well remember these subjects, and the peculiar and difficult circumstances in which the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN delivered his first solemn Charge to his assembled Clergy, and then let them judge, whether his Grace was not awfully bound to admonish the Ministers of our Church to maintain our Religion against its Romish assailants in Ireland; and whether, in the expression which he then used, and to which we have particularly referred, his Grace did not exhibit, even to the Romish Priesthood of his country, an example of moderation.

But now it has been discovered, that a Prelate of the established Church in Ireland, particularly if his station and character be pre-eminent and widely influential, is not to dare to admonish his Clergy to maintain the PROTESTANT FAITH against the overbearing attacks of the Church of Rome! no—if he shall attempt to do so, every art of intimidation is to be used, in order, if possible, to terrify and to silence him, and through him the Protestant Clergy of Ireland, in general. Now, it has been discovered, that an Irish

* The words here printed in capitals, and in italics, are so printed in the original. Some of this man's inflammatory Sermons were published and circulated in vast numbers in Ireland, before the Archbishop's Charge was delivered.

We have omitted to cite above, one passage of this Friar's *Sermons*, which ought particularly to have been stated: viz. "THE CHURCH OF CHAUNT ... her Head and Center is Rome by Rome" She "has converted and converts even that ENGLAND, which by your Grace's tongue defames Her; as well as this IRELAND, which by my voice swears to Her its eternal fealty."—Do not some of the *real objects*, in thus exciting the animosity of the Roman Catholic Populace against the Archbishop, here evidently *break out* ? viz: to spread amongst them a violent spirit of hostility to Protestantism and Protestants in general, and to the Connection with ENGLAND.

† Our Readers must be aware, that from the principles of the Church of Rome, the political influence of her lay-members, must be particularly subject to the influence of her Hierarchy and Priesthood.

Popish Bishop, while he publishes a Pastoral Letter of a most moderate and conciliating aspect, and *under his own name*, can at the very same time, circulate an *inflammatory* letter of virulent attack upon the established Church, without signing his name to it. Now, it has been discovered, that even the highest Popish Bishop in Ireland can write, publish, circulate amongst the Roman Catholic populace, and even order to be *read from the altar*, a letter of a most inflammatory and *dangerous tendency*! In fine, now, it has been discovered, that there is a spirit even amongst the highest Romish Ecclesiastics in Ireland, which will *menace Protestantism and Protestants in that country with the most awful dangers, if the political power sought by the Roman Catholics, shall be subjected to the influence of that spirit.*

Soon after his Grace the Archbishop of DUBLIN had performed his solemn duty, a Dignitary of the Romish Church, in Ireland, did in his ungoverned anger, publish, in the *newspaper*, a letter of attack upon his Grace; or rather, an inflammatory letter of attack upon the Church establishment in Ireland. In this letter, he proclaimed to the Irish Roman Catholic populace, that the law by which they are bound to pay tithes, &c. for the support of the established Clergy,

“Is penal, highly penal....much more penal than the laws which enforce the payment of taxes to the state; whereas the state defends the subject against foreign enemies, and protects him from public and private wrongs, thus giving him an *equivalent* for what he pays. But” the Romish Dignitary continues, “what, my Lord, does the establishment give the peasant in return for his tithe? Yet Judge Blackstone teacheth, and all allow, that the Legislature, in enacting laws of tribute, neither binds nor intends to bind the *conscience* of the subject, and hence no man hesitates to withhold his taxes, until called upon for payment; and there are many in England who would not hesitate to evade or infringe the laws of tribute, could they do so with impunity; but, with how much better plea can the ragged peasant *evade or infringe* that law, which takes *from him* the produce of his field,—the fruit of his industry, and gives him *nothing in return*?”

We have not, at present, time or space to discuss this reference to Blackstone; but, we decidedly deny the truth of the assertion, that the Irish Roman Catholic peasant receives no benefit from the Protestant Establishment, and we will even particularly say, from the Protestant Clergy; we deny that, in point of effect, the tithe is taken from the *peasant*: we assert that it is, in effect, taken from the landlord, who, generally, is a Protestant; that the peasantry, who rent

lands tithe-free, are not in a better situation, and are often in a worse situation, than those who pay tithe in Ireland; and, that in the province of Connaught particularly, in which potatoes, the *principal* fruit of the peasant's industry, are tithe-free—in that province, the Roman Catholic peasantry are generally a more poor and suffering people than in any other province of Ireland. And lastly, we must observe, that to any one who knows the circumstances of Ireland, it must be evident, that those declarations of the Romish Dignitary to the Roman Catholic peasantry, are peculiarly inflammatory (coming from such a quarter), and dangerous to the tranquillity of the country.

His angry feelings appearing to rise as he proceeds, he demands of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin,

“As an Archbishop of the Established Church, I would beg leave to ask you, my Lord, *who are you, and where did you come from?* From what heaven have you fallen? What earth produced you? Turn over the records of your Church, tell us the names of the Bishops who preceded you; shew us how they were connected with the Apostles, or with those who received the faith from them. Produce your claim to that title of ‘Apostolic,’ which you so ostentatiously put forth, but to which your Grace *has as good a claim as to the Dukedom of Leeds.*”

He seems to have borrowed the commencement of this effusion from the *Rhemish Annotators*, of whose production we have presented sufficient specimens to our readers. But our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to a few extracts with scarcely any comment, from the newspaper attack of this Popish Dignitary, against the Archbishop of Dublin, and against the established Church.

“Your Church,” he says, “a Church . . . whose Creed has been composed in part of the traditions of men, and compiled from time to time by Lay-persons and Ecclesiastics, *whose very names are a reproach to all, with whom they are connected, and whose hypocrisy, lies, and crimes, my feelings would not allow me to commit to paper.*” . . . “There is no declamation, nor high colouring of words, which can heal that wound, which is ever gaping in the side of your establishment: like the *novi homines*, the *new men* amongst the *Romans*, her origin will ever be inquired after, and every claim to Apostolicity for her . . . will fall to the earth, weak and unsupported. The *Arians* were connected with the Apostolic times—they too, had . . . the Cathedrals and thrones of those who went before them . . . but they were *new Lights*, like your Grace's predecessors, and like your Grace. They said they were ‘Apostolic,’ but they were not believed.” Others . . . “claimed a similar connexion with the Apos-

ties, whilst they taught many of the HERESIES, which are now held by men I would not name." "Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and Coverdale, Peter Martyr, and Bucer and Zuinglius, Henry and Somerset and Elizabeth, and Cecil and Burnet and Tillotson and Taylor and Hoadley—these, my Lord, are the *Apostles*, the Fathers and the Supporters of your Church—these are the men, with a host of Apostates in whom your Grace glories . . . if they have reconstructed your Church, on the foundations of the 'Prophets and Apostles,' the *Manichæan* system must be true, and the evil principle has prevailed over the good one!"

Here we must stop for a moment, to remind the reader, of the *Rhemish Note* which we quoted, "abhor these *Manichees* of our time;" and to assure him, that the Popish Dignitary whose letter is now before us, appears to be a faithful disciple of the *Rhemish School*, and to sympathise with Father Gandolph in some of his most bigotted, relentless, and violent effusions, against the founders of our Established Reformed Church, and even against her murdered Martyrs, her Cranmers, her Riddleys, and her Latimers!

He proceeds to demand, why the Archbishop seeks "to usurp" the title of 'Catholic,' and to possess it *in common* with that Church, to which the whole universe has *exclusively* assigned it?" and he says, "who before your Grace, has ever imagined that the established Church in these countries was Catholic *. Your Church had not been placed on any foundation by the LORD—for, her founders refused to hear HIM, and the FATHER who sent him, when they despised the voice of those whom he had commanded them to hear," (viz. the Popish Priests): "nor upon his Apostles, who made unity the touchstone of truth—who regarded heresy as a gangrene" (mark-reader!) and pronounced that he who abided by his own judgment, was self-convicted and to be shunned: . . . Your Grace

* The Archbishop had observed with great justice on the important mischiefs which arise from our distinguishing the *Roman Catholic*, as the *Catholic Church* exclusively. We regret that we have not space at present, to pursue this subject; as it is one of most serious consequence. One observation upon it, we would press on the public attention—that this erroneous custom contributes to enable Popish Doctors to persuade Roman Catholics, at least all the uninformed Roman Catholics, that the declarations of the *Fathers in the early ages of Christianity*, in support of the Apostolic Catholic Church, apply now exclusively to the Church of Rome; and all their censures of "*Heretics*," to voluntary and steadfast PROTESTANTS.

Even Friar Hayes charges Members of the Established Church with falsehood, in repeating their Creed, because they profess to believe in the *Catholic Church*. And really, if they shall be guilty of the falsehood of distinguishing the Church of Rome, as exclusively "the Catholic Church," they will subject themselves to the charge of the second falsehood urged against them by such persons as Friar Hayes, and widely circulated and believed amongst Members of the Church of Rome.

cannot inherit spiritual jurisdiction, as you would a title to an estate. You have not received it from *the Catholic Church*, for he disavows you, saying with Cyprian, no matter what you teach, or who you are, if you be out of the pale of *her* unity, *you are not a Bishop**. . . . Your Grace is reported to have said, that the Roman Catholics had a Church without a Religion: but ISAIAH saith of *that Church*, that 'every arm that is raised against her, will not prosper, and against every tongue that contendeth with her, *she* shall obtain her cause for this is the inheritance of *her* children.'

Isaias, it seems, was prophesying of the *Popish Church* exclusively; and foretold that she shall obtain her cause against the Archbishop's and against every tongue that shall attempt to contend with her. But, the Popish dignitary returns with rising again, to the passage of the Archbishop's Charge, which he has misquoted as above.

"Your Grace," he continues, "has again *maligned* us. You are stated to have said, that we have a Church without a Religion. What, my Lord, are we to be thus *outraged*? And has a *theological hatred* invaded your breast also, and *blinded your understanding*? Have we returned to the days of *Paganism*, when our fathers were accused as *Atheists*? and *burned at a stake* for devouring infants? . . . a Church without a Religion! We have a Church, my Lord, and one against which 'the *Gates of Hell* shall not prevail'—(remember the Divinity Class-book of Maynooth, that 'the deadly tongues' of those whom Popish Doctors call '*Heretics*' are '*Gates of Hell*')—'a Church, which has been assailed by *Heresies*, by *Schism*, and by *Calumny*, but never overcome . . . did your Grace but revolve in your mind the labour of a Xavier, the apostolic life of a Boromeo, the zeal and piety of a de Sales, the admirable life and heroic virtues of our present *Pontiff*, your Grace would have been humbled on your throne; and instead of *reviling* the Religion of those men, you would have descended to the place of the Publican, and prayed to the God of the temple, that he would make you like to one of them . . . We' (meaning himself and the other Members of his Church) 'shall at least take care that your Grace does not attack *it*'—the Romish Faith—'with *impunity*. *Nemo nos impunè lacessit*.'

Thus this meek Popish dignitary concludes his newspaper effusion, signing himself J. K. L.

Even if his statement of the Archbishop's expression were correct, what was there in it, comparable with the charges against Protestantism and Protestants which we have cited

* We are prevented from citing this Popish dignitary's observations in a more complete form, by our limits *only*.

from late authorised Romish publications in these countries; and particularly in Ireland? Even the *misquotation* represents the Roman Catholics as possessing truly a Church—as forming a branch of our Redeemer's Universal Church; though with a system of faith and worship, which, as a whole system, is not a *Religion*. And, if the Archbishop had expressed himself even thus, any candid man must immediately have supposed, that his Grace using these words *to his Clergy*, not only admitted the Church of *Rome*, to be a branch of our Redeemer's Universal Church; but also *parts* of her religious system to be strictly and properly *parts* of the Christian Religion: and indeed the latter immediately follows from the former, since the mere fact of her members, being also members of our Lord's Universal Church, necessarily involves their possessing certain essential parts of the Christian Religion.

But the Archbishop's words were *mis-stated*, and even the mis-statement strained, for the purpose of most grossly and injuriously misrepresenting his meaning. Nay though the authorised publication of his Grace's Charge very soon after appeared, in which he stated most clearly and fully his innocent and just meaning, and in which he expressly said that the Roman Catholic Church has preserved some of the “sterling treasures of Religion;” *still* is this popish dignitary's letter published in numerous successive editions and circulated diligently amongst the Irish Roman Catholic populace. And in order to give an apparent justification of his calumnious misrepresentation of the Archbishop's meaning, a *fabricated* and *false* report of his Grace's Charge is prefixed to the letter? This scandalous proceeding is still carried on; and though two months have elapsed since the authorised report of the Charge was published in Dublin, we have reason to believe, that a *ninth* edition of the *fabricated* and *false* report of the Charge with the Popish dignitary's letter annexed to it, was published in Ireland for the Roman Catholic populace, about the middle of the present month—(January). Such a proceeding could not be persisted in, without the knowledge and consent of the author of the letter. We cannot trust ourselves to remark upon it, farther than to say, that it's culpability appears aggravated, by the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, in consequence of which, the letter of the Popish dignitary must naturally tend to excite a spirit of animosity amongst the Roman Catholic populace, against the Archbishop of Dublin.

But what will our readers say, when we inform them, that this same Popish Dignitary—this writer of the inflammatory

letter to which we have referred,—this man, who consents (for we must necessarily infer his consent, from his situation) to have that mischievous letter still re-published and circulated, with a false and fabricated report of the Archbishop's Charge, nearly two months after the publication, in Dublin, of the authorised and correct report—that this man is an Irish Popish Bishop!—Nay, that he is the very identical Popish Bishop, who (soon after he had first published the *inflammatory* letter, with a signature *concealing his name*) published “the Pastoral” which bore so moderate and conciliating an aspect, under his *real name*: subscribing himself J. Doyle, D.D. &c. to the *Pastoral*; while his *inflammatory letter* is going through successive editions, with the signature of “J. K. L.,” which letters, it has since appeared, were chosen, as being the initials of “James Kildare * and Leighlin !” And *still* is his inflammatory letter re-published and circulated, together with the *false* report of the Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin! We cannot regret, that our space forbids us to remark upon such conduct: all comment on it must be unnecessary.

Next to “J. K. L.,” as a violent newspaper warrior, Dr. Curtis followed. Dr. Curtis holds the highest situation in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. He is a Bishop of the Romish Church, and is called “titular Archbishop of Armagh.” It is generally known, that some time since, a calf's head was placed on the altar of the Roman Catholic Chapel of *Ardee*. The author or authors of the profanation have not been discovered. It may possibly have been committed by some enthusiastic or unprincipled professor of protestantism: but there is, *at least*, as much reason to suspect, that it was the contrivance of some incendiary of the Romish Church, for the purpose of exciting, by a false suspicion, the animosity of the Roman Catholic popu-

* The Romish Hierarchy and priesthood in Ireland, are now sedulously endeavouring to establish the custom of designating the Prelates of the established Church, as the “Protestant Archbishops and Bishops,” while they take care that they shall be styled “the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops” of *Sees in Ireland*; contrary to the laws and Constitution. They even now appear to be grasping the titles of *Bishops* of the Irish *Sees* exclusively, while the only constitutional Bishops, are to be distinguished from the *true* Bishops, by being always termed “the Protestant Bishops.” Nay, it is but a few weeks, since it was announced to be stated in a Paris paper, that the reception of a converted young Englishman, of noble family, into “the Catholic Church,” took place before “the Right Rev. Dr. Poynter, the Catholic Bishop of London’”—! Perhaps we may soon be favoured with paragraphs about “the Protestant Bishops of *Sees* in *ENGLAND*, as distinguished from the *true* Catholic Bishops of those *Sees*.”

lace, against Protestants and protestantism. But scarcely had Dr. Curtis, the Romish titular Archbishop of Armagh, heard of the profanation, when he immediately wrote to the Roman Catholic priest of Ardee, a letter, charging by name, the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN as having been the cause of it, by means of the Charge he had delivered !!! Nay, he ordered the priest to read this letter, (which we cannot trust ourselves to describe as it deserves), from the altar to the Roman Catholics !!! This, we shall say of the letter, that its *tendency* was horrible. We cannot imagine any thing more calculated to excite, in the breasts of the Roman Catholic populace, the worst and most dangerous feelings against the Archbishop.

Like the other Romish Bishop, Dr. Doyle, he grossly misrepresented the Archbishop's meaning. But one extract may be sufficient to shew the nature of his letter. He states that the Archbishop in his Charge,

" Officially announced" such an " outrageous imputation, as, if not manifestly absurd, would go to prove, not only that the penal laws against *Catholics*, had been too lenient, and should be augmented and enforced, but also that *Catholics* should be *expelled from society*; for *without Religion* they can have no security to offer to any government, nor even to private individuals; and consequently should not expect to be tolerated in social life, or to enjoy the protection of the laws; but much less complain of being ignominiously driven, and excluded from all posts of honour, emolument, confidence, and power; for all which, their supposed infidelity or atheism, would render them totally unqualified."

Now we request especial attention to Dr. Curtis's words, which immediately follow.

" I am reluctantly obliged to say, that the Archbishop, (if he really be as reported, a man of talents and erudition, or even of common sense,) must have clearly seen, and meant to recommend the cruel and exterminating inference above mentioned, that follows as an evident COROLLARY, from his scandalous and actionable libel against Catholics."

Here Dr. Curtis, has *let out* an intimation, to which we call the particular attention of the Public. While he misrepresents the Archbishop of Dublin, as having accused Roman Catholics of being wholly destitute of religious principles—of having *no religion*—which is not only *different* from what his Grace said, but *directly contrary to what he said*; Dr. Curtis for a moment forgets, or seems to forget, that *this very charge*, which he misrepresents the Archbishop to have made against Roman Catholics, is distinctly and repeatedly

...against Protestants—that
 ...declare, concerning all *Heretics*
 ...that, according to the Church of
 ...where, and steadfast Protestant is a
 ...*no religion—nor conscience*:" that
 ...and lauded from the Papal pa-
 ...Protestant" has *no religious princi-*
 ...Maynooth divinity class-book repre-
 ...of voluntary, sincere, and sted-
 ...who are *Heretics*, according to the same
 ...*the gates of hell*." And, we would ask,
 ...the Christian religion, or any Christian re-
 ...come from *the gates of hell*?—Now then,
 ...PROTESTANT PUBLIC connect these decla-
 ...Roman authorities, with Dr. CURTIS's *exter-*
 ...! They must immediately perceive that
 ...a most important intimation—an intima-
 ...important under the present circumstances
 ...which, we earnestly hope, will prove a seasonable
 ...warning.

...it be believed, that *since* the publication of the
 ...Report of the Archbishop's Charge, Dr. Curtis
 ...in the same shameful misrepresentation of his
 ...and that he has done so, in a new letter to the
 ...that in a *third* letter, published in the Irish
 ...and scattered amongst the Roman Catholic
 ...of Ireland, he has even aggravated his scanda-
 ...and pernicious charge against his Grace! that in
 ...letter, he accuses the Archbishop of having, "after
 ...condemnation, condemned *all Catholics* as having
 ...and as having certainly meant, and still mean-
 ...not that *Catholics* hold *some* errors, mixed with truths,
 ...but they have absolutely *no religion at all*:" this, although
 ...had expressly stated, in the authorized report of
 ...to which Dr. Curtis was then referring, that in
 ...Roman Catholic Church, "some of the *STERLING*
 ...OF RELIGION were preserved!" And yet, in
 ...third letter, Dr. Curtis assures the Roman Catho-
 ...of Ireland, that the Archbishop of Dublin "must be
 ...aware that he cannot hope to obtain mercy from his GOD,
 ...make any just atonement to the whole Catholic body, so
 ...wounded;" unless he shall retract his expressions, or
 ...in some manner which Dr. CURTIS shall think fit to
 ...of, as "Christian and admissible!" Otherwise, it
 ...that the Archbishop of Dublin, must be aware that he

cannot hope to obtain *mercy from his GOD!!* Really, the blind and intolerant bigotry, the presumption and arrogance of such a declaration, would suit the darkest ages of Romish superstition and tyranny. The spirit which it evinces, is not to be appeased by any language which his Grace could use. And even, if in his Charge, he had not so much as intimated an admonition for the maintenance of the PROTESTANT FAITH against the assaults of the Church of Rome in Ireland, would his Grace thus have succeeded, in conciliating the esteem and goodwill of Dr. CURTIS and his brethren of the Popish Hierarchy and Priesthood. If the latter resemble their head, Dr. CURTIS, he certainly would *not*. The Archbishop of Cashel delivered a Charge to his Clergy, nearly at the same time. He did not give to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and Priesthood, the trouble of hearing, that he had uttered any particular admonition for the support of the PROTESTANT FAITH against the overbearing attacks of the Church of Rome; and yet, what says Dr. CURTIS, in his *newspaper letter*, of the Archbishop of CASHEL? He assures the Roman Catholics of Ireland, with a most evident and especial reference to the Charge of the Archbishop of Cashel; that such a publication is "*downright latitudinarianism, and worse if possible than all complained of above*:" worse if possible, than all that was said by the Archbishop of Dublin.

But this article has far exceeded our usual limits, and we must stop. We ought not however to omit observing, that the shocking connection, which Dr. Curtis originally suggested, between the Archbishop of Dublin's Charge, and the profanation of the Roman Catholic Chapel of *Ardee*, has been most industriously impressed on the minds of the Roman Catholic populace throughout Ireland, by means of placards posted up in the public streets of Dublin and other places, and (as we have heard,) even on the doors of Popish Chapels; and by the *title-pages* of cheap pamphlets. We do not accuse Dr. Curtis, of being the author of such infamous placards and *title-pages*: but we ask, with astonishment, why have such scandalous and dangerous proceedings, been permitted by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and Priesthood of Ireland, at the head of whom is Dr. Curtis *?

* While these infamous proceedings were going on, the LORD LIEUTENANT of IRELAND availed himself of the occasion offered by the late Address of the Clergy of Dublin, to shew the peculiarly high respect and estimation in which his EXCELLENCY holds the Archbishop. The Marquis Wellesley commenced his admirable Answer to the Clergy, with a well-deserved compliment to that most distinguished

Publications.

may call the attention of the public to this article, at the present crisis. The question of concession of the political or the Roman Catholic body in these brought before Parliament in the course of February). We are hostile to concession because we are hostile to *intolerance*. For our fellow-subjects generally, we have the kindest wishes. We heartily desire that a measure of conciliation may be adopted, and in a spirit of sincere benevolence. But we do not think concession of the political powers in these countries, to Roman Catholic leaders, would be a safe measure. It is to the *dangerous tenets* which their Priests maintain: and our conviction of the peril of giving increased power to *such tenets*, has lately been strengthened by the proceedings which we have stated in this article. We therefore oppose their introduction into the Legislature, or into the Privy Council or Cabinet; and earnestly do we give our warning voice, to guard IRELAND against the influence of such tenets, and the removal of the due restraining power in that country, which restrains their most dangerous operation.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR FEBRUARY, 1823.

ART. I. *Palæoromaica, or Historical and Philological Disquisitions, &c.*

(Continued from our last.)

THE author commences his second Disquisition, which treats of the Apostolical Autographs, by assuming that he has already proved it to be more probable, reasoning beforehand, that the Books of the New Testament would be composed in Syriac than in Latin, and in Latin than in Greek. Now, although he has certainly made it appear probable, that a knowledge of the Greek tongue was not universal in the Roman provinces, amongst the lower orders, he certainly has not proved that the Latin was more so. Amongst the Greek cities of Asia Minor, it is not to be disputed that Greek was the spoken language. Amongst the Semi-Greek states, or *ἡμιελληνικοὶ*, it is clear that Greek was better understood than Latin, the knowledge of which was confined to Italy and Sicily, Gaul and Spain.

Whether it be more natural that the writings of the Apostles and inspired historians should have been composed in Syriac (i. e. in the Syrochaldean) than in Greek, is a question which remains to be considered. We agree entirely with Michaelis and our author, that it is a question of fact, and that the arguments which some divines have drawn from the supposed intrinsic qualities of this language or that, are unworthy of attention.

The Author remarks, that the Apostles probably did not write their works with their own hands. That St. Paul did not always do so, we know very well; that he sometimes did, we learn from Gal. vi. 11. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand." Where Chrysostom remarks, that the Apostle mentions this, as a mark of the genuineness of the Epistle. "For in other instances he

dictated, and another wrote." We think, however, that this expression is no mark of genuineness: but that it was only intended to shew the anxiety of the Apostle for the welfare of his Galatian converts.

It is supposed by many that St. Paul wrote with his own hand the second Epistle to the Corinthians, although the *epigraphe* states it to have been written by Titus and Lucas. And that the Apostle wrote to Philemon with his own hand, he himself distinctly says in v. 19. The *epigraphe* says it was written by Onesimus, *πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐγγράφη ἀπὸ Ὀνείμου διὰ Ὀνησίμου οἰκέτου*. But may not this mean that it was written, and sent from Rome by the hands of Onesimus? The same question may be asked concerning the second to the Corinthians, and some others of the Epistles.

The cause which perhaps made St. Paul employ an amanuensis, viz. the multiplicity of his employments and cares, may not have existed in an equal degree, in the case of the other sacred writers. We see no reason why St. Peter and St. John should not be understood literally, when they speak of having *written* such and such things (2 Pet. iii. 1. 1 John ii. 12, 13, &c.) We do not insist upon the expression at the conclusion of St. John's Gospel, "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and *wrote* these things," because it is subjoined, "and we know that *his* testimony is true."

Our author remarks that the original documents, being written on papyrus, a frail and perishable material, would soon fall into fragments. But is it quite certain that they were all written on papyrus? St. Paul directs Timothy to bring with him "the books, but *especially* the parchments." The earnestness of this injunction renders it highly improbable that he should have wanted the parchments (*μεμβράναι*) merely for the purpose of covering books. Theodoret, and amongst the moderns Suicer, Wolf, and others, think that they contained some memoranda of the Apostle's; answering perhaps to the *pugillares membranei* of the Latins. The Jewish Scriptures were written on parchment. The "roll of a book," mentioned in Revelations, vi. 14. (*καὶ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ὑλισσόμενον*) was a parchment roll; and it is worthy of remark, that the *μεμβράναι* of St. Paul are called in the Syriac version "the bundle of rolls or volumes." At one time, in the reign of Tiberius, there was a great scarcity of paper at Rome; and probably in Nero's time it was not so much cheaper than parchment, as to make it worth the Apostle's while to write his epistles to distant churches upon

the more perishable material. Parchment was in common use at Rome in the age of Augustus: Horat. 2. S. III. 2.

"Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poscas."

After all, it is probable that the Apostolical autographs might not continue legible many years: but who will believe our author, when he says, that in those days "no transcript would be taken, while the original could be had and was legible?" Is it credible, for instance, that the Colossians would transmit to the Laodiceans the Epistle addressed to themselves, without retaining a copy of it? With regard to the Gospels, there is less room to doubt the early multiplication of copies*. Eusebius speaks of the three first Gospels as having been dispersed far and wide before St. John wrote his, τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἡδὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ('Ιωάννην) διαδεδομένων. (iii. 24.) and with regard to the testimony of Eusebius to such points as these, it is worthy of remark, that he professes to have examined "a succession" of ecclesiastical writers upwards from his own time; for speaking of certain heretical forgeries, he says, "that not one of them is mentioned by any one of the ecclesiastical writers, τῶν κατὰ διαδοχάς, i. e. of those who instructed the Church in succession from the time of the Apostles. Is it credible, that, if he had found in any one of those writers the least hint of St. Paul's having written in Latin, he would have suppressed it? and, if he did not find any hint of it, is it credible that such could have been the fact? To return to the question immediately before us, the early disappearance of the autographs of the Apostles is in itself one proof of the early multiplication of copies, as Michaelis has justly observed.

Transcripts were "absolutely necessary." "The Epistle," says Michaelis, "which they had received from St. Paul, was not the property of any one society in particular, but belonged to the community at large: and that which was

* We cannot help noticing a most improbable conjecture of our Author's (p. 61.) that in the distribution of the four animals to the four Evangelists, in certain old representations of them, the ox was appropriated to St. Luke, not for the reason usually given, but from the Latin phrase *Lucas Bos*, i. e. because *Lucas Bos* is the old Latin phrase for an elephant, therefore the figure of an ox (*Bos*) was the usual accompaniment of that of St. Luke (*Lucas*)! How does the author account for the eagle and the lion? Unfortunately for his conjecture, the animal in question is not an ox but a calf, *μόσχος* (Rev. iv. 10.) i. e. *vitulus*, as it is termed by Jerome and others. Our author probably had in view the distich composed by some later writer—

Est homo Matthæi, Marci leo, bos nota Lucæ,
Joannes aquilam cum ratione refert.

Palæoromaica.

... was addressed to the communities ... Each society copied the epistle in ... the general copies, many individuals ... copies for themselves." The question itself, ... photographs were long in existence, is but of ... It has been justly observed by Dannhaner ... Rumpæus Comm. Crit. p. 241.) "It is enough ... I have the genuine coin, although not the matrix, ... which it was struck ; it is enough, that I drink the ... Christ from the sacramental cup now in use, al- ... not from that very cup from which Christ gave his ... to drink. We have not indeed the very identical ... as to the letters and points ; but we have them, ... to their primitive sense ; we have authentic copies ; such ... as Christ and his Apostles were contented to quote ... the case of the Old Testament. An authenticated coun- ... part is of equal validity with the original document."

"As to the *language* in which the different Books of the New Testament were first written, we have, I believe," says our Author, "no historical evidence till towards the conclu- sion of the fourth century, *if assertions so late can be enti- tled to the name of evidence.*"

It is plain that the innuendo with which this sentence con- cludes, is calculated to shake the whole fabric of history. If no evidence, but contemporary evidence, is to be received, a fearful door will be opened to scepticism. Where the histo- rians of a certain period refer to earlier writers, whose works are now lost, we must receive the testimony of the earlier through the medium of the later authors ; provided that we have no reason to doubt *their* fidelity and exactness. Again, in many cases, the absence of all positive testimony *against* a received opinion, is good evidence *for* it. Towards the conclusion of the fourth century, it was a general opinion that the New Testament had been written in Greek, with the exception of St. Matthew's Gospel. The writers of that time acquaint us with the fact, that earlier authors had stated *that* Gospel to have been written in Hebrew. If they had read or heard of any similar tradition concerning the other books of the New Testament, they would have mentioned it. As they have not done so, we may conclude that there was no such tradition in the Church. The very fact, that a dis- cussion had been raised concerning the Gospel of St. Mat- thew and the Epistle of the Hebrews, proves that no doubt was entertained about the other books. What our author says about "natural probability" does not concern this part of the question. We admit that the Gospel of St. Matthew

was written in Syrochaldeæ, not simply because it was *likely* to be written in that tongue, but because there was a very early tradition to that effect in the Church, handed down to the fourth century. We do *not* admit that any one of the remaining Gospels was written in any language different from that in which we have it, because there is no historical evidence to that effect. *In conjunction* with historical evidence, the argument of natural probability has its weight; but not when taken without it, or opposed to it. Yet it is upon the strength of this argument *principally**, that our author maintains that the Gospel of St. Mark was written in Latin.

It seems to be generally admitted, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Italy for the use of the Christians in that country. Our author asks, with Baronius, "can we suppose that it would be written in any other than in the language of the place?" He adds, "to evade this plain question, the common assertion is made, that a knowledge of Greek was almost universal at Rome; a notion of which the fallacy seems to be proved in the preceding disquisition."—"Grotius, and other persons whom I have mentioned, rest not their cause on ancient testimony, but affirm that Mark had no occasion to write his Gospel in Latin for the Romans, *because there was scarce a Roman who did not understand Greek.*"

What Grotius says is, that *the Jews* at Rome, for whom St. Mark chiefly wrote, did not understand Latin so well as Greek; a fact which Casaubon, Scaliger, and many others all take for granted.

Our author treats this notion with contempt; and says moreover that it was not to Jews but to Gentiles, that the Gospel of St. Mark was immediately addressed. That many parts of it are expressed with a view to the use of those who were unacquainted with Jewish customs, seems indeed unquestionable. But it was in all probability intended *in the first instance* for the Roman Christians who had been Jews, and who, at the time of St. Mark's writing, must have very greatly outnumbered the Gentile converts. Now these Jews, it is abundantly clear, read the *Old Testament* only in Greek, and that is one very strong reason why St. Mark should have written for them in that language.

One very important fact has been overlooked by our author, which is, that in every city where the Gospel was

* We say *principally*, for those are the comparatively modern testimonies of Eusebius and Pseudo-Damasus to a Latin original of this Gospel.

preached, it was preached *first* to the Jews settled in that city. This was the constant practice of St. Paul, who as Ernesti remarks (Opusc. Theolog. p. 466.) confined his teaching within the limits of the Roman empire : and in every place began by teaching the Jews in their synagogues, where *the Greek language alone was used*. For the same reason he wrote "to the Roman Church in Greek, not in Latin." We must not however dissemble Lightfoot's opinion, that the Greek Scriptures were *not* read in the synagogues of the Hellenists; an opinion which he adopted late in life, having, as he says, "been heretofore of a contrary judgment." But the answers which he gives to the arguments urged for the affirmative, are very unsatisfactory. He cannot deny that there were actually copies of the Greek version in the synagogues; and therefore he supposes that they were deposited there, in order that if any heathen should go into the synagogue and revile the Jew's religion, they might refute him from the Greek version of their Scriptures. This strange supposition is justly exploded by Basnage (Hist. des Juifs T. viii. p. 35.) A reproach which the Jews of Palestine made against the Hellenists was, that they read the Scriptures, from left to right, "after the Egyptian fashion," i. e. they read them in Greek, as the Jews of Alexandria did. Even were we to grant, that the Scripture itself was not publicly read in Greek, it must have been interpreted to the Hellenists in Greek, for the same reason which rendered it necessary to use a Syrochaldean paraphrase in the Jerusalem synagogues. In fact, it may now be considered as an established historical fact, that the LXXII version was read in the synagogues of the Jews of the dispersion.

With regard to the common use of Greek by Jewish writers, Michaelis urges the example of Josephus, who *lived* at Rome, where Mark only *sojourned* for a short time; who wrote his Antiquities and History with a view to their being read by the Romans, and yet wrote them in Greek. He declares that he composed his history of the Jewish war for the Greeks and Romans. Now Josephus was certainly more competent to write in Latin than St. Mark; the reasons which Baronius and our author urge for St. Mark's having written in Latin, are far more applicable to Josephus, and yet *he* chose to write in Greek.

It is extraordinary, that our author should call in question the common use of the Greek language amongst the Jews of the latter dispersion, when the fact is abundantly proved by the various apocryphal books written in Greek by people of that nation, such as the book of Enoch, the *ἀνάληψις*

Μαρκας, and others, which are quoted, not only by Origen, Clemens, and other writers, but by the Apostles themselves. We may here take notice of our author's assertion, that "it is now generally agreed among critics, that the *Pentateuch* alone was translated in the time of Ptolemy." (P. 133.) One of the most learned and judicious of modern critics maintains, that *all* the canonical books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. (Valckenaer *Diatr. de Aristobulo Jud.* p. 62.) Whether all the versions of the different books then made be the same which we possess, is another question. "Id saltem negari negat," says Fabricius, "quod Sirachides, nepos, quum prologum suum scriberet sub Euergete, Philometoris successore, libri prophetici jam in græcam transcripti linguam existerunt."

Our author lays considerable stress upon the subscription to the Syriac version of this Gospel, which states that St. Mark wrote in the Romish or Latin language: but he does not add the remark of Michaelis, that "subscriptions of this kind are of no authority whatsoever, for no one knows from whom they proceeded, and some of them contain the most glaring errors. Besides, as the Syriac version was made in the East, and taken immediately from the Greek, no one can appeal to a Syriac subscription, in regard to the language in which St. Mark wrote at Rome." (iii. p. 225.) That this was the *common* opinion of the oriental Churches, which our author asserts, remains to be proved. He admires the happy ingenuity by which the *Roman* and the *Latin* are made by Dr. Lardner to signify the Greek language. Is he not aware, that under the Greek Emperors, Constantinople was called *νέα Ῥώμη*, the Greeks themselves *Ῥωμαῖοι*, and their language *Ῥωμαϊκή*; while the western nations were denominated by them *Φράγχοι* and *Λατῖνοι*?

From the ancient Latins, no authority is adduced for a Latin Gospel of St. Mark, except the *Liber Pontificalis*, ascribed to Pope Damasus, which is confessedly a forgery. "On the other hand, I do not recollect a single ancient author, who expressly says that this Evangelist wrote his gospel in Greek, further than the sweeping declarations of Augustin and Jerome, that the New Testament was written in this language." Now, in the first place, Augustin's is *not* a sweeping declaration: for he expressly exempts the gospel of St. Matthew, "*Horum sane quatuor solus Matthæus Hebræo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio, ceteri Græco, Marcum eum subsecutus, tanquam pedissequus et breviator ejus videtur.*" (de Cons. Evang. l. 4. p. 3.) In the second place, whatever may have been the original language of the gospels,

we know that Irenæus, and Origen, and Eusebius, and Epiphanius, and Chrysostom, read them in Greek. Now, all these authors make particular mention of Matthew's having written his gospel in Hebrew; and their silence as to the original language of the other gospels, proves very plainly that they neither doubted, nor had ever heard any doubt, of their having been written in Greek. Papias, a companion of Polycarp, and a hearer of St. John, says, that "Matthew wrote in the Hebrew dialect,"—but in speaking of Mark, he says nothing of his language; whereas, if he had written in Latin, would not Papias, who himself wrote in Greek, have noticed it? And surely our author will hardly maintain, that the original Latin of St. Mark, as well as all recollection of it, was lost before Papias wrote. We may add, that as these early fathers were acquainted with the fact of St. Matthew's having written in Hebrew, (i. e. Syrochaldæe) they would not have been ignorant of St. Mark's having written in Latin, had such been the case. In point of fact, therefore, all these authors do assert *implicitly* that St. Mark wrote in Greek.

The Latin words which occur in this Gospel, if they prove any thing, prove only that it was written in Greek, for the use of persons residing under the Roman government. Latinisms are not peculiar to St. Mark; but occur in the other writings of the New Testament, although unquestionably they are most frequent in St. Mark; now, on the supposition that the other Gospels are translations from the Latin, as well as that of St. Mark, why should *his* Gospel be *peculiarly* distinguished by Latinisms? To this question we do not see what answer can be given; particularly when we consider, that it is not so much by Latin *idioms* as by Latin *words* that this Gospel is distinguished. Whereas if we suppose that it was written in Greek for the use of the Italians, the reason of its Latinizing is clear. It will not answer our author's purpose to suppose, as he has done, that our present text may be a re-translation from a Latin version of a Greek original; because no man would think of making a Greek *version* for the use of Latin Christians; and one who *translated* into Greek for the use of those who did not understand Latin, would not have retained so many Latin words, when he might have expressed them by equivalent Greek phrases. It is deserving of remark, that most of the Latin words used in the Gospels, are precisely those which would be the first to creep into the Greek language, and be adopted by the subjects of the Roman empire, viz. military, forensic and fiscal terms; such as *κεντούριον*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *πραιτώριον*, *κολωνία*, *κῆνος*, *δηνάριον*, *ἀσπάζιον*, *κοδράνης*. Unless these words had actually

been domesticated in the language of the provinces, why should they have been used in the Gospels? A person translating from Latin to Greek, must certainly know enough of the latter language, not to be at a loss for a word equivalent to *κεντουρίων*, *μεμβράνα*, or *σουδάριον*. In the Apostolic constitutions, falsely ascribed to Clemens Romanus, but older than Eusebius, we find the Latin word *ιντερόϊτον*, (II, 57.) and *λούδος*, (V. init.) and Justin Martyr, a Greek author, says, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' ἡμᾶς *ρεπούδιον*. In Athenæus, who wrote in the third century, we have *δικόκτα*, *κουνίκλος*, *ματερία*, *μουστάκιον*, *φλαβέλλιον*, *φούμωσος*, *φούγνος*. The word *σουδάριον*, as Valckenaer remarks, was used by the comic poet Hermippus, under the form *σωδάριον*, which is not a little remarkable.

The case of St. Mark's Gospel is very different from that, which our author adduces in illustration, of the Commentary of Simplicius, a Greek text of which was published by Aldus in 1526. This text has lately been discovered to be a Greek version of a Latin translation, which Latin translation was made in the thirteenth century. The original Greek of Simplicius has recently been found to exist in a MS. at Turin. Of Simplicius's commentary on a treatise of Aristotle, the copies perhaps were never very numerous; yet one at least was preserved. The Latin translation was made nearly 600 years after the time of Simplicius, for the use of schools, when very few persons understood Greek. The Greek MS. of the genuine text was written in the middle of the 15th century; and it is far more unlikely, that the original Greek text of St. Mark, which was undoubtedly extant for the first five centuries, in a vast number of copies, should have perished, than that an unimportant treatise of Simplicius should have been lost; and yet the latter is extant in one MS. and perhaps in more; while the former, we are told, is lost; the history of the latter is easily traced, but the supposed loss of the former rests on mere conjecture.

Our author remarks, "the Evangelist Mark, who appears to have derived his Gospel from a Hebrew document, or narrative by a Hebrew, seems to have been fond of quoting the original for the sake of accuracy; and in such cases he adds a version.

C. iii. 17. Βοανεργες	ὁ ἐστὶν υἱὸς Βροκτης.
vii. 11. κορβαν	ὁ ἐστὶ δῶρον*.
— 34. ἐφφαθα	ὁ ἐστὶ διανοιχθητι.

* We request our readers to observe that the Greek translator of St. Matthew, finding the word *κορβαν*, renders it at once *δῶρον*. *ὅς ἂν εἶπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῷ μητρὶ, δῶρον*. Whereas, St. Mark chose to give the original word, as being a proverbial expression amongst the Jews; and subjoins an interpretation. A translator would, as in the former case, have rendered the word by *δῶρον*. The parallel

"These explanations are in no way singular, as it could not be supposed that the Greeks could understand Hebrew or Syriac terms without interpretation. But what is singular, upon the hypothesis that Mark wrote in Greek, is, that he should have thought it necessary to explain Greek by Latin words:—

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| C. xii. 42. λεπτα δυο. | ὁ ἐστὶ κοδραντης. |
| xv. 16. ἐσω τῆς αὐλῆς | ὁ ἐστὶ πραιτωριον. |
| — 42. παρασκευή | ὁ ἐστὶ προσαββατον." |

Now, upon the author's supposition, that St. Mark wrote *exclusively* for the Gentiles, it does not appear why he should have introduced any Syriac words at all; for as *they* did not understand that language, the introduction of these words would be no proof whatever of his accuracy. But let that pass. We do not see the singularity, which our author perceives, in the second class of explanations. St. Mark wrote in Greek for the use, in the first instance, of Greek Jews, subjects of the Roman empire. He mentions the fact of the poor widow's having given two λεπτά, the name of a Greek coin, and then adds, as a more familiar designation of their value, ὁ ἐστὶ κοδραντης, a word well known to all the people of the Roman provinces, and what is more, adopted in the dialect of Palestine; or at least the Roman form *Quadrans*, which occurs *totidem literis* in the Jerusalem Talmud, (See Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. p. 2125. Carpsov. Appar. Historico-Crit. p. 687.) Again, having used the word αὐλή, which is a general term, he gives a clearer notion of his meaning by adding πραιτώριον, a word well known in every place which had a Roman garrison; and which is moreover used by Phlegon Trallianus, who wrote under Adrian. (See Meursii Glossar. in v.) We may here remark by the way, that the word ἀσάριον, used by St. Matthew, had not only been domesticated in the Greek language before his time, but was also adopted by the Jews. Indeed, it is very obvious, that this must have been the case, in almost all the Roman provinces, where the Roman coins were current. When the Dukes of Florence were the great money lenders of Europe, the term *ducut* found its way into almost every language.

Now as to προσαββατον, where did our author learn that this was a *Latin* word, when the prefix προ clearly designates it as of Greek composition, and when it occurs in the Book of Judith, vii. 6. χαρις προσαββάτων ἐνήστευσε? But let us ex-

instances adduced by our author of W. de Moerbeka, who rendered Ἰλλασιν by *illasibus*, and explained it *ligamentis*, is not in point; for *ligamentis* is the mere conjectural gloss of a man who did not know the word ἰλλάσιν.

amine some of his reasons. He supposes St. Mark himself, or his Latin interpreter, to have written *lepta duo*. i. e. *quadrantes*, and that the Greek translator rendered both into Greek; or, if St. Mark wrote merely *quadrantes*, his Greek translator giving the version λεπτὰ, thought proper to add the original *quadrantes*. As to the first hypothesis, *lepton* is not a Latin word, and therefore St. Mark, writing in Latin, would not have used it. As to the second, his Greek translator would not have used it, as the translation of *quadrantes*, having the Greek word κοδράντης ready to his hand. Our author hazards a strange conjecture that “κοδράντης stands for *quadrantes*, and that for Λεπτὰ,” as if a Greek translator would not have put the plural κοδράνται! But the λεπτόν may still, if he pleases, be equivalent to the κοδράντης, for the words ὅ ἐστι refer not to the number of the λεπτὰ, but to the term λεπτόν. We say nothing of the solecism which our author’s notion implies, *quod est quadrantes*. The relative ὅ cannot, of course, refer to the δύο λεπτὰ, but to the word λεπτόν, as in the other instances, ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον—Βοάνεργες, ὅ ἐστιν, υἱοὶ βροντῆς. Besides δύο λεπτὰ does not mean specifically two mites, but any small number; as in our Saviour’s question, “are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?” so probably it is to be understood in the parable of the good Samaritan—“he took out two pence.” 1 Kings xvii. 20. “I am gathering two sticks to dress it.” We are therefore very far from agreeing with our author in thinking it “almost necessary to conjecture, from the above, and similar examples, either that Mark wrote in Latin, or at least, that our Elzevir Greek copy of his Gospel is, like the Aldine Simplicius, a re-translation from that language.” He quotes, after J. H. Tooke, some passages of an old English version of the New Testament from the Vulgate, where the translator retains the Latin adjective in *bilis*, adding an explanation in common English; for instance, “Gratias Deo super inenarrabili dono ejus” is thus rendered—“thankings to God upon the *unenarrable*, or that may not be told, gifte of hym.” But the case here was, that the early translators, who wished to render word for word, as far as it was possible, found it impossible, as Mr. Tooke observes, to express those adjectives in *bilis*, except by a periphrasis—they therefore took the words as they found them, and added an explanation. But the case was very different with the supposed Latin translator of St. Mark, who, if he met with the Latin words *obolus*, *aula*, or *præparatio*, would not say *duo obolos*, i. e. *quadrantes*, or *intra aulam*, i. e. *prætorium*, but would substitute the Latin word at once, at least in the

last mentioned instance, for there is nothing *peculiarly* Greek in the form αὔλα.

Our Author's opinion is, that "what is named the Hellenistic style is not Hebraic but Latin Greek." This opinion we may discuss hereafter; at present we will consider the example which he adduces from Mark vii. 2. ΚΟΙΝΑΙΣ χερσὶ, τούτεστιν ἀνίπτοις. Κοινός, he says, "is a Greek word signifying *common*, but Hellenistically *defiled* or *impure*, in which latter sense it is used, by no classical Greek writer. It seems to me, in fact, to be no other than the Latin *coenum*, (signifying *dirt* or *mire*) written in Greek characters."

Now in the first place, why should a Greek have used the Latin substantive *coenum* for the adjective *coenosus*, when he might have put κοινῶδης or some such form? But our author supposes that "Mark, or his Latin interpreters wrote *coenosis manibus*, or abbreviated *coenis manibus*, and that the translator of our vulgar Greek text gave both the original and his translation." Does he then suppose that Acts X. 14. οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον, is a translation of "nunquam edi quidquam *coenosum* aut *impurum*? or that in γ. 28. ἄνθρωπος κοινός, an *unclean* or *heathen man* was in the supposed Latin original *coenosus homo*? But what is the fact? Why that the word is used by the Jewish Greek writers in this sense, peculiar to themselves. Josephus calls the Gentiles κοινούς ἀνθρώπους. "And in the first Book of Maccabees we have ἔειπεν καὶ κτήνη κοινά, which single instance is quite sufficient. And again we ask, would any Greek translator think of rendering *coenosus* by κοινός? Besides, what sort of a Latin phrase is *coenosis manibus*? or would St. Mark, had he written in Latin, have talked of the disciples "eating with *miry* hands?" Was it a phrase current at Rome? The real fact is, as Valckenaer has observed, that *coenum* was derived from κοινόν "cum coloniis Græcis, fæce vulgi in Italiam fuit translatum;" but having lost, in the Latin language its original signification, no person would render the Latin *coenum*, still less *coenosum*, by the Greek κοινόν. The reader will do well to compare the learned and judicious account which Valckenaer gives (Scholæ in N. F. II. p. 62.) of the process by which κοινόν came to signify *profane*, with the improbable speculation of our author. We will only add, that it was very natural for the Græcising Jews to attach the sense of *profane* to κοινός, considering the exclusive and peculiar spirit of their ritual law.

The next conjecture is more ingenious, that in 1 Tim. vi. 19, (—ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτοῖς ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ κελον, which is rendered in the vulgate "the *saurizare* sibi FUNDAMEN-

TUM *bonum*) the word in the original Latin was *fundum*, which was mistaken for, or taken in the sense of *fundamentum*, and that the passage ought to be "*laying up in store for themselves a good FUND against the time to come.*"

Now as *fundum*, according to our Author, gives a much more natural sense than *fundamentum*, why should the translator have taken the shorter word for the longer (contrary to the usual order of such mistakes) or have given to *fundum* a sense which it never bears, and which must have puzzled him very much? In the second place, where did our Author learn that *fundus* signified what we understand by *a fund*, i. e. a certain sum of money laid up in reserve? We are not aware that it is used to denote any kind of property, but that which consists in lands, houses, &c. The Apostle would have said *rem*, or *thesaurum*, or *possessiones*, not *fundum*. As to the meaning of the phrase, it is but an elliptical metaphor, 'lay up for yourselves that which will be a good foundation for your hopes.' This does not appear to us more forced than Col. i. 5. "the hope which is laid up for you in heaven." It seems probable that the Apostle had in his mind those words of Tobit iv. 9. Θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ eis ἡμέραν ἀνέλεως.

In the preceding verse our Author conjectures; that where we now have πλουτεῖν ἐν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ καλοῖς, *divites fieri in bonis OPERIBUS*, it was written originally ΟΡΙΒUS, "which was mistaken for a contraction of OPERIBUS." But is it probable that a word, which gives a natural sense, would be mistaken for another which gives a less natural one? The *opposite* mistake of *opibus* for *operibus* would have been far more likely. Besides how completely it enervates the sentence, to make St. Paul say; "charge them that are rich in this world; that they be rich in good riches," whereas there is a clear opposition intended between riches and good works, as in the second chapter, between personal decorations and the ornament of good works; "*that women adorn themselves; not with broidered hair, &c. but, (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.*"

Our Author waxes bolder as he proceeds; in speaking of the singular usage of ἐκεφαλαιώσαν, Mark xii. 4. for *wounded him in the head*, he supposes it to be merely the Latin word *expulerunt* written in Greek characters. "The native Jews or Syrians pronounced the letter P like the Greek Φ or our F, accordingly they would pronounce ΕΧΠΥΛΕΡΥΝΤ, ΕΚΕΦΑΛΕΡΥΝΤ, and *nothing more was necessary* than to change the Latin verbal termination, *erunt* into the Greek αιώσαν, in order to produce ΕΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΣΑΝ."

reminds us of the ingenious etymology—*διὰ περ—napkin—pipkin*—which is too absurd for refutation. But we have no question; if our Author's native Jew translator for such a common Latin word as *manus*, that he should have known the Greek word which he used it, rather than *-ωσαν* or *-ησαν*? In the conclusion of the second disquisition our author has given our present Greek copies of the writings of the Evangelists, and their translations from the Latin. If so, that our Author is more fortunate than St. Mark, in meeting with a better translator. It is generally understood that St. Mark wrote in Greek, and he used a Gospel which has been compared with that of St. Luke. This, we acknowledge, is a great advantage; but is an argument for a Greek copy of St. Luke. But here an obvious difficulty presents itself. According to our Author's own statements, the four Gospels must have had translators of very different talents, how comes it, that we find many passages expressed in these different translators in the same words? It is possible that some of them may have copied from one another, or from common documents, but a *translator* of one book, is not likely to copy from a translator of another book. It is not unlikely that a passage may be translated by two or three different men into the same Greek, and it will be strange indeed if all their translations coincide, when one of them is a good Greek scholar, and another not so well versed in that language; witness the translations of Aquila and Symmachus, and, in the case of the Latin language, the different versions of some books of the Old Testament which are still extant; for instance, the version of the Gospel of St. John in the Verona and Cambridge Bibles compared by Semler.

We will explain our meaning by an instance.

Matth. xii. 43.

ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα
ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰρήνη
καὶ ὥρα ἀνθρώπων τόπων, ζητοῦν
αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκει. Τότε
ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν
μου, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἐλθὼν, εὐ-
ρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμη-
μένον. τότε πορεύεται καὶ παρα-
λαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ
ἕτερα πνεύματα, πονηρότερα
αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοί-
κωσι αὐτοῦ, καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχα-
τα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἑκείνου χείρονα
τῶν πρώτων.

Luke xi. 24.

"Ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα
ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρ-
χεται οἱ ἀνθρώπων τόπων, ζητοῦν
αὐτὸν ἀπάπαντι, καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκει,
λέγει· ὑποστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν
μου, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἐλθὼν, εὐ-
ρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμη-
μένον. τότε πορεύεται καὶ παρα-
λαμβάνει ἑπτὰ
ἕτερα πνεύματα, πονηρότερα
ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοί-
κει ἐκεῖ, καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχα-
τα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἑκείνου χείρονα
τῶν πρώτων.

Now what we contend for is, first, that these ~~two passages~~ must have coincided exactly (with the exception of the words *μη εὐρισκον, τότε, and μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ*, in the originals from which our text of the two Gospels is supposed to have been translated; secondly, that two translators, very differently versed in the Greek language, (as it is manifest that the supposed translators of Matthew and Luke were) would ~~never have rendered~~ this long passage in precisely the same words. The translator of St. Matthew did not adopt the translation of St. Luke, because if he had, he would have done so more frequently in other passages; the translator of St. Luke did not follow the translator of St. Matthew, because he himself was a much better Greek scholar, and would have no motive for adopting another translation. Whereas if we suppose the Greek of St. Matthew to be either the original or a very early translation of the Hebrew, and St. Luke to have written originally in Greek, it was very natural for the latter to adopt a version of our Saviour's words which was current when he wrote: but with two different translators the case would not be the same. This part of the subject deserves a more minute discussion than our limits will permit us to bestow upon it.

In p. 95. seq. our Author advances, somewhat confusedly, a most extraordinary argument, to prove that the Greek Church might have acquiesced in versions, as imperfect, in point of style, as the vulgate Greek text is shown to be. His reasoning is this. The Greeks were infinitely less qualified than the Romans, to exert a critical superintendence over versions into their own languages respectively, and why? forsooth because, being "possessed of an indigenuous, extensive, and exalted literature, the Greeks in general studied no language but their own, or at least were very imperfectly acquainted with any other." (Our Author had taken great pains to prove the contrary in his first Disquisition.) Whereas the Romans were a race of translators. Yet the Latin Vulgate is barbarous; therefore the Greek Church may have acquiesced in a barbarous Greek translation. Now according to this statement it appears, that the Greeks who possessed "an indigenuous and exalted literature" made as barbarous a version into their own language, as the Latins, whose literature was of "a servile character." But surely a Greek translator, who was a complete master of his tongue, in rendering a Latin book into Greek, would not be guilty of barbarisms, although he might be at a loss for the sense of some passages. If the Greek Church wanted a translation to be made for their own use, they would surely

have taken care that it should have been done by a Greek ; and in that case, according to our Author's statement of Greek literature, the version would have been as good Greek as the other Greek writings of the same age, although it might not have been strictly accurate ; whereas in fact, the Greek of the New Testament is far inferior to the Greek of any writer whatever of the first nine or ten centuries. And this is a very important consideration.

We have historical testimony to the fact, that there were *many* Latin translations older than the Vulgate, but there is no tradition of the kind about any different Greek texts. The variations which occur in the Greek MSS. are of a very different kind from those which Jerome found in the different Latin versions. The former may easily be accounted for by the accidental changes which must happen in repeated transcriptions of the same text ; not so the latter. Yet if the Gospels had been *written* in Latin and *translated* into Greek, is it credible that there should at an early period have been a great variety of Latin texts, and only one Greek ? Irenæus, whose veracity is unimpeached, says that he had conversed with an elder who had heard the contemporaries of the Apostles and disciples of our Lord. He had therefore sufficient opportunities of ascertaining, whether the Greek Gospels, which were used by the Church in his own time, had been used in it since the time of the Apostles. That he actually did make the inquiry, appears, from his stating very positively that the Gospel according to Matthew was written for the Jews, in their own dialect. And therefore our Author's remark, in the 5th Disquisition, that the Gospels were neglected by Greek writers till the end of the second century, is of no weight whatever ; since Papias, a hearer of St. John, *mentions* the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and, Irenæus sixty years afterwards *expressly cites* them. Is it credible, that during that interval the original text of all the Gospels should have been lost, and no *tradition* of it left ? In order to escape this difficulty, our author supposes that Irenæus wrote in *Latin*, but that our present Latin copy of him is a retranslation from the Greek. But this conjecture we cannot admit, till it shall be substantiated by better arguments than those which he has adduced. We shall probably revert to it hereafter. Irenæus was a Greek, and had been a hearer of Polycarp, at Smyrna, who was also a Greek ; the names of Irenæus and his predecessor Pothinus are Greek ; and Caligula instituted at Lyons " certamen Græcæ Latinæque facundiæ ;" and although it certainly appears that the common people spoke Latin ; yet the Epistle from the Church of

Vienne and Lyons, quoted by Eusebius, was clearly written in Greek; most probably by Irenæus himself.

Our Saviour says, in John viii. 31. "If ye continue in my word—the truth shall make you free." The Jews reply, "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, ye shall be made free?" (ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι γινώσκουθα). Our Author observes, that "it is difficult to discern, in the Greek text, what connection the being Abraham's seed has with the sentiment. But let us read the answer in the Latin Vulgate, and we shall see the force of the passage. *Respondent ei, SEMEN ABRAHÆ sumus, et NEMINI SERVIMUS unquam: quomodo tu dicis LIBERI eritis?* The term LIBEROS has the twofold meaning of CHILDREN and of FREE. Our Lord's hearers therefore affirm that his expression, will make you LIBEROS, was quite improper, in either sense of the word. If he meant by LIBEROS children they could not &c." Bating the excessive absurdity of this speculation upon other grounds, it is sufficient to remark, that our Author actually supposes our Lord to have talked Latin to the Jews at Jerusalem, and to have used the *very word* LIBEROS; although the first sentence of his book is this, "Our Saviour was born in Judea, chose Jews as his disciples, and preached in a dialect of the Hebrew language." Leaving our Disquisitor to explain away this inconsistency, we take our leave of him for the present.

We wish to add to our former observations respecting the knowledge of Greek in the neighbourhood of Pontus, the testimony of Dio Chrysostom, who says that the citizens of Borysthenes in other respects were not very good Grecians, (τὰλλα οὐκ ἐστὶ σαφῶς ἐλληνίζουσι) owing to their living amidst barbarians; but that they all knew the Iliad by heart. (Or. xxxvi. p. 430.)

(To be continued.)

ART. II. *A Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq. the reputed Editor of the Edinburgh Review, on an Article entitled "Durham Case—Clerical Abuses." By Rev. H. Phillpotts, D.D. Rector of Stanhope. 8vo. 40 pp. Hatchard and Son. 1823.*

THE Libel upon the Durham Clergy has proved "the fruitful mother of a thousand more." The trials of Hone and Carlile were made the occasion and the excuse for additional

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blasphemies—and the trial of Williams has called up one lawyer to abuse the Clergy, and another to review them. From both instances short-sighted men infer that the prosecutions ought not to have been instituted. From both instances the correct reasoner draws an opposite conclusion, and contends that if all legal proceedings had been forborne, the calumnies which they seem to have produced would have found some other vent. What reason is there to believe that men who get their bread by blasphemy, would have given up their lucrative trade without the interposition of the law? Their temporary virulence may have been increased by prosecution, but their hostility to religion was not created by the Attorney General. If he had never interfered, it would have manifested itself as plainly to the world without the risque of encountering an effectual check.

The same thing is true with respect to the calumniators of the Church. Who believes that they would have surrendered their present and their prospective profits, if Williams had been permitted to go on libelling with impunity? His defence has called forth all their vigor and venom. His punishment will not fail to excite their fury and their malice. But the effect will be to make them traduce with more falsehood and less prudence, and to excite greater curiosity respecting the answers they may receive.

"Let the Clergy of England," said an able writer twenty years ago, "be warned by the example of the Clergy of France. The French Priests suffered themselves to be written down before they put pen to paper. I have always been astonished at their unaccountable indolence, which let the public mind be wholly prepossessed against them without a single effort to do away the prejudice till it was too late." It is good policy in the defenders of existing institutions to make an opponent speak out. As long as danger can be dissembled or denied, there will be men in every camp to dissemble and deny it. The careless from indolence, the timid from cowardice, the lukewarm from indifference. Let the enemy be provoked to an open declaration of war, and then even the careless, the timid, and the lukewarm may be persuaded to buckle on their armour. The vulgar infidelity of the present age was not generally known, or systematically resisted until its extent and its spirit were proved in the courts of law. The abuse of the Gospel has been succeeded by the abuse of the Clergy, and that also will be discountenanced, will be loathed, and may be despised as soon as it has been forced to exhibit itself in its true colours.

Hitherto it has been concealed by cunning, brazened out

by impudence, and overlooked by sloth. By the proceedings and publications of the last six months all disguise is done away. The rancour, the industry, the unanimity of the libellers are not less evident than formidable. The absolute necessity of encountering them is perceived and admitted, and they must be encountered by that opposition of which they are notoriously most afraid. One branch of such opposition is to serve all who resemble Mr. John Ambrose Williams, as Mr. John Ambrose Williams has been served: to let the law take its course, and regard not the clamour which its terrors and penalties may excite. What better proof can we require of the efficacy of any hostile proceeding, than the displeasure of those against whom it is directed? The outcry against prosecutions for libel is one proof of their propriety. Sharpers and felons concur with Mr. Brougham and Mr. Williams in denouncing "the intolerable oppression of the law." What the tread-mill is to the pick-pocket, the King's Bench is to the libeller, his dread and his desert. The louder he cries the more he is hurt. In such a cause the spirit of martyrdom will have few imitators, and a brief existence; it will beget no sympathy, and excite no applause. A little ranting declamation will be the chief part of its bad effects; the good ones will be the restoration of confidence and peace.

But we have no desire to draw the legal halter too tight round the neck of the politician. Whether he writes for faction or for food, some allowance should be made for warmth of temper, and for habitual exaggeration. We neither want a Censor to purify the press at its source, nor a Star-Chamber to bank up its channel. We would prosecute nothing but what is unequivocally libellous and abusive. While public writers keep on the windy side of the law, while in humble imitation of the Edinburgh Reviewer, they consider the risque which their publisher must run by giving unlimited liberty to their pens, such cautious men may be encountered with other weapons than those which we employ against a fearless slanderer. False statements and false reasonings should be met as Dr. Phillpotts meets them: and the defence which he establishes, and the castigation which he inflicts, will excite as much wrath as the prospect of a prosecution for libel. He will be assailed with all the virulence of his critical traducers. Their discomfiture will be confessed by an eager and inveterate hostility, and his triumph proclaimed and secured by dignified retreat from the contest.

The first twelve pages of Dr. Phillpotts's Letter contain remarks upon that part of the article in question, which does

not immediately refer to the Durham Clergy; and in this short space the Reviewer is convicted of gross ignorance upon the subjects of the *real presence* and the *power of remitting sins*, and of wilful falsehood in his statements respecting Bishop Butler, and the Bishop of London. The following passage will shew how completely this task is effected.

"The Reviewer is anxious to have it believed, that our present Bishops, among many other points of inferiority to their predecessors, are distinguished by an increased and increasing spirit of luxury, avarice, and selfishness. It suited this purpose to set forth with high encomiums the splendid liberality of Bishop Butler, in disposing of the revenues of his great preferments: but it did not suit the same purpose, to state the real object, on which his largest munificence was bestowed, namely, an Episcopal Palace. This, I say, it was not convenient to the Reviewer to mention: for, blunderer as he is, he could not be blind to the manifest absurdity of denouncing all living Bishops, in the gross, for 'living sumptuously in vast and splendid Palaces,' and holding forth one, who is deceased, as a pattern of truly primitive virtue, for rearing a Palace for himself and his successors to live in.

"Accordingly, by a stroke of his pen *he changes the Palace at Bristol into the Cathedral*, on the repairs of which he tells us, that the Bishop 'expended more than he received from the See.' Those who will take the trouble of looking into the Biography of this eminent man, (a trouble which I can venture to promise them will be its own reward) will find, that he did indeed 'expend in repairing and improving the *Episcopal Palace* at Bristol four thousand pounds, which is said to have been more than the whole revenues of the Bishopric amounted to, during his continuance in that See*.'

"I know not whether it is worth while to add, that so little averse to the decoration of his Palaces was this great ornament of the English Church, that in less than two years, during which he presided over the Diocese of Durham he found time and means to expend largely on the Castle, the Episcopal residence, in that city, where his armorial bearings 'in all the perfect folly of Heraldry,' as his Encomiast calls it when 'speaking of modern Prelates, still mark the scene of his munificence. In the same richly endowed See, whose high secular privileges demand some due proportion of secular state, he disdained not to live with all the splendour of the most splendid of those who had preceded him, 'attended by a body of serving men gorgeously apparelled' (as the Reviewer chooses to describe footmen in purple liveries of these days); copying in such matters after his ancient Patron, Bishop Talbot, and studiously departing from the more sparing pattern set by his immediate

* "See Life prefixed to Halifax's Edition of his Works: see also Chalmer's Biog. Dict. and Hutchinson's History of Durham."

predecessor. All this he did, without ceasing to 'regard himself as Steward for the Poor,' where their real interests required his aid, and without departing from that simplicity which becomes the Christian Bishop,—'knowing' well not only 'how to be abased,' but also 'how to abound.'

"From this pitiful forgery respecting Bishop Butler, a name too pure, as well as too exalted, to be sullied even by the false and treacherous praises of such a writer as this, I pass to a more culpable act of the same description, committed against a living Prelate,—against one, whose mild virtues, and truly Christian meekness of demeanour, (I will not on such an occasion do him the injustice of referring to his higher qualities,) might have been expected to disarm the hostility of the most inveterate enemy of his order. But the rancour of a thorough-paced Reformer finds in these virtues only fresh and stronger motives to his hatred. Accordingly our Reviewer fastens on this Prelate with a pertinacity of misrepresentation, which can only be accounted for by his reliance on the unwillingness of such a man to stoop to the exposure of his artifices.

The Bishop, in a charge to his Clergy, thus speaks of the Unitarian System, a system of which both himself, and those whom he was addressing, had in the most solemn manner, and on the most awful occasions, declared their conscientious disbelief. 'Its influence,' says he, 'has generally been confined to men of some education, whose thoughts have been little employed on the subject of religion; or who, loving rather to question than learn, *have approached the oracles of divine truth without that humble docility, that prostration of the understanding and will,* which are indispensable to proficiency in Christian Instruction.' With what feelings this Reviewer is accustomed to approach those divine Oracles, I do not permit myself to conjecture: I earnestly hope, that they are very different from those which accompany his worldly studies. But the following is the manner, in which he represents the words of the Bishop. 'It is the duty of the people to reverence the Church and its members in silent acquiescence,' '*with that prostration of the understanding and will, which a Right Reverend Prelate has openly prescribed, as the best frame of mind upon all ecclesiastical subjects.*'

"Can the dishonesty of this writer go further? Yes:—and in the instance of this very same Bishop, whose language on another occasion is still more wickedly mis-stated. More wickedly I say, because the object of this latter fraud is not only to misrepresent the words of the Bishop, for the purpose of serving a present turn, —but also to hold forth his person to public indignation, as a 'courtly Sycophant,' one 'guilty of an excess of adulation unknown in the most despotic reigns,'—one, whose baseness could only be paralleled by those 'fawning preachers' in Charles the First's time, who in part caused the troubles that ensued, by their extravagant doctrines respecting the right of Kings, 'giving unto Cæsar what Cæsar refused to take, as not belonging to him.'

"It appears, that in the course of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the Bill for degrading the late Queen, the Bishop of London maintained (what every man who loves the Constitution will maintain with him) that an enquiry into the personal conduct of the King would be unconstitutional; for said he, citing the words of Blackstone, the King is not under the coercive power of the law, which will not suppose him capable of committing a folly, much less a crime.* For speaking thus, this distinguished Prelate is charged by our Reviewer with '*proclaiming, in his place in the House of Lords, that by the Constitution of this Country, the King is exempt from all moral blame; thus perverting the maxim which protects the Sovereign from personal responsibility, into the monstrous doctrine, that nothing which he does, as an individual, can actually be wrong.*'"

"That in a moment of popular delirium, such a misrepresentation of the Bishop's words should have been made by those whose interest it was, at all hazards, to keep alive the delusion, could excite no surprise. But it ought to be a matter of astonishment, that so flagrant a perversion of the truth,—now when the frenzy, which alone gave it a chance of being credited even by the vulgar, has long passed away,—should be hazarded in any journal, maintaining the slightest pretension, I will not say to honesty, but even to prudence. The whole passage of the Commentator on the Laws of England, part of which was cited by the Bishop, will be found below *." P. 7.

Dr. Phillipotts then adverts to those parts of the Review which more immediately concern himself and the Clergy of Durham. We extract his account of the opening charge.

"He begins with the following statement:—'A newspaper of merely local circulation, had published a few remarks upon the factious spirit of some of the Durham Clergy, in ordering the bells not to toll at her Majesty's decease, a mark of respect invariably shewn to all the Members of the Royal Family.'

"Of the three propositions expressed, or implied, in this statement, the first is a wilful concealment of the truth. An honest man, in stating the case, as this Reviewer professes to do, would at least have said, that the remarks of the Newspaper (whether he considered them excusable, or not) were of a very coarse and in-

* "To these several cases, in which the incapacity of committing crimes arises from a deficiency of the will, we may add one more, in which the law supposes an incapacity of doing wrong, from the excellence and perfection of the person; which extend as well to the will as to the other qualities of his mind. I mean the case of the king: who, by virtue of his royal prerogative, is not under the coercive power of the law; which will not suppose him capable of committing a folly, much less a crime. We are therefore, out of reverence and decency, to forbear any idle inquiries, of what would be the consequence if the king were to act thus and thus; since the law deems so highly of his wisdom and virtue, as not even to presume it possible for him to do any thing inconsistent with his station and dignity; and therefore has made no provision to remedy such a grievance.—Blackstone's Comm. Book iv. c. 2, *ad fin.*

temperate kind. But, of this I shall have occasion to say more hereafter. The other two propositions are direct falsehoods. It is false, that the Clergy of Durham ordered that the bells should not toll at her Majesty's decease; it is also false, that the tolling of the bells is a mark of respect invariably shewn to all the Members of the Royal Family."

This pithy declaration is confirmed in the subsequent pages, and the Doctor clearly establishes three points. First, that the Clergy have been the defendants not the assailants in this contest. Secondly, that they took no part in the question respecting the late Queen, beyond an expression of their dissent from the County Resolutions. Thirdly, that the prosecutor in the criminal information was the venerable Bishop of the diocese, "feeling as he always feels, as the friend and father of his Clergy," and acting "under the advice (not merely the cold legal opinion) of his Attorney-General, Mr. Scarlett." The following extract though somewhat long, is too valuable to be passed over, and the reader will observe that it acquaints us with two important facts:—one relating to Mr. Scarlett's absurd oratorical flourish in praise of the silent grief which was manifested at the death of the Queen; the other, to Mr. Brougham's confession, that the real object of the defence *was to excite in the public mind, feelings hostile to the Clergy.*

"To manifest at once the sort of spirit with which this Northern Rhadamanthus is imbued, I will exhibit the Defendant's libel, and the description of it as given in the Review, desiring our readers, at the same time, to recollect, that *the utmost care has been taken by the Reviewer to keep every part of the libel itself from appearing in his pages.*

LIBEL.

"So far as we have been able to judge, from the accounts in the public papers, a mark of respect to her late Majesty has been almost universally paid throughout the kingdom, when the painful tidings of her decease was received, by tolling the bells of the cathedrals and churches. But there is one exception to this very creditable fact, which demands especial notice. In this episcopal city, containing six churches, independently of the Cathedral, not a single bell announced the departure of the magnanimous spirit of the most injured of Queens—the most persecuted of women. Thus the brutal enmity of those who embittered her mortal existence, pursues her in her shroud. We know not whether actual orders were issued to prevent this customary sign of mourning; but the omission plainly indicates the kind of spirit which predominates among our Clergy. Yet these men profess to be followers of Jesus Christ, to walk in his footsteps, to teach his precepts, to inculcate his spirit, to promote harmony, charity, and christian love!

Out upon such hypocrisy! It is such conduct which renders the very name of our established Clergy odious till it stinks in the nostrils; that makes our churches look like deserted sepulchres, rather than temples of the living God; that raises up conventicles in every corner, and encreases the brood of wild fanatics and enthusiasts; that causes our beneficed dignitaries to be regarded as usurpers of their possessions; that deprives them of all pastoral influence and respect; that, in short, has left them no support or prop in the attachment or veneration of the people. Sensible of the decline of their spiritual and moral influence, they cling to temporal power, and lose in their officiousness in political matters, even the semblance of the character of ministers of religion. It is impossible that such a system can last. It is at war with the spirit of the age, as well as with justice and reason, and the beetles who crawl about amidst its holes and crevices, act as if they were striving to provoke and accelerate the blow, which, sooner or later, will inevitably crush the whole fabric, and level it with the dust.'

Reviewer's Statement of the Substance of the Libel.

" 'In pursuance of this system, when the news of her lamented death reached Durham, they forbade the bells to toll, thus withholding that decent mark of respect which was due to her as a member of the Royal Family, and could not be refused without offering an affront to that Illustrious House, and especially to its august Head. This notable piece of vulgar sycophancy, as disgusting, beyond all doubt, to the Prince whom it was clumsily intended to flatter, as to the people whose honest and genuine feelings it was meant to outrage, naturally called for observation from Mr. Williams, as the conductor of an independent journal published in Durham. His remarks which have exposed him to this prosecution, are strong, and indicate some warmth of indignation, such as probably every unbiassed mind felt upon the occasion. He states the fact; contrasts the silence of the bells at Durham with the almost universal tribute of respect rendered by other Cathedrals and Churches; and comments upon such proceedings as indicative of an implacable spirit in those who had done their utmost to embitter the Queen's existence, and whom even her mournful end had not been able to soften. He, not unnaturally, exclaims upon the marked inconsistency of such conduct with the precepts of our religion, and the example of its humane and charitable founder; and asserts, that such men are the worst enemies to the Establishment, making its temples be deserted, and filling the tabernacles of the sectaries. Such is the substance of the remarks, which the Clergy found it easier (possibly it may not in the end prove safer) to prosecute than to answer.'

" In order to estimate duly the fairness of the Reviewer in giving to his readers such a description of such a libel,—stripping it, in fact, of every single expression, which marks its libellous character, it must be borne in mind, that throughout the whole of his long article, extending to nearly thirty pages, he has not found room

for a single line of the libel itself. What honest motive can be assigned for such a suppression? Why is he thus anxious to hide from his readers the extent of the Defendant's crime? Because in his profligate disregard to truth he chose to say, and wished to have it believed, that the prosecution of this libel, and the attempt to protect the Clergy from slanders so unprovoked and unparalleled, is 'to demand from the civil power that all objectors be put to silence, because the church and its members are sacred ;—' to stifle all discussion of their system and their conduct ;'—' to bear down by the intolerable oppressions of the law a defamed and injured person, writing in self-defence, and claiming only to retaliate on his calumniators.'

" Of the speeches of the Advocates, as quoted in this Review, it is not my intention to say much. That Mr. Scarlett, in the able and honourable discharge of the duty undertaken by him, afforded inadvertently one small opening of which advantage was made by his opponent, would be of itself not worth remarking :—that Mr. Brougham should greedily seize, or make, an opportunity of repeating, in language more abusive even than that of his Client, the charge of hypocrisy against the Durham Clergy, may be natural enough :—that the Reviewer should quote at full length, and with entire approbation, the passage which describes them as 'the most consummate of Hypocrites,' was quite a matter of course :—but that the charge itself was wholly without foundation, that no such instructions were given to the Counsel for the prosecution, as Mr. Brougham assumed, and the Reviewer echoed, has been proved by the publication of the instructions themselves, a publication extorted by the calumnies of this Review*.

" In truth, this eagerness to pervert one incidental, perhaps unguarded, observation of Mr. Scarlett to a meaning as little contemplated by himself, as it was wholly unmerited by those who were made its objects, is only an additional evidence of the spirit in which the Defence was conducted, and of the purpose it was designed to serve. No man, who reads the report of Mr. Brougham's speech, can imagine that the safety of his client was on this

* " In p. 375 it is said, ' It is well known that the defence of the Durham Clergy against the charge of having stood single among their countrymen, in withholding from the late Queen the accustomed marks of respect, consisted in saying, that though they said less than others, they might feel as much ;' and a quotation is given from the speech of Mr. Brougham, in which he speaks of the Clergy of Durham having instructed their chosen official advocate to stand forward with this, as their defence.

" ' I by no means presume to condemn the Learned Gentleman for endeavouring to excite an impression so favourable to his client, nor for seizing on any part of the address of the Counsel for the Prosecution, which could be made to bear the semblance of such a meaning. But I feel it due to truth and justice to declare solemnly before the world, that no such instructions were given—no such ground was ever contemplated by me, as a defence for the Clergy, on account of their not ordering the bells of their churches to be tolled.'—*Extract from a Letter of Mr. P. Bowlby, Solicitor for the Prosecution, to the Editor of the Durham Advertiser.*"

occasion (whatever it may be on others) the sole or the principal end to which he looked. That he had another, and, as he doubtless thinks, a worthier object to animate his efforts, might be inferred from almost every part of that speech, even without the applauding comment of his reviewer: 'Though delivered in support of a defence, it contains nothing at all apologetical, and not much that can be represented as even conciliatory. It is criminative, contemptuous, and defying—The tone throughout is that of proud superiority and command; and its general strain and character may be compendiously described by the single word, *terrible*.'

"Happily, there is one other word, the force of which is not yet forgotten in an English Court of Law,—TRUTH. Truth is there enthroned, as in her proper seat: and while the Sovereignty of Truth is felt and acknowledged there,—in that Sanctuary of Reason, Liberty, and Justice,—we may despise all the terrors of Mr. Brougham's eloquence, and the predictions of his panegyrist. Nay, we may even hear without dismay, what we have since been told* on the alleged authority of the defendant, that Mr. Brougham's real object was obtained, not in the acquittal of the defendant,—that, it seems, was a hopeless matter,—but by exciting in the crowd that heard him feelings hostile to the Clergy. If this indeed be true, the object and the means, the man and the occasion, were admirably assorted; unity and consistence are thus given to the whole proceeding; and the friends of the respective parties may exult to see—bound up in one indissoluble knot—the fair fame of Mr. John Ambrose Williams, Mr. Brougham, and the unknown Reviewer." P. 29.

Our readers can now form their own opinion of Dr. Phillpotts' Letter to Mr. Jeffrey, and determine whether that celebrated gentleman has been treated according to his deserts. Looking to the whole spirit of the last number of his journal, we hesitate not to answer in the affirmative. Three separate articles are devoted to so many attacks upon the Clergy, and the paper to which Dr. Phillpotts has confined his attention, is not the worst of the three. The review of the Bishop of London's Charge is more scurrilous, more false, and more disgusting, than the worst parts of the attack on the Clergy of Durham. The admission of such ribaldry into a popular work, would be a lasting disgrace to the nation,

* "When I observe the use which has been unremittingly made of Mr. Brougham's speech on the occasion, by the defendant, by the newspapers which make common cause with him, and at length even by one of the most widely circulated literary journals of the day, I feel it my duty to state publicly, and I do so without fear of contradiction by the defendant, for he himself has asserted the fact, that the chief object of Mr. Brougham's address was gained, in his having succeeded in exciting in the public mind feelings hostile to the Clergy, and that the acquittal or conviction of this defendant was a matter of a secondary consideration."—*Letter of Mr. Bowdler.*

but for the fact that no one has the impudence to acknowledge himself its author. The reviewers of Durham and Peterborough make no secret of their respective names, but the calumniator of the Bishop of London has the grace to be ashamed of his delinquency, and dares not claim the recompense of his dishonourable exertions. To the public this is a consolatory circumstance; to Mr. Jeffrey it is a distressing one. In default of a partner in this shameful transaction, on him must the whole odium rest. The general opinion upon the subject is summed up by Dr. Phillpotts in terms which will be remembered and felt.

"But whether the Reviewer remain unknown or not, it is time that the Editor of the Review should feel

('As feel he will,

If damned custom have not braz'd him so,
That he is proof and bulwark against sense.")

that he may not with impunity persist in giving circulation to these foul and unmanly calumnies. A man of honour, conducting a Review, would feel himself bound, by the strongest ties, to protect from all gross insult (it would be childish to weigh these matters in very nice scales) those whose only protection against the petulance, or the malignity, of his underlings, must rest on his honour.

"After an interval of three years, being again assailed in the same Journal with equal grossness, and, as I have proved, with equal falsehood, I now tell the Editor, before the world, that on him will light all the ignominy of this second outrage. I tell him, too, that he would rather have foregone half the profits of his unhallowed trade, than have dared to launch against any one of his Brethren of the Gown the smallest part of that scurrility, which he has felt no scruple in circulating against Churchmen.

"To you, Sir, I make no apology for addressing you on this occasion. If you are not, what the public voice proclaims you to be, the Editor of the Review, you will thank me for thus giving you an opportunity publicly to disclaim the degrading title. If you are,—it is henceforth to me a matter of mere indifference, what such a person may think or say." P. 36.

We must be allowed to add a few words respecting the cause of that virulent and systematic abuse with which the Clergy are assailed. No sufficient explanation of it has hitherto been offered. Is it thought necessary to prevent a further increase of their influence, or are they attacked in the mere spirit of idle malice? Is there a prospect of effecting their complete destruction, or is some particular point to be carried? We believe that each of these motives is at work among the motley assemblage by whom the Church is now besieged.

The pious methodist, and the impious libertine, the vulgar weekly blasphemer, and the *élite* of the Edinburgh Review, the wordy demagogue, and the wily politician, are making common cause against a few poor parsons. The 'terrible' Mr. Brougham, and the witty Mr. Smith, Mr. Williams the libeller, and Mr. Williams the lawyer, Mr. Joseph Hume, and Mr. William Cobbett, are apparently engaged in the same undertaking;—but their individual objects are different. Of one of them we are compelled to think that he sports with the feelings of his brethren, for the sake of exhibiting and enjoying his jokes. A second is willing to bring himself into notice. A third courts the office of School-master General, and abuses the Clergy because they keep him out of his place.

To these private inducements must be added a general alarm at the increasing influence of religion. New Churches are springing up in populous towns, old ones are frequented by larger congregations. The work of education proceeds in its legitimate channel, and the materials of radicalism are nearly worked up. This fact is not unknown to the acute adversaries of the Clergy. It stimulates their diligence and envenoms their libels.

The root and branch Reformers take another view of public affairs. They exaggerate the distress in which the landed interest is involved, and maintain that it will be mitigated by a sacrifice of the Church. The expedient is stupid and dishonest. But it makes a great noise, and suits the capacity of its authors and abettors.

If they are supported in this bungling project by any of the wiser and more experienced members of opposition, it is only because the opposition have nothing else to do. Before the recent blunder of the continental Sovereigns, news and grievances were equally scarce, and our orators, as well as our newspapers, lacked matter. They turned, in this dilemma, to their standing dish, Reform; and vigorous would have been their assault upon boroughs and upon cathedrals. But their attention is now called to foreign politics. They are preparing to disown every principle for which they have contended during the last twenty years, and will be too busy to reform the Parliament or revile the Church.

Unless indeed they should be roused by their attachment to a particular measure, for which all these calumnies against the Clergy are calculated to prepare the way. Individual pique and malice, dread of Church influence, or desire of Church property, the love of talking and doing mischief rather than doing nothing, are not the only causes which induce certain men to libel the Clergy. A greater, and it is thought a

nobler object, is the subversion of the Church of Ireland. They distract our attention by repeated attacks; but this is the point which they have resolved to carry. A furious cannonade against every part of the wall is the signal to storm this particular post. The citadel is, for the present, too strong to be reduced; the designs of the enemy are confined to an outwork; but it is an outwork the loss of which will weaken every part of the defence. Long and anxious have been the preparations for insuring it, and the hopes of success are sanguine. They may be frustrated by union, and promptitude, and firmness, and by no other human means.

ART. III. *A Second Series of Curiosities of Literature: consisting of Researches in Literary, Biographical, and Political History; of Critical and Philosophical Inquiries; and of Secret History. By I. D'Israeli.* 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 16s. Murray. 1823.

It is not likely that many of our readers can need information on the nature of the subjects which, during the course of a long life employed in literary pursuit, have occupied Mr. D'Israeli's pen, nor of the manner in which he has been accustomed to treat them. Our times, abundant as they are in desultory writers, have produced none by whom our stock of entertaining lore has been more largely or more variously increased than by this gentleman; none, who amid an equally wide range of inquiry has more religiously abstained from touching upon any matter which ought to remain untouched; and none who in pouring forth at his ease the overflowings of an active and richly cultivated mind, without appearing to teach, and without one atom of dogmatism, has yet contrived to make his works of amusement the vehicles of sounder principles and more salutary truths.

With such prepossessions as these, justly founded on that which he has already written, we cannot but rejoice that Mr. D'Israeli still continues to write: and we shall be well pleased to find the New Series of the *Curiosities of Literature*, with which he has now presented us, succeeded not long hence by a Series which is still Newer. In our notice of his present volumes, little more can be attempted by us than an outline of some of their contents; and we have the less scruple in picking out from them as many *plums* as the

necessary limits of our Article will include, because we can with a safe conscience ~~much~~ for not being able to extract even a tithe of the tithe of *bons bons* with which they are flavoured.

In an ingenious paper, entitled "Of a History of Events which have not happened," Mr. D'Israeli opens a new course for an historical student, viz. to speculate upon the reverse of facts. Thus, if the Royalists had won the battle of Worcester: if (as Livy has it) Alexander had invaded Italy; if Charles Martel had been beaten by the Saracens; if Luther had been gained over by the Romish Church; if the Spanish Armada had landed in England; if Gustavus Adolphus had not perished at Lutzen; if Cromwell had supported the interests of Spain instead of those of France. But the if, when imagination is once allowed its range, are endless, and the security with which prophecies may thus be hazarded, assuredly will not tend to diminish the number of prophets.

A few notices occur of MSS. which have been lost to the world by intentional destruction. Some of these facts are eminently curious. In a collection of state papers, numbered 7379, in the Harleian MSS. four leaves are torn out, and the following memorandum has been annexed, under the hand of the then principal librarian of the British Museum.

"Upon examination of this book Nov. 12, 1764, these four last leaves were torn out.

C. Morton.

Mem. Nov. 12 sent down to Mrs. Macaulay."

The similar depredations of an eminent chemist are fresh in the recollection of the public; but the causes, whatever they might be, which led to these dishonest practices, were widely different from others which have produced the same results. Sir George Savile, afterwards Marquess of Halifax, left behind him an important diary, in which he had noted down his frequent conversations with Charles II. and other leading characters of his times. Two copies of this record existed; the first was destroyed at the instigation of Pope, to prevent the discovery of some Roman Catholic intrigues; the second by a whig nobleman, who, on the other hand, was ashamed of some practices of the Revolutionists. General Pulteney burnt the memoirs which the Earl of Bath had rough drawn, and had intended should be prepared for publication by Bishop Douglas. Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. and Camden's Elizabeth were neither of them printed entire. From the third book of Milton's History of England a digression on the Long Parliament was struck out. The edition of Whitelocke's Memorials, published by the Earl of

Anglesea, in 1682, does not contain several passages which are restored in that of 1782, and strange to say, it is to the former imperfect edition that Hume always refers as his authority. We do not know that Lady Mary Wortley Montague's connections can have any blame attached to them for wishing to suppress her productions. To us it seems that they consulted *her* reputation as well as their own by so doing; and it is certain that they did so largely. All that we possess has escaped from family papers, against the consent of her family.

“ The late Duke of Bridgewater, I am informed, burnt many of the numerous family papers, and bricked up a quantity, which, when opened after his death, were found to have perished. It is said he declared that he did not choose that his ancestors should be traced back to a person of a mean trade, which it seems might possibly have been. The loss now cannot be appreciated; but unquestionably, stores of history, and, perhaps, of literature, were sacrificed. Milton's manuscript of *Comus* was published from the Bridgewater collection, for it had escaped the bricking up.” Vol. I. p. 149.

After all, however, we suspect that the value of MSS. in very many instances, depends upon their not being in print; and that the facilities of long primer and crown octavo have not unfrequently dissipated the brilliant fantasies of collectors and antiquarians.

Mr. D'Israeli is keenly alive to the spirit of fanaticism which marks our days, and he omits no opportunity of denouncing it. In a brief Memoir on Psalm Singing, he abstains from “polluting his pages with the ribaldry, obscenity and blasphemy” which is to be found in Sectarian hymn books: and in tracing the metrical version of the Reformed Churches up to Calvin, he states forcibly of that singular man, that “he sought for proselytes among the rabble of a republic.” A mention of Butler introduces the notice which a modern critic of this school has made of Shakspeare.

“ That ‘ it would have been happy if he had never been born, for that thousands will look back with incessant anguish on the guilty delight which the plays of Shakspeare ministered to them.’ Such is the anathema of Shakspeare! And we have another of Butler, in ‘ An historic defence of experimental religion;’ in which the author contends, that the best men have experienced the agency of the Holy Spirit in an immediate illumination from heaven. He furnishes his historic proofs by a list from Abel to Lady Huntingdon! The author of *Hudibras* is denounced, ‘ One Samuel Butler, a celebrated buffoon in the abandoned reign of

Charles the Second, wrote a mock-heroic poem, in which he undertook to burlesque the pious puritan. He ridicules all the gracious promises by comparing the *divine illumination* to an *ignis fatuus*, and dark lantern of the spirit.' Such are the writers, whose ascetic spirit is still descending among us from the monkery of the deserts, adding poignancy to the very ridicule they would annihilate. The satire which we deemed obsolete, we find still applicable to contemporaries!" Vol. I. p. 241.

An epitaph on Butler, said to be by Dennis, which Mr. D'Israeli has given, is quite new to us. It may probably be so to our readers, and we are sure they will thank us for presenting it to them.

" Near this place lieth interred
The body of Mr. Samuel Butler,
Author of Hudibras.
He was a whole species of Poets in one !
Admirable in a Manner
In which no one else has been tolerable ;
A Manner which began and ended in Him ;
In which he knew no Guide,
And has found no Followers."

Vol. I. p. 240.,

One whimsical head is "Secret History of Authors who have ruined their Bookseller." Prynne is inshrined here; and we collect of him the following particulars: that he seldom dined, but eat manchets and drank ale occasionally; that he wore a long quilted cap projecting over his eyes like an umbrella, to shade the light; and that when he stood in the pillory in Cheapside, they "burnt his huge volumes under his nose, which had almost suffocated him."

"Yet such was the spirit of party, that a puritanic sister bequeathed a legacy to purchase all the works of Prynne for Sion college, where many still repose; for by an odd fatality, in the fire which burnt that library these volumes were saved, from an idea that folios were the most valuable!" Vol. I. p. 327.

The Abbé de Marolles was an interminable translator.

"De L'Etang, a critic of that day, in his 'Règles de bien traduire,' drew all his examples of bad translation from our abbé, who was more angry than usual, and among his circle the cries of our Marsyas resounded. De L'Etang, who had done this not out of malice, but from urgent necessity to illustrate his principles, seemed very sorry, and desirous of appeasing the angered translator. One day in Easter, finding the abbé in church at prayers, the critic fell on his knees by the side of the translator: it was an extraordinary

moment, and a singular situation to terminate a literary quarrel. 'You are angry with me,' said L'Etang, 'and I think you have reason; but this is a season of mercy, and I now ask your pardon.' — 'In the manner,' replied the abbé, 'which you have chosen, I can no longer defend myself. Go, Sir! I pardon you.' Some days after the abbé again meeting L'Etang, reproached him with duping him out of a pardon, which he had no desire to have bestowed on him. The last reply of the critic was caustic: 'Do not be so difficult; when one stands in need of a general pardon, one ought surely to grant a particular one.' Vol. I. p. 334.

The Jesuit Raynaud was another writer possessed by the mania of publication. His collected works fill twenty folios. In one of his treatises is a chapter on the attributes of Christ, which he heads *Christus Bonus, Bona, Bonum*; in another is an attack on Calvinism, which he styles *Religio Bestiarum*; and a third contains a vituperative catalogue extracted from the Fathers, and entitled *Alphabetum bestialitatis hæretici ex Patrum Symbolis*. One day the unhappy author was soliciting the obstetric aid of a reluctant bookseller— "Write a book," said the literary midwife, "like this (δεικτικῶς) of Father Barri, and I will readily print." Alas! Raynaud knew that Father Barri had skimmed the cream of some of his own unread masses. Raynaud could get no one to print for him; Monsieur Catherinot, another of this restless brotherhood, stole a march beyond him: he "printed for the author." Of course his books remained unsold; but reputation not lucre was his object, and he undertook to circulate them at any loss himself.

"Whenever Monsieur Catherinot came to Paris, he used to haunt the *quais* where books are sold, and while he appeared to be looking over them, he adroitly slid one of his own dissertations among these old books. He began this mode of publication early, and continued it to his last days. He died with a perfect conviction that he had secured his immortality; and in this manner had disposed of more than one edition of his unsaleable works. Nicéron has given the titles of 118 of his things, which he had looked over." Vol. I. p. 351.

But no one can completely enter into the distresses either of author or bookseller, unless such as have worn one of these characters. "The magic of a name" throws its spell with fullest potency over the Press; and the work which runs through a dozen editions, if Titus will but father it, may fall still born if the name of Sempronius be annexed to it. Sauzet, a true Dutch Biblioplist, writes thus to Des Marzeaux.

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"I send you, my dear Sir, four sheets of the continuation of my journal, and I hope this second part will turn out better than the former. The author thinks himself a very able person; but I must tell you frankly, that he is a man without erudition, and without any critical discrimination; he writes pretty well, and turns passably what he says; but that is all! Monsieur Van Effen having failed in his promises to realise my hopes on this occasion, necessity compelled me to have recourse to him; but for *six months only*, and on condition that he should not, on any account whatever, allow any one to know that he is the author of the journal; for his name alone would be sufficient to make even a passable book discreditable. As you are among my friends, I will confide to you in secrecy the name of this author; it is Monsr. *De Limiers**. You see how much my interest is concerned that the author should not be known!" Vol. I. P. 382.

A very curious "Secret History of the building of Blenheim," has been drawn from an unpublished "case of the Duke of Marlborough and Sir John Vanbrugh," and from some confidential correspondence between Vanbrugh and Jacob Tonson. Parliament in voting the public monument made no specific grant to defray the expence of its erection. During Queen Anne's life the charges were always included in the civil list; but so much were the several workmen in arrear, that on the accession of George I. they gladly accepted a third of their debts in payment of the whole. Vanbrugh's fertile genius tried a thousand schemes to make the Duke responsible; but the hero was as impenetrable in his palace as in his lines, and it was only during his absence in 1705, that the architect contrived to obtain from Lord Godolphin, the relative and agent of Marlborough, a warrant as surveyor, with power of contracting on the part of the Duke. This warrant he never produced till 1715, when being unable to procure money from the treasury he charged the Duke with the whole debt. The Duke disavowed the instrument; a tedious litigation ensued, and the completion of the mansion was put into other hands by the Duchess, who thence-

* *Van Effen* was a Dutch writer of some merit, and one of a literary knot of ingenious men, consisting of Sallengre, St. Hyacinthe, Prosper Marchand, &c. who carried on a smart review for those days, published at the Hague under the title of 'Journal Littéraire.' They all composed in French, and Van Effen gave the first translations of our Guardian, Robinson Crusoe, and the Tale of a Tub, &c. He did something more, but not better; he attempted to imitate the Spectator, in his 'Le Misanthrope,' 1726, which exhibits a picture of the uninteresting manners of a nation, whom he could not make very lively.

De Limiers, has had his name slipped into our biographical dictionaries. An author cannot escape the fatality of the alphabet; his numerous misdeeds are registered. It is said, that if he had not been so hungry, he would have given proofs of possessing some talent."

forward became Vanbrugh's bitterest enemy. On Marlborough's death Vanbrugh thus writes to Tonson—

"The Duke of Marlborough's treasure exceeds the most extravagant guess. The grand settlement, which it was suspected her Grace had broken to pieces, stands good, and hands an immense wealth to Lord Godolphin and his successors. A round million has been moving about in loans on the land-tax, &c. This the Treasury knew before he died, and this was exclusive of his 'land;' his 5000*l.* a year upon the Post-office; his mortgages on many a distressed estate; his South-Sea stock; his annuities, and which were not subscribed in, and besides what is in foreign Banks; and yet this man could neither pay his workmen their bills, nor his architect his salary.

"He has given his widow (may a Scottish ensign get her!) 10,000*l.* a year to *spoil Blenheim her own way*; 12,000*l.* a year to keep herself clean and go to law; 2000*l.* a year to Lord Rialton for present maintenance; and Lord Godolphin only 5000*l.* a year jointure, if he outlives my lady: this last is a wretched article. The rest of the heap, for these are but snippings, goes to Lord Godolphin, and so on. She will have 40,000*l.* a year in present. Vol. II. P. 93.

Now see the revenge of Atossa. Shortly afterwards the architect went to Blenheim with a party from that other monument of his genius, Castle Howard—

"We staid two nights in Woodstock; but there was an order to the servants, *under her Grace's own hand, not to let me enter Blenheim!* and lest that should not mortify me enough, she having somehow learned that my wife was of the company, *sent an express the night before we came there*, with orders that if she came with the Castle Howard ladies, the servants should not suffer her to see either house, gardens, or even to enter the park: so she was forced to sit all day long and keep me company at the inn!" Vol. II. P. 94.

Mr. D'Israeli is a Philosopher in Autographs; and the principles upon which he builds his theory are sufficiently ingenious—

"Assuredly nature would prompt every individual to have a distinct sort of writing, as she has given a countenance—a voice—and a manner. The flexibility of the muscles differs with every individual; and the hand will follow the direction of the thoughts, and the emotions and the habits of the writers. The phlegmatic will portray his words, while the playful haste of the volatile will scarcely sketch them; the slovenly will blot and efface and scrawl, while the neat and orderly-minded will view themselves in the paper before their eyes. The merchant's clerk will not write like the lawyer or the poet. Even nations are distinguished by their

writing; the vivacity and variableness of the Frenchman, and the delicacy and suppleness of the Italian, are perceptibly distinct from the slowness and strength of the pen discoverable in the phlegmatic German, Dane, and Swede. When we are in grief, we do not write as we should in joy. The elegant and correct mind which has acquired the fortunate habit of a fixity of attention, will write with scarcely an erasure on the page, as Fenelon and Gray and Gibbon; while we find in Pope's manuscripts the perpetual struggles of correction, and the eager and rapid interlineations struck off in heat." Vol. II. P. 208.

The reader will easily decypher the following illustration—

"I am intimately acquainted with the hand-writings of five of our great poets. The first in early life acquired among Scottish advocates a hand-writing which cannot be distinguished from that of his ordinary brothers: the second, educated in public schools, where writing is shamefully neglected, composes his sublime or sportive verses in a school-boy's ragged scrawl, as if he had never finished his tasks with the writing-master; the third writes his highly-wrought poetry in the common hand of a merchant's clerk, from early commercial avocations; the fourth has all that finished neatness, which polishes his verses; while the fifth is a specimen of a full mind, not in the habit of correction or alteration; so that he appears to be printing down his thoughts, without a solitary erasure. The hand-writing of the *first* and *third* poets, not indicative of their character, we have accounted for; the others are admirable specimens of characteristic autographs." Vol. II. P. 210.

Oldys has instanced the hand-writing of several of our kings, as analogous to their character. "Henry VIII. wrote a strong hand, but as if he seldom had a good pen."—"Edward VI. a fair legible hand."—"Queen Elizabeth an upright hand, like the bastard Italian."—"James I. a poor ungainly character, all awry, and not in a straight line."—"Charles I. a fair open Italian hand, and more correctly, perhaps, than any prince we ever had."—"Charles II. a little fair running hand, as if he wrote in haste, or uneasy till he had done."—"James II. a large fair hand."—"Queen Anne a good round hand."

Some amusing remarks are thrown together on the slow progress which, till very recently, the literature of England had made on the Continent. Boileau, it is said, had never heard the name of Dryden till he was told of his public funeral. A French translation of Bishop Hall's "*Characters of Virtues and Vices*," Paris, 1616, states itself to be "*la premiere traduction de l'Anglois jamais imprimée en aucun vulgaire*." Father Quadrio, who wrote an universal History of Poetry, in 1750, gives the following list of English bards:

"John Gower, whose rhymes and verses are preserved in MS. in the college of the most holy Trinity, at Cambridge. Arthur Kelton flourished in 1548, a skilful English poet: he composed various poems in English; also he lauds the Cambrians and their genealogy. The Works of William Wycherley, in English prose and verse." These are all whom he mentions at first, afterwards he picks up Sir Philip Sidney, whose poems he describes as *assai buone*. A. Cowley, John Donne and Thomas Creech, who also wrote verses which are *assai buone*. In the 4th volume appear Waller, Buckingham, Roscommon, and Swift. Shakspeare, who is dismissed *a la Voltaire*; Otway, who has written a "regular" tragedy; Dryden, who wrote "King Arthur," and Addison. Of our comedies Father Quadrio speaks most highly; and, doubtless he was intimately acquainted with them, for he notices the celebrated *Benjanson*, who among other plays wrote *Bartolommeo Foicera* and *Ipsum Veetz*. We give Mr. D'Israeli no little credit for the sagacity which has almost discovered the *Epicæne* under this cacophonous barbarism.

One very amusing paper is entitled "Dreams at the Dawn of Philosophy." It shows how the discoveries of the moderns have unfolded the natural causes of many operations which in former centuries obtained for their authors the credit of practising magic and diabolism. We learn, from this article, two facts, which are only likely to be known by the enviable few who have leisure to "read all such reading as was never read," and which, after all, perhaps, is the best kind of reading: first, that "gunpowder came down to us in a sort of anagram." This we wish had been farther explained; and, secondly, that the Kaleidoscope lay at hand for two centuries in Baptista Porta's *Natural Magic*. Another strange truth, if it be such, we shall record for the information of our clerical brethren. It is given on the authority of Dr. Plott, that "the Deans of Rochester, ever since the foundation, have by turns died deans and bishops." The alternacy will no doubt henceforward excite no small competition.

By far the most interesting article (to us at least) in the three volumes is a Political Sketch—the "Secret History of an Elective Monarchy." It is drawn up from an account written at the time by Choisinin, secretary to Montluc, Bishop of Valence, the confidential agent of Catharine de Medicis at the Polish diet, when she sought to obtain the crown of Poland for her son, the Duke of Anjou. We despair of abridging this epitome of diplomacy. Montluc had to contend against no less opponents than the Emperor of

Germany, the Czar of Moscow, and the king of Sweden ; nay, still more he had to counteract the impressions of disgust and horror which had arisen from the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; an enormity which was perpetrated while his negotiations were yet pending. He was unsupported by proper agents, and he was deficient in money. In the course of six months he wrote through ten reams of paper ; and no Paladin of romance ever encountered more unexpected turns of fortune, or more aptly made them all conduce to his glory and his advantage. Every net which he spread secured its prey ; and in the end the arch ambassador triumphed for his mistress. But mark the catastrophe on his return home—

“ Affairs had changed ; Charles IX. was dying, and Catharine de Medicis in despair for a son, to whom she had sacrificed all ; while Anjou, already immersed in the wantonness of youth and pleasure, considered his elevation to the throne of Poland as an exile which separated him from his depraved enjoyments. Montluc was rewarded only by incurring disgrace : Catharine de Medicis and the Duke of Anjou now looked coldly on him, and expressed their dislike of his successful mission. ‘ The mother of kings,’ as Choisinin designates Catharine of Medicis, to whom he addresses his Memoirs, with the hope of awakening her recollections of the zeal, the genius, and the success of his old master, had no longer any use for her favourite ; and Montluc found, as the commentator of Choisinin expresses in few words, an important truth in political morality, that ‘ at court the interest of the moment is the measure of its affections and hatreds.’ ” Vol. III. P. 177.

In some of the closing papers we are obliged to rub our eyes and ask to what times they relate. One is on the State of Religion in our Civil wars ; when a sober and respectable gentleman, Sir Simon d'Ewes, was perpetually “ tormenting himself and his lady by watching for certain *evident marks and signs of an assurance* of a better life ; when another eminent lady took daily counsel with two persons, whom she called her *soul's friends* ; when Mr. John Carter “ kept a *day-book* and *cast up his accounts* with God every day ; ” and Mr. John Janeway “ kept a diary in which he wrote down every evening what the frame of his spirit had been all that day ; he took notice what *incomes* he had, what *profit* he received in his spiritual traffic ; what *returns* came from that far country ; what *answers* of prayer, what deadness and flatness of spirit ; ” when one teacher cried from the pulpit “ Away with the law ! which cuts off a man's legs and then bids him walk : ” and another declared, “ Let believers sin as fast as they will, they have a fountain open to wash them ! ” When the liberty which every one assumed of propagating his own

opinions led to acts not to be paralleled, as Mr. D'Israeli observes, in the French Revolution, or, as we would add, among the rabble of Munster. Some of these we dare not transcribe. One less disgusting than the rest amply compensates for this defect by its plenitude of horror.

"A Mr. Greswold, a gentleman of Warwickshire, whom a Brownist had by degrees enticed from his parish church, was afterwards persuaded to return to it—but he returned with a troubled mind, and lost in the prevalent theological contests. A horror of his future existence shut him out, as it were, from his present one: retiring into his own house, with his children, he ceased to communicate with the living world. He had his food put in at the window; and when his children lay sick, he admitted no one for their relief. His house, at length, was forced open; and they found two children dead, and the father confined to his bed. He had mangled his Bible, and cut out the titles, contents, and every thing but the very text itself; for it seems that he thought that every thing human was sinful, and he conceived that the titles of the books, and the contents of the chapters, were to be cut out of the sacred Scriptures, as having been composed by men." Vol. III. P. 336.

Such are the effects of *liberalism* in religion: effects, be it remembered, not hypothetical; but of which our forefathers had too fatal experimental knowledge. Those who seek to know the results of a similar extravagance in politics, may find them well opened in two other papers on Charles I. and his Parliaments, and on the Rump. In these Mr. D'Israeli has manifested a depth of reflection and a soundness of statistical views, which sufficiently prove that it is not for his *amusement* alone that he has dived into the labyrinths of secret history. They may be well employed as armour against some of the favourite theories of the day; and may be useful to many who, though deaf to reasoning, may perhaps be aroused by a parallelism of facts.

ART. IV. *A System of Mechanical Philosophy.* By John Robison, LL.D. late Professor of Natural Philosophy, in the University of Edinburgh. With Notes. By David Brewster, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. Murray. 1822.

WE think it right to apprise our readers that our intention in this article, is rather to give *some account* of the book and of its author, than a regular review of the multifarious sub-

jects which it embraces. There are, indeed, discussed in it a variety of matters, concerning which we possess no competent knowledge; and of which we can only understand the principle in so far as it happens to be connected with the general laws of physics, and can be illustrated by a geometrical or arithmetical analysis. Among these we may mention Carpentry, Bridges, Seamanship, Gunnery, Music, and Watch-work. The account of the steam-engine, given in the second volume, is somewhat of the same description; requiring for the perfect understanding of it, a minute acquaintance with the actual management and operations of that wonderful instrument: and yet, such is the efficacy of entire knowledge on the part of the writer, joined to the aid afforded by a series of good plates, that no attentive reader can fail to render himself master of the history, the principle, and the extensive utility of these singular and very ingenious mechanical contrivances connected with steam, which have so greatly illustrated the name of Watt. The article, we should add, of which we are now speaking was revised and corrected by Mr. Watt himself; who, at the request of Dr. Brewster, has explained some statements made by Professor Robison in regard to the history of his invention, and pointed out some particulars, as to the action of the more recent additions to the mechanism, which the latter appears not to have fully understood. As it stands in the work now before us, it is the most complete account of the steam-engine that is any where to be found; and it is the more valuable because it contains the only literary performance executed by the ingenious mechanician that has ever fallen under our notice. To this, however, we may, perhaps, return in the sequel; meantime we proceed to give a short biographical sketch of Dr. Robison, which, to most readers, will appear far more interesting than the most learned *precis* of his mechanical philosophy.

This distinguished person, then, was born in North Britain, and educated at Glasgow college. The most celebrated men which that seminary has produced were the teachers of young Robison; for he enjoyed the instructions of Adam Smith, and Dr. Black; the one the greatest philosopher and economist, and the other the most successful chemist that Europe could boast of, during the eighteenth century. The bias of his mind, from the very commencement of his studies, inclined him to the prosecution of the physical sciences, and particularly to that branch of them which is denominated mechanics. Having made considerable proficiency in his favourite pursuits, and declining to enter into the clerical pro-

session for which his father had intended him, he was recommended to Dr. Blair, at that time prebendary of Westminster; who, it appears, was at that time in search of a person to go to sea with Edward, Duke of York, and to assist his Royal Highness in the study of mathematics and navigation. It was in 1758 that Mr. Robison reached London; where he found, in the first instance, that the proposed voyage was by no means fixed, and was soon afterwards informed that the nautical education of the young prince was entirely abandoned.

He had, however, the good fortune to be introduced to Admiral Knowles, whose son was to have accompanied the Duke of York; and as the Admiral retained his original views in regard to the profession of his boy, he engaged Mr. Robison to go to sea with him, and to take charge of his instruction. In February 1759, accordingly, the tutor and pupil went on board the *Neptune*, of 90 guns, the flag-ship of Admiral Saunders, who had been entrusted with the command of the fleet destined to co-operate with the army under the gallant Wolfe, in the reduction of Quebec. In the course of the voyage, his promotion to the rank of lieutenant occasioned the removal of young Knowles to the Royal William, carrying 80 guns; in which ship Mr. Robison thought proper to have himself rated as a midshipman. It was in April that this squadron reached the coast of America; but the month of May was somewhat advanced before the breaking up of the ice in the St. Lawrence permitted our sailors to ascend the river, and join the little army encamped on its banks, near the capital of Canada.

Mr. Robison, unfortunately, preserved no regular account of the operations by land and water, which occupied the interesting period immediately before the battle on the heights of Abraham. Mr. Playfair, to whose pen the public are indebted for the details which we are now abridging, has endeavoured to supply this omission by inserting in his biography a few anecdotes which he had gathered in conversation with his colleague when speaking about that memorable campaign, of which he personally witnessed the most remarkable scenes. I have heard him, says the Professor, express great admiration at the cool intrepidity of the sailors, when the fire-ships, sent down the stream against the English navy, at anchor in the river, seemed to present a wall of fire, extending from the one bank to the other, from which nothing that floated on the water could possibly escape. Without the smallest alarm or confusion, the British seamen assailed this flaming battlement in their boats, grappled the ships which composed

it, and towed them to the shore, where they burnt quietly down to the water's edge.

We were a good deal moved with the following incident relative to General Wolfe, and we are sure that it will please the reader. Mr. Robison happened to be on duty in the boat in which that most interesting of military heroes went to visit some of his posts, the night before the battle, which was expected to be decisive of the fate of the campaign. The evening was fine, and the scene, considering the work they were engaged in, and the morning to which they were looking forward, sufficiently impressive. As they rowed along, the General, with much feeling, repeated nearly the whole of Gray's *Elegy*, (which had appeared not long before, and was yet but little known) to an officer who sat with him in the stern of the boat; adding, as he concluded, that "he would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow."—To-morrow came, and the life of this illustrious soldier was terminated, amidst the tears of his friends, and the shouts of his victorious army.

The fleet under Admiral Saunders returned to England; upon which the Royal William and some other ships were placed under the command of the brave Boscawen, and sent on an expedition to Quiberon Bay. It is worthy of remark, so little was the art of preserving health on shipboard studied at that period, that, after a cruise of only five or six months, the crew were nearly all rendered unserviceable by an attack of scurvy. Out of seven hundred and fifty able seamen, says Mr. Robison in a letter to his father, two hundred and eighty six were confined to their hammocks, in the most deplorable state of sickness and debility, while one hundred and forty of the rest were unable to do more than walk on deck. Our great circumnavigator, as Mr. P. justly remarks, had not yet shewn that a ship's crew may sail round the globe with less mortality than was to be expected in the same number of men, living for an equal period in the most healthful village of their native country.

Upon his return to England Mr. Robison, already heartily tired of the sea, began to entertain thoughts of studying for the Church. That resolution, however, was for the present suspended by a very kind invitation from Admiral Knowles to go and live with him in the country, and to "assist him in his experiments." The Admiral had paid great attention to the theory of ship-building, a pursuit in which the mechanical genius and acquirements of Robison could not fail to prove useful. In this agreeable residence he remained nearly a year, when he again returned to sea, in company with his

former pupil Mr. Knowles, who had just been appointed to the command of the *Peregrine* sloop of war. Stationed on the coast of Portugal, the officers enjoyed an opportunity of examining the ruins of Lisbon, on which the traces of the earthquake were still deeply imprinted.

But as young Robison had relinquished the naval profession, he did not continue more than a few months on board the *Peregrine*. He returned to the house of his patron, the Admiral, who soon after recommended him to Lord Anson, at that time first lord of the Admiralty, as a proper person to take charge of Harrison's time-keeper; which at the desire of the Board of Longitude, was to be sent on a trial-voyage to the West Indies. Mr. Robison, accordingly, accompanied by the son of the distinguished artist now named, went on board the *Deptford* frigate; and sailing on the 18th of November, arrived at Port Royal on the 19th of January following. He remained only nine days in the island. The instructions of the Board required that as soon as an opportunity could be found, the same two gentlemen should return with the watch to Portsmouth, that by a comparison of it with the time there, the total error, during both voyages, might be ascertained.

The trip homeward was an epitome of all the disasters, short of actual shipwreck, to which seafaring men are exposed. They experienced a continuation of the most tempestuous weather, from the moment they quitted the Bahamas till they arrived at Spithead. To add to their distress, the ship sprang a great leak, when more than three hundred leagues from any land; and it required the utmost skill and exertion to keep her from sinking. In a terrible gale on the 14th of March, their rudder broke in two, so that they could no longer keep the ship's head to the wind; and if the gale had not speedily moderated, they must inevitably have perished. When the voyage was near a conclusion, and they were congratulating themselves on the end of their troubles, the ship was found to be on fire; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that the flames were extinguished. They reached Portsmouth on the 26th of March.

The chronometer fully answered all the expectations that were entertained of it. Upon the arrival of the frigate at Jamaica, Mr. Robison ascertained by observation the time of noon, and found it to correspond with $4^h 59' 7\frac{1}{2}''$ by the instrument; and this being corrected according to its going, which had been determined by experiment before leaving England, the difference of longitude between Portsmouth and Port Royal came out $5^h 2' 47''$, being only four seconds less than

it was known to be from other observations. Again, upon the return to Portsmouth, mean noon by the chronometer was found to be $11^h 51' 31\frac{1}{2}''$. And making correction for the error and rate this amounted to $11^h 58' 6\frac{1}{2}''$; so that the whole error from the first setting sail was only $1' 53\frac{1}{2}''$, which in the latitude of Portsmouth would not amount to an error in distance of twenty miles.

Having made no bargain with the Admiralty relative to remuneration for this scientific voyage, he was allowed to retire without a reward. Lord Anson was dying, and Admiral Knowles had lost the countenance of administration; for which reasons Mr. Robison was refused the most moderate compensation; and found it necessary to return to Glasgow, where he resumed his studies with redoubled ardour. Dr. Black had just made his great discovery of latent heat; and Mr. Watt, at that period a mathematical instrument maker in the same city, had succeeded in inventing what might be properly called a new steam-engine. Science and art were thus conferring upon each other benefits of the most valuable kind; and it seems not to admit of any doubt that the experiments pursued by Watt in the improvement of his machine, would have led him to the same conclusions in regard to heat, which have conferred so just a celebrity on the name of the chemist. There could not, in short, as Mr. Playfair expresses it, be a better school for philosophical invention than Mr. Robison enjoyed at this time, and accordingly "he used always to say that it was not till his second residence at Glasgow that he applied to study with his whole mind."

In the year 1766, Dr. Black was elected Professor of Chemistry in the university of Edinburgh; and on leaving Glasgow, recommended Mr. Robison as his successor. He was accordingly appointed to the lectureship, and entered upon the duties of his chair at the close of the year just mentioned. A new career, however, was about to be opened up for him. His friend, Admiral Knowles, who had in the meantime, placed one of his sons under his care at Glasgow, was in the year 1770 appointed by our government, at the request of the empress Catharine, to occupy the chief office in the superintendence of the Russian marine; which, it is well known, her Majesty was desirous of improving, according to the naval tactics and architecture of Great Britain. From the first moment that this offer was made to the Admiral, he communicated it to Mr. Robison, whom he wished to engage as his secretary, and to whom as he says in his letters, he looked for much assistance in the duty he was about to undertake.

Arrived at St. Petersburg, Mr. Robison spent the whole of the first year and the greater part of the second in digesting a plan for improving the method of building, rigging, and navigating the Russian ships of war, and for reforming, of consequence, the whole detail of the operations in the naval arsenals of that empire. These innovations, however, met with more resistance than either the Admiral or his secretary had permitted themselves to suppose. The work of reform conducted by a foreigner, even when he is supported by despotic power, must proceed but slowly. Jealousy, pride, and self-interest, will continually counteract the plans of improvement, and by their vigilance and unceasing activity, will never wholly fail of success. All this was experienced by Admiral Knowles; yet there is no doubt that material advantages were derived by the Russian navy from the new system which he was enabled partially to introduce.

In the year 1772, a vacancy happened in the mathematical chair of the marine academy, at Cronstadt. Mr. Robison was requested to accept of that appointment; and as a motive to secure his compliance, the salary was doubled, and the rank of colonel conferred upon him. The lectures which he gave, were, it is said, very much admired, and they could not fail to be of the greatest use to his pupils. Few men, observes his biographer, understood so well the theory and the practice of the arts which they profess to teach; few had enjoyed the same opportunities of seeing the mathematical rules of artillery and navigation carried into effect on so great a scale. To his own countrymen resident at Petersburg, Mr. Robison was an object of no less affection than admiration.

A vacancy in the college of Edinburgh which he was invited to fill, attracted his thoughts, in the following year, to his native country. When his election to the Natural Philosophy chair was first made known to him, he hesitated whether he should accept of it; principally, it is said, from the fear of appearing insensible to the kindness and favour which he had experienced from the Russian government. The moment too, when it was known that this invitation had been given him, further offers of preferment and emolument were made him by that government, of such a kind as it was supposed he could not possibly resist. At length, however, he determined to relinquish the prospects held out to him, by the Empress; who, we are told, was so far from being offended at this resolution, how much soever she had wished to prevent it, that she settled a pension on him, accompanied with a request, that he would receive under his care two or

three of the young cadets, who were to be elected and sent to Edinburgh in succession.

Dr. Robison seems not to have acquired in his own country that popularity, as a public teacher, which he is said to have enjoyed at Cronstadt. His knowledge of the mathematics, his biographer informs us, was accurate and extensive, and included what was at that time rare in this country, a considerable familiarity with the discoveries and inventions of the foreign mathematicians. His manner, too, was grave and dignified. His views always ingenious and comprehensive, were full of information, and never more interesting and instructive than when they touched on the history of science. His lectures, however, were often complained of, as difficult and hard to be followed; a circumstance which, Mr. P. remarks, did not arise from the depth of the mathematical demonstrations, as was sometimes said, but rather from the rapidity of his discourse, which was in general, beyond the rate at which accurate reasoning can be easily followed. The singular facility of his own apprehension made him judge too favourably of that power in others.

But we must come to the subject before us—the origin of the essays or tracts which compose the present publication. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* had been begun at Edinburgh several years prior to the date at which we are now arrived, and was now going through a third edition, in which it was to advance from three volumes to eighteen. Twelve of these were already published when the death of the original editor, threw the work into the hands of Dr. Gleig; who had the good fortune to induce Dr. Robison to become a contributor to his miscellany. He was the first writer in that class of works who was really a man of science; and from that time the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ceased to be a mere compilation. It was in the year 1793, that he began to write in the book now named; and it was at the article *Optics*, with him a very favourite science, that his labours commenced. From that time he continued to enrich the *Encyclopædia* with a variety of valuable treatises till its completion in 1801.

That our readers may be guided in their estimate of the bulky production now before us, by the light of a judgment fully competent to determine on its value, we shall give Mr. Playfair's opinion of them in his own words:

“ ‘The general merit of the articles thus composed,’ says he, ‘makes it difficult to point out particulars. Those in which theoretical and practical knowledge are combined are of distinguished merit; such are Seamanship, Telescope, Roof, Water-works, Re-

assistance of Fluids, Running of Rivers. To these I may add, the articles Electricity and Magnetism in the Supplement, where the theories of Arpinus are laid down with great clearness and precision, as well as with very considerable improvements. In ascertaining the law of the electric attraction, his experiments were ingenious as well as original, and afforded an approximation to the result which the great skill and the excellent apparatus of Coulomb have since exactly ascertained. In the Supplement is also contained a very full account of the theory of Boscovich, a subject with which he was much delighted, and which he used to explain in his lectures with great spirit and eloquence. These articles if collected, would form a quarto volume of more than a thousand pages. I am persuaded that when brought together and arranged by themselves, they will make an acceptable present to the public; and I have the satisfaction to state, that such a work is now preparing under the direction of an editor whose remarks or corrections cannot but add greatly to its value.—An article in a Dictionary of Science must contain a system: and what is new becomes of course so mixed up with the old and the known, that it is not easily distinguished. Many of Mr. Robison's articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are full of new and original views, which will only strike those who study them particularly, and have studied them in other books. In *Seamanship*, for example, there are many such remarks; the fruit of that knowledge of principle which he combined with so much experience and observation. *Carpentry, Roof*, and many more, afford examples of the same kind. The publication now under the management of Dr. Brewster, will place his scientific character higher than it has ever been with any but those who were personally acquainted with him. With them nothing can add to the esteem which they felt for his talents and worth, or to the respect in which they now hold his memory."

We need not add that the four goodly octavoes now on our table constitute the publication superintended by Dr. Brewster, and which is twice mentioned by Mr. Playfair in the above extract. It is no doubt a collection of very considerable value, though the editor appears to have scrupulously avoided any addition of his own, and even such corrections as the new lights recently thrown on science, as well as the different form under which the several treatises have now been given to the public, cannot fail to suggest to every reader as being indispensably necessary. The title-page announces "Notes," by Dr. Brewster, and we find at the bottom of sundry pages, in the 1st volume, references to such illustrations to be found at the end of it; but upon turning over in search of them we were surprized to discover that they have been wholly omitted—a circumstance which would almost tempt one to suspect that the title had been printed before the

volumes to which it is prefixed, or at least that it had been drawn up without the editor's knowledge or consent. Nor are we quite certain that the zealous student will be satisfied with the explanation which the Doctor has made use of, in order to obviate the charge of neglect, or the expression of disappointment which, he seems aware, may be excited by the numerous omissions to which we have just made allusion. "Being desirous," says he, "of making the work as complete as possible, I had proposed to give an account of the recent discoveries in science in the form of Notes. I found, however, as I proceeded, that there was not room for any additional matter, excepting a few notes and references to more recent works; and I felt that I could make no apology to the reader for inserting compositions of my own, while I was under the necessity of abridging the original work."

As to *Notes*, we have met with nothing that deserves the name: whilst in regard to the references, they are with hardly one exception, confined to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, a work of which the same learned gentleman is the reputed editor. In a word, Dr. Brewster is not responsible for any thing beyond the selection of the treatises which compose these volumes, and the mechanical accuracy with which they are got up—a department, humble as it may be, which is of more consequence in a book of science than is commonly imagined, and of which, we are sorry to add, the duties have not been very carefully discharged in the present instance.

It might seem odd, were we to make no mention of a work by Professor Robison, which was much more read than any of his scientific performances, and which carried the name of the author into places where his high attainments as a philosopher had never gained admission for it. We allude to his "*Proofs of a conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe*"—a performance which, in the course of two years, passed through no fewer than four editions. The horrors of the French Revolution made a deep impression on his mind. The crimes which the name of liberty had been employed to sanction, filled him with indignation; and the contempt of religion, affected by many of the leading demagogues in France, wounded those sentiments of piety which he had uniformly cherished from his early youth. The history of *Illuminatism* forms the principal part of the work; and he supposes that the conspiracy against which he was desirous to protect the world, originated in the Lodges of Free Masons; but that it first assumed a regular form in the hands of certain philosophical fanatics, distinguished in Germany by the name of *Illumi-*

nati: that after the suppression of this society by the authority of government, the spirit was kept alive by what was called the German Union; that its principles gradually affected most of the continental philosophers, and, lastly, broke forth with full force in the French Revolution.

On this subject, his biographer manifests a considerable degree of scepticism; maintaining that in regard to a matter involved in great mystery, where all the evidence came through the hands of friends or of enemies, it was exceedingly difficult for one living in a foreign country, and a stranger to the public opinion, to obtain accurate information. Accordingly, says he, the events related, and the characters described, as proofs of the conspiracy, are of so extraordinary a nature that it is difficult to persuade one's self that the original documents from which Dr. Robison drew up his narrative were entitled to all the confidence which he reposed in them.

"I do not mean to question the general fact, that there did exist in Germany a society, having the vanity to assume the name just mentioned, and the presumption or the simplicity to believe that it could reform the world. In a land where the tendency to the romantic and the mysterious seems so general that even philosophy and science have not escaped the infection; and in States where there is much that requires amendment, it is not wonderful if associations have been formed for redressing grievances, and reforming both religion and government. Some men truly philanthropic, and others merely profligate, may have joined in this combination; the former very erroneously supposing that the interests of truth and of mankind may be advanced by cabal and intrigue; and the latter more wisely concluding that these are engines well adapted to promote the dissemination of error, and the schemes of private aggrandisement. An ex-Jesuit may have been the author of this plan, and whether he belonged to the former or the latter class, may have chosen for the model of the new arrangement, those institutions which he knew from experience, to be well adapted for exercising a strong but secret influence in the direction of human affairs. In all this there is nothing incredible; but the same, I think, cannot be asserted when the particulars are examined in detail. The style of the works from which Mr. Robison composed his narrative, is not such as to inspire confidence; for wherever it is quoted, it is that of an angry and inflated invective. The facts themselves are altogether singular, arguing a depravity quite unexampled in all the votaries of illumination. From the perusal of the whole, it is impossible not to conclude that the alarm excited by the French Revolution had produced in Mr. Robison a degree of credulity which was not natural to him."

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Without professing belief in every one of the various statements made by Dr. Robison in support of his charge against the *soi disant* philosophers of France and Germany, we may be allowed to observe that an Edinburgh professor was not the most competent judge of the probability of such facts, and, moreover, that the most horrible of them were, in all likelihood, the best founded. For example, the prevailing bias of the times towards materialism, and the avowed principles of certain physiologists in the French capital, give an air of probability to the anecdote which Dr. Robison has introduced into his book relative to the dissection of living subjects. He states that there existed in Paris a society under the direction of the Wits and Philosophers, who used to meet at the house of the Baron D'Holbach, having for its object the dissection of the brains of living children, purchased from poor parents, in order to discover the principle of vitality. The police, he adds, interposed to put a stop to these bloody experiments, but the authors of them were protected by the credit of Turgot. Mr. Playfair expresses much indignation at this story, but fails to supply his readers with either authority or facts to disprove it: and, we repeat that, atrocious as the charge appears, it is not the most improbable of the numerous accusations of depravity and irreligion which, from various quarters, were confidently urged against the philosophists of that unhappy period.

But we must acknowledge, that Dr. Robison, on too many occasions, allowed his prejudices to co-operate with his more reasonable suspicions of Gallican principles and pursuits. His strictures on the correspondence of Lavoisier with Dr. Black, affords a remarkable instance of this uncanonised feeling towards our neighbours on the continent. It is well known that Dr. Robison was requested to prepare for the press the lectures of the distinguished chemist just named; which having been composed long before the new nomenclature had come into general use in Britain, were expressed in the language of the more ancient school. Black had indeed acceded to the changes proposed by the French chemist, and had even in the delivery of his discourses adopted the nomenclature itself; but his notes, from which he was accustomed to lecture, had not undergone the alterations which would have been necessary to introduce that system of terms throughout. Dr. Robison, whose opinions were unfavourable to the new chemistry, did not conceive that, by accommodating the language of his friend to that of an infidel author in France, he could possibly serve the interests either of science or of national reputation, and declined

all use of the new terminology. He even suspected that there was unfairness in the means employed by Lavoisier for bringing Dr. Black to adopt the new system of chemistry, and has thrown out some reflections on the conduct of the former, which have been thought to rest on a very slender foundation.

"It was quite natural," says Mr. Playfair, "for a man convinced like Lavoisier of the importance of the improvements which he had made in chemistry, to be desirous that they should be received by the most celebrated Professor of that time,—by the very man, too, whose discoveries had opened the way to those improvements. His letters to Dr. Black contain expressions of respect and esteem which, I confess, appears to me perfectly natural, and without any thing like exaggeration or deceit. Indeed it is not probable that M. Lavoisier, even if he could himself have submitted to flatter and cajole, could conceive that any good effect was to arise from doing so, or that there was any other way of inducing a grave, cautious, and profound philosopher, to adopt a certain system of opinions, but by convincing him of their truth. He had with those who knew him the character of a sincere man, very remote from any thing like art or affectation. We must therefore ascribe the view which Mr. Robinson took of this matter, to the same system of prejudices on which we have had already occasion to animadvert. Such, indeed, was the force of those prejudices, that he considered the New Nomenclature, the New System of Measures, and the New Kalendar, as all three equally the contrivances of men, not so much interested for science as for the superiority of their own nation. Now, whatever may be said of the Kalendar, the project of uniform Weights and Measures is admitted to be an admirably contrived system, which Britain is now following at a great distance; and the New Nomenclature of Chemistry to be a real scientific improvement, adopted all over Europe. Many of the radical words may depend on false theories, and may of course require to be changed; but though the *matter* pass away the *form* will remain; the words of the language may perish, but the mould in which the language was cast will never be destroyed."

Of the work before us, we have only proposed to give a general character; the nature of the subjects handled in it, their variety and number being such as to render a minute analysis of them altogether impracticable. In the article *Dynamics*, there is contained a very good account of the history of that interesting branch of Mechanics—a luminous illustration of the laws of motion—and a critical examination of the several theories which have been suggested to explain the phenomena of moving bodies, whether in vacuum, or in a resisting medium. The Leibnitzian hypothesis is canvassed with great ability, and the soundness of the New-

tonian argument fully established. It combines, in our estimation, the most valuable properties of the well known volumes of Emerson and Gregory; and being much more geometrical than the late works on Mechanics which have been supplied to us by the French, and of which the reasoning is completely obscured by a cloud of algebraical symbols and fluxionary calculations, it is much more intelligible. The prejudices of the author respecting that ingenious people, are perhaps the cause why we are saved from the perplexing language which they are so much disposed to employ in their scientific investigations. At all events we are grateful for it, being entirely of the opinion which was frequently expressed by a late eminent physician, that the differential calculus was nothing more than an expedient for enabling a man to reason without the use of his understanding.

There is a long article which, we are told, was found among the author's manuscripts on "Boscovich's Theory." The reader will not require to be reminded that the speculations now alluded to, respect the ultimate constitution of matter, the outlines of which may be expressed under the following heads.

1st. All matter consists of indivisible and inextended atoms.

2d. These atoms are endowed with attractive and repelling forces, varying both in intensity and direction, by a change of distance, so that at one distance two atoms attract each other, and at another distance they repel.

3d. This law of variation is the same in all atoms. It is therefore mutual; for the distance of a from b being the same with that of b from a , if a attract or repel b , b must attract or repel a with precisely the same force.

4th. At all considerable or *sensible* distances, this mutual force is an attraction sensibly proportional to the squares of the distance inversely. It is the attraction called *gravitation*.

5. In the small and insensible distances in which sensible contact is observed, and which do not exceed the 1000th or 1500th part of an inch, there are many alternations of attraction and repulsion, according as the distance of the atoms is changed. Consequently within this narrow limit, there are many situations in which the two atoms neither attract nor repel.

6th. The force which is exerted between the two atoms when their distance is diminished without end, and is just vanishing, is an insuperable repulsion, so that no force whatever can press two atoms into mathematical contact.

Such, according to Boscovich, is the constitution of an atom; and it is the *whole* of its constitution, and the immediate efficient cause of *all* its properties. Two or more atoms may be so situate, in respect of distance and position, as to constitute a *particle* of the first order. Two or more such particles may constitute a particle of the second order, and so on, to any degree of composition.

Priestley and some other disciples of Boscovich have refined a good deal upon the views now stated, and reduced the conception of matter to that of a certain number of *points* of attraction and repulsion. The theory itself, however, is now generally regarded as one of the things that have gone by, and is therefore not entitled to a greater share of our attention.

The second volume contains, besides the history of the Steam Engine, corrected and enlarged by Mr. Watt, a very valuable article on Machinery. Neither of these admits of abridgment; and we may say the same of the learned papers on the Resistance of Fluids, on Rivers, on Water Works, and on Pumps.

The contents of the third volume are not less interesting; consisting of Astronomy, Pneumatics, and the history and construction of the Telescope. As to the first of these articles, Dr. Brewster assures us, that "it will be found one of the most valuable treatises on Physical Astronomy that has for a long time been given to the public;" and in this opinion we heartily concur, after a faithful and rather laborious perusal, and a candid comparison of it with other systems. It may be profitably read by any one who, to the elements of algebra and geometry, has added a competent knowledge of trigonometry and the Conic Sections.

Electricity and Magnetism occupy the first half of the fourth volume: but as a greater variety of new facts and principles have been added to these sciences since the days of Dr. Robison, than to those which are strictly mathematical, the articles we have named are rather of subordinate importance. The same observation applies to the paper on the "Variation of the Compass." *Seamanship* has been already spoken of as an able treatise. Watch-work, we believe, is likewise esteemed by competent judges; but in regard to it as well as the articles on Music, Speaking Trumpet, Marine Trumpet, and Musical Trumpet, we must again acknowledge our ignorance. No man is expected to review an Encyclopædia, and the work now before us, though limited in its title to Mechanical Philosophy, partakes much of the nature of such a miscellany.

ART. V. *An Essay on Magnetic Attractions, and the Laws of Terrestrial and Electro-Magnetism.* By Peter Barlow, Associate of the Society of Civil Engineers, and of the Royal Military Academy. Second Edition, much enlarged and improved. 8vo. 304 pp. Mawman. 1823.

WE believe it is now considerably more than a year since we first offered to our readers some remarks on the magnetical researches of Mr. Barlow, as they then appeared in a small publication amounting to little more than a pamphlet. This gentleman, to whom both science and art, and we might add the nation at large, are under so great obligations, has since that period pursued and extended his researches in the same and other kindred branches, with equal assiduity and success; and has now presented the public with a volume embracing a variety of important subjects, closely allied to his former investigations. Although the title of the work before us differs but little from that of the former publication, (which is in fact here entirely republished, in many particulars extended and improved,) yet considerably more than two thirds of the volume are occupied by other new and important matter.

Among the chief improvements upon the former essay, we must mention a highly interesting section giving an account of the trial of Mr. Barlow's method of correcting the local attraction on board His Majesty's ships *Leven*, *Conway*, and *Barracouta*. It will be needless for us at present to enter upon any detailed account of these operations: it will suffice to observe, that they appear to have been attended with the most complete and decisive success. The testimonies given by the naval officers themselves are particularly strong in favour of the method. A letter is inserted which Mr. Barlow received from Capt. Baldey on the return of the *Leven* from the coast of Africa, expressing his most unqualified approbation of the plan, and his conviction of its utility and efficacy. From this letter we cannot forbear making a short extract:—

"You will perceive that in several instances our binnacle compasses differed from each other a half to three quarters of a point; which however we were always enabled to correct by your plate, and in all cases our place by reckoning, when thus corrected, agreed as closely with the observations as we could have reason to expect. Indeed little need be said to shew how very erroneous a place by reckoning must be found, after a run of several hours, five, six, or seven degrees out of the supposed course. At sea such

an error, although very considerable, is not perhaps of much importance; but in making land, in entering a channel, and in narrow seas, it might be, and doubtless has been, frequently attended with the most fatal consequences.

“ Under this impression, and being convinced from experience of the simplicity and efficacy of your experiments, I beg that you will make any use of this letter, which you think will be of the greatest service in bringing your method of correction into general practice.” P. 106.

We conceive this testimony will speak for itself, and form the best practical comment on Mr. Barlow's researches. Another testimonial, even stronger than the last, is given by Lieut. Mudge, in the case of the *Barracouta*; but of this our limits will not permit us to give the detail. We must refer those who may wish for further proof of the importance of Mr. Barlow's suggestion to the 13th section of this work; where we think they must admit its efficacy to be most satisfactorily and triumphantly established; and in which also we conceive practical men will find all the necessary information for enabling them to adopt the plan, delivered in the plainest and, at the same time, in the fullest manner.

Mr. Barlow has given a description of a model, which he has constructed, of a vessel, with all its iron properly distributed, a small compass in its relative situation, and a correcting plate upon a proper scale; by means of which the effect of the local attraction, and the practical application of the means of correcting it, are displayed in the most clear and satisfactory manner. This model he presented to the Society of Arts, &c.; and in consequence of his discoveries was elected a perpetual member, and obtained the gold medal. We notice this circumstance as forming a striking contrast to the reception his inventions and discoveries appear to have met with from another eminent Society. We allude to his first experiments, determining in a manner equally new and important the laws of magnetic action, and leading to the simple practical invention which has conferred on him such well-merited distinction. The account of these improvements was altogether too trifling, too meagre, too theoretical, to deserve a place in the *Philosophical Transactions*. We shall also in the course of this article have occasion to express our highest admiration at a particular section of the volume before us. We are convinced that our tribute of praise is no other than what must be the general sentiment: yet we learn, in a note appended to the section in question, that the substance of it was placed in the hands of a distinguished philosophical leader in March 1822, and read before an illustrious Society

on the 23d of May following; but that at the time of publication (Oct. 1822) the Committee had not decided respecting its appearance in print, nor has it yet appeared, though two opportunities have now passed.

After the conclusion of that part of the work relating to the laws of magnetic action, and the subject of the local attraction of ships, our author has inserted the substance of a memoir on the effects produced in the rates of chronometers by the proximity of masses of iron, which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1821, and of which we gave our readers some account in our review of the volume containing it. Nearly the same remark will apply to the next section, in which Mr. Barlow presents us with an account of his experiments respecting the relative magnetic powers of different sorts of iron and steel, and on the anomalous attraction of heated iron. In this instance, however, the accounts of the investigations, particularly on the former point, are given in much greater detail than they were, as inserted in the *Transactions*. Upon these portions of the work therefore it will be needless to dwell any further, and we hasten to give some account of the succeeding parts, where the researches described are of a nature wholly new. And if they be less important in relation to practical purposes, and immediate subserviency to the arts of life, than those which precede them, our scientific readers, at least, will agree that ample compensation is made in the simplicity and generality of the theories adopted, in the beauty and universality of the analytic formulæ deduced, and in the profound skilfulness of application and fertility of invention displayed in the mathematical reasoning.

The second part of the work is devoted to the explanation of a theory of magnetism, from which formulæ are deduced, applicable to all cases of induced and terrestrial magnetism. The hypothesis which Mr. Barlow here proposes is founded on an extremely simple supposition—a supposition strictly conformable to all the effects and properties which magnetic bodies display, and grounded upon the most natural, indeed we might almost say the only idea we can form, in any thing like a tangible shape, of the nature of the magnetic principle. It is not however our intention to dwell needlessly upon this part of the subject: we will briefly state Mr. Barlow's notion of the nature of this mysterious agent, and then proceed to point out the deductions he makes from it. He considers

“Magnetic phenomena as due to the existence of two fluids in a greater or less degree of combination, and such that the particles

of the same fluid repel and those of an opposite nature attract each other.

“ These fluids in iron bodies exist naturally in a state of combination and equilibrium, till that state is disturbed by some exciting cause.

“ But if a body, already magnetic, i. e. one in which these fluids are held in a state of separation be brought within the vicinity of a mass of iron, such as is supposed above, the concentrated action of each fluid in the magnetized body will act upon the latent fluids in the quiescent body, by repelling those of the same, and attracting those of the contrary kind, and thus impress upon the latter a temporary state of magnetic action, which will remain only while the two bodies maintain their respective situations.

“ The quantity of action thus impressed upon the iron body will depend, 1st. upon the intensity of the exciting magnet; 2dly. upon the capacity of the quiescent body for magnetism, or the quantity of those fluids contained in it; and, 3dly. upon the cohesive power of the iron; which latter quality determines the depth to which the exciting magnet is able to disengage the two fluids.”

This supposition Mr. Barlow conceives will comprehend every case of the development of the latent magnetism in any iron body by means of a magnet, whether natural or artificial. And he proceeds to the more immediate consideration of the case of terrestrial magnetism acting on spheres of iron; a case which presents several conditions tending to simplify the hypothesis, and to render the phenomena more susceptible of correct mathematical investigation.

In a sphere of iron then we may conceive, (agreeably to the fact of magnetic action being confined to the outer shell,) that every particle in that shell is acted upon by equal powers in the same direction, viz. that in which the terrestrial magnetism acts. In this theory then the action of the whole mass, instead of being accumulated in opposite poles at the extremities of the mass, is composed of the resulting actions of a displacement in each individual particle of the shell. And the resulting centres of opposite action are indefinitely near to each other in the common centre of attraction of the surface of the body—a centre which, as the author remarks, is coincident with the centre of action of the mass, in the case of spheres, but not in any other bodies.

He deduces from this theory a very clear and simple view of the forces in operation, and of the compound action upon the needle, resulting.—By an ingenious application of mathematical reasoning, he obtains very simple expressions for the forces in question, and thence deduces the measure of the deviation in the supposed general case of a needle freely suspended, so as to be at liberty to take any direction

whether horizontal, vertical, or oblique. From this he proceeds to deduce particular formulæ for the deviation of a needle limited in its motion to the horizontal plane, and of one moving only in the plane of the meridian, in other words, a dipping needle.

In the former case he shews by a comparison of results that the deductions from his theory agree in the closest manner with the experimental determinations given by Mr. Christie; whose researches are already known to our readers. He also shews that the same beautiful and simple laws of magnetic action which he in his former work deduced from experiment, follow directly from the formulæ here investigated.

The formula for the dipping needle was compared with experiments instituted on purpose. In this case also as close an agreement was found, as could reasonably be expected.

In these investigations the object was only to compute the deviation caused in a horizontal or dipping needle by the magnetic action of an iron sphere:—in other words to compute the angle which the resultant of the two forces under consideration makes with the natural direction of the magnetic force: in the 2d section of this part, the author extends his enquiries to finding the actual value of that resultant, on the intensity of the action of the sphere on the needle. This is easily deduced from the formulæ: and in order to compare the value thus assigned in different cases, with experiment, the vibrations of a magnetized needle are to be considered under the same point of view as those of a simple pendulum. Upon this principle Mr. Barlow compares the computed and observed times in which a dipping needle makes a certain number of vibrations, when in various positions with respect to an iron shell. This method he considers one of the best tests for examining the correctness of the theory: the approximation of the results to equality is very close; and this approximation is produced from the hypothesis of referring the whole effect to a compound central action, instead of temporary poles at the extremities of the mass, in the direction of the dip, as is supposed in the hypothesis of Coulomb.

“This point,” says Mr. Barlow, “I am the more anxious to establish, in consequence of its immediate connexion with the method I have proposed for correcting the errors of a ship’s compass, which has been objected to on the ground that according to the theory we have been controverting, the central action of all the iron on board would not remain constant under all dips and in all parts of the world: but if the hypothesis I have advanced be correct, then

the central action of any irregular mass of iron will be in the centre of attraction of its surface whatever may be the magnetic direction, and must necessarily remain the same, while the iron and the point from which its action is estimated preserve the same relative situation; as is the case with the iron of a vessel and its compass, at least, with the exception of those small changes of position, which may for the sake of convenience take place in the course of the voyage; but these will never materially affect the position of the general centre of the whole mass."

This point, in the establishment of which our author is so much interested, is put to an additional test in some experiments described in the next section, which we must in consequence briefly advert to.

Thus far the investigation is confined to the laws of action which obtain in spheres of iron, which, as was before observed, possess the distinguishing property of having their centre of action coincident with the centre of the mass. This however not being the case with other solids, it became a subject of enquiry to ascertain their magnetic action. For this purpose, taking the simple case of a bar or line of iron, Mr. B. indicates the method of computing its centre of attraction; this expression being introduced into the formula, the law of deviation is deduced. A series of experiments were performed by Mr. Bonnycastle, which sufficiently confirm the truth of the principles assumed; and consequently afford a proof of the accuracy of the method of correcting the local attraction of a vessel in all parts of the world, agreeably to the considerations just alluded to.

A series of supplementary experiments tending to the further confirmation of the hypothesis, were performed also by Mr. Bonnycastle upon another principle; but we fear our limits will not permit us to enter upon a closer review of them. Still less are we able to follow the highly interesting line of enquiry pursued in the next sections by our author: where he continues the subject in applying the formulas to the magnetism of the terrestrial sphere, making many curious inferences respecting the relation subsisting between the dip, magnetic latitude, and intensity of magnetic force in different parts of the earth, of all which we will only observe, that the results were fully confirmed by observation; and on the subject of the magnetic poles, and annual variation much valuable information, and many remarkable results, will be found in this portion of Mr. Barlow's volume.

The third part of the work relates to the new and interesting subject of electro-magnetism. Our author commences with a brief, but perspicuous and comprehensive sketch

of the progress of discovery in this science. We shall not follow him through the various earlier progressive improvements which he describes, having in some of our former numbers found occasion to take a cursory view of the history of this newly created branch of philosophy: and for a continuation and completion of the accounts of its progress, it is not to the historical sketch, with which Mr. Barlow introduces this part of his volume, that we have to refer our readers, but to his own experiments and discoveries as detailed in the body of it; in these the reader will find the complete developement of all that has hitherto appeared wanting to the perfection of this science. A satisfactory clue is here afforded to all the intricacies of this curious path of enquiry. In these, we may with safety pronounce, the history of this branch of knowledge, to be at least brought down to a grand and striking epocha of improvement. The nature of the discoveries now made known, is such as clearly to indicate that little more is to be learned in the regions thus explored. Any new field of enquiry must be laid open in some other direction. All the relations and possible combinations of the powers of electricity, galvanism and magnetism with each other, appear to have been examined: the laws of the communication of their influence, both in nature and direction, seem to have been fully laid down: and lastly the researches of Mr. Barlow have put us in possession of what seem to be the grand and fundamental laws of the electro magnetic action, and the nature of the force by which its effects are produced. It is time however to proceed to an examination of the leading features of these enquires; of which we fear we shall only be able to present our readers with a very imperfect outline. In this attempt we will commence by noticing that portion of this division of the work which comes last in order; as we conceive we shall thus more properly, and in closer accordance with the order of time, conduct our readers from the history of previous enquiries to the *æra* of Mr. Barlow's discoveries.

In section the 3rd our author gives a course of electro magnetic experiments, including all the principal ones hitherto devised, together with many altogether new, and which he details for the purpose of examining the agreement of the theory he has advanced, with the leading experimental facts. Of the instances adduced we will merely quote one or two of the most striking.

The experiment of magnetizing a needle by enclosing it in a glass tube, surrounded by a spiral connecting wire, we presume is familiar to our readers. In repeating this experiment, Mr. Barlow observed,

"That when the needle was placed in the tube so that one half of it projected beyond the end, the moment the galvanic combination was made, the needle was drawn instantly to the middle of the tube, and while the contact was continued it was held suspended in the centre of the tube when the latter was held vertically: the suspending power of the spiral exceeding the power of gravity.

"This effect is very curious, because the needle here remains suspended in the open space directly in the axis of the tube and not attached to either side as in the usual cases of suspension by attraction."

A no less curious experiment has been suggested by Mr. Faraday, which is equally important in reference to Mr. Barlow's theory; a tube with a spiral is laid in a vessel of water, on which floats a small piece of cork pierced by a needle previously magnetized, the connexion being established, the needle soon approaches the end of the tube, and then suddenly darts into it, with such force, as to occasion several oscillations, before it settles at length in the middle of the axis of the tube, and exactly parallel to it; a similar effect is produced if the tube be placed vertically. This experiment was proposed for demonstrating that the electric and magnetic powers are not identical as M. Ampere had supposed, for by applying a hollow cylindrical magnet in a similar manner, the needle was always attracted to the nearest extremity of its edge, and shewed no tendency to enter the tube.

The most numerous and important of the experiments here described, are those displaying the rotatory motion both of the wire round a magnet, and of a magnet round the wire; for the original investigation of which we are indebted to Mr. Faraday. The detail of these would be unintelligible without the plates of the apparatus with which they are, in the volume before us, illustrated. The principle of rotation is that which is most intimately connected with Mr. Barlow's mathematical deductions, and he has in consequence been careful to collect all the facts which different philosophers have made known in varying in several ways these experiments. There is one of peculiar elegance by Sir H. Davy; the rotation is exhibited by a vortex of mercury. Other applications of the same principle were contrived by M. Ampere and varied by Mr. J. Marsh; and are displayed in a small apparatus, which containing within itself a galvanic combination, acquires a rotatory motion by the introduction of a strong magnet.

The directive power of terrestrial magnetism on a galvanic wire, is also shewn by several forms of apparatus much more simple than that at first proposed by M. Ampere.

But perhaps the most curious and striking experiment is that devised by Mr. Faraday, for exhibiting the *rotation* impressed on a galvanic wire by *terrestrial magnetism*. A very light wire is suspended in a very delicate, and perfectly free manner, from a larger wire proceeding from either end of the battery; its lower end floats by means of a cork in a basin of pure mercury; the apparatus admits of a gradual depression, which is made till the suspended wire slopes at about an angle of 40° with the horizon: in this state the connexion is formed, and immediately a rotation commences in the wire, as it would do about the south end of a magnet, but in a proportionally less degree, as the directive power of the earth is less than that of a magnet of the kind here supposed. Upon this effect Mr. Barlow observes:—

“ This similarity of action naturally leads us to infer a similar cause, and that this cause is no other than the terrestrial magnetism; still, however, in order to render this conclusion the more indisputable, Mr. Faraday changed the inclination of the wire, making it first equal to the angle of the dip; and when under these circumstances, the wire was placed so as to coincide with the dip itself; viz. when placed in the magnetic meridian, sloping from south to north, there was no motion; and when the angle was still further increased, so as to exceed the angle of the dip, it was projected in two different directions, according as it was made to slope to the north or south, which is precisely what ought to be the case on the supposition of the motion being caused by the magnetism of the earth.”

We might notice many more experiments here detailed, but we conceive what we have described will be sufficient to give our readers some notion of the line of enquiry in which they are more peculiarly directed. We will, therefore, now turn back to the 2d section of this part, and take a cursory view of the improvements for which the science stands indebted to Mr. Barlow.

We will give his account of the steps, by which he pursued these investigations, in his own words:—

“ In the preceding parts of this work, I have attempted to reduce the laws of induced magnetism to mathematical principles, and to render the results susceptible of numerical computation, the mass of iron, and its position with respect to the compass being given; and as soon as I heard of Mr. Ersted's discovery, I was desirous to establish, on similar principles, the law of electric magnetism; but it was some time before I was able to construct an apparatus convenient for the purpose. Having, however, at length effected this necessary preliminary to my satisfaction, I proceeded to make the course of experiments, and to undertake the investigations which form the subject of the present section.

" My first object was to repeat very carefully all the experiments of Mr. Ærsted, M. M. Ampere and Arago; of Sir H. Davy and Mr. Faraday, with some others, suggested by the results thus obtained; and having attentively considered all the peculiarities of action thus developed, I was led to consider that all the apparently anomalous effects produced on a magnetized needle by the action of a galvanic wire, might be explained by the admission of one simple principle; viz. that every particle of the galvanic fluid in the conducting wire, acts on every particle of the magnetic fluid in a magnetized needle, with a force varying inversely as the square of the distance; but that the action of the particles of the fluid in the wire is *neither to attract nor to repel* either poles of a magnetic particle, but a *tangential force* which has a tendency to place the poles of either fluids at right angles to those of the other; whereby a magnetic particle, supposing it under the influence of the wire: only would always place itself at right angles, to the line let fall from it perpendicular to the wire, and to the direction of the wire itself at that point.

" I pretend not to illustrate the mechanical principle by which such an action can be produced; I propose only to show, that if such a force be admitted, all the results obtained from the reciprocal action of a galvanic wire, and a magnetized needle, may not only be explained, but computed, and that the results agree numerically with experiments."

This quotation will, we think, sufficiently explain to our readers the general principle of Mr. Barlow's ingenious theory. The idea of a tangential force is certainly something different from that of any kind of force we have hitherto been accustomed to contemplate in mechanical science: but it is an idea to which the phenomena of rotation discovered by Mr. Faraday, as well as the directions assumed by a needle relatively to the wire, seem necessarily to give countenance. We will, however, proceed briefly to notice the manner in which these researches were conducted, and the nature of the results.

The apparatus employed consisted of a conducting wire, made to form a rectangular figure, one of the upright parts of which passed through the centre of a table; round it a circle was described, divided into the points of the compass, and lesser divisions; a moveable radius, which could thus be set to any azimuth, carried a small compass, whose centre could be placed upon it at any requisite distance from the centre of the table. For the principal experiments, the rectangular wire was placed with its plane perpendicular to that of the magnetic meridian, in order that the horizontal parts of it might not produce any deviation in the compass. By this means the effect of the electro magnetic action of the

vertical wire upon the needle might be observed at any azimuth and distance from the centre. Careful precautions were also taken for maintaining the intensity of the galvanic apparatus constant during the experiments; in the details of these, and other particulars, relating to the mode of conducting the experiments, we will not follow our author, but merely observe, that no circumstance which could interfere with the correctness of the observations, seems to have escaped his attention.

Assuming the hypothesis before mentioned, of a tangential force, Mr. B. deduces, by the simplest principles of the doctrine of forces, a formula for the deviation by electro magnetic action at any azimuth, supposing the absolute deviation at the south point given, which of course involves the consideration of the distance.

Every mathematical reader will agree with us in our admiration of this extremely beautiful formula. Nor do we imagine it possible to convey to such as are not so, any adequate notion of the powers of the analytic language, which in an expression composed of four algebraic terms, can sum up a statement of every possible case, and concentrate in general terms, what it actually requires the three following pages of the volume before us to explain, in the detail of ordinary language. Upon this point we shall not further enlarge; but shall merely go on to state, that Mr. B. afterwards gives one series of numerical results, as observed with the apparatus described, in which the coincidence is as close as the nature of the experiments could admit. And it is to be observed, that in a formula like that before us, the mere coincidence of numerical results is far from being the only test of its truth. The "remarkable points," as they are sometimes called, through which, in the progress of its variation, an analytical quantity passes, afford an additional, and often very conclusive, proof of the applicability of a formula to actual cases. We might instance this in the supposable case, where, according to the conditions of the theorem, a quantity shall, under particular circumstances, become nothing, or infinite, or have its properties inverted: if in the corresponding cases of experiment, the deviation of a needle, for instance, actually becomes nothing, infinite, or takes an opposite direction, exactly under those circumstances in which the analytic variable does so from the nature of the quantities employed in the formula, such a coincidence will afford one of the most powerful tests of the truth of the formula. And even if in the numerical results some slight discrepancies should appear, when, at the same time,

the increase and decrease of effect is such as the formula indicates, and when the points of vanishing, of becoming infinite, and of changing its direction, coincide in the real force with those in the theoretical, the union of these circumstances must, we conceive, be regarded as an equally clear proof of agreement between theory and experiment, with the closest numerical accordance.

These topics, however, we are aware will, to many of our readers, appear dry and abstruse; we will, therefore, leave them, only observing, for the satisfaction of such readers, that if from the imperfect sketches of this beautiful and curious branch of science, which we have at different times submitted to their notice, they should be led to feel any interest in the truths and principles made known in it, they will find in the experimental section of the work before us, a most clear and comprehensive summary of facts; in the delivery of which our author has not disdained to adopt the most simple and popular form of illustration, and which will afford a complete and satisfactory guide to any person desirous of becoming experimentally acquainted with some of the most striking and elegant effects which natural science displays. We may add, that we are informed in a note to this part, that the ingenious artist, Mr. J. Marsh, (whose name appears in several of the experiments) has contrived a small apparatus, which in about the space of a cubic foot, contains every thing necessary for carrying on a complete course of experiments illustrative of the whole science.

Upon the whole then, we must be allowed to express our thanks to Mr. Barlow, for the very interesting additions he has in these researches made, to our knowledge, on some equally curious, and hitherto obscure, subjects. But independently of the real importance of many of his improvements, we cannot but consider their extreme elegance as constituting one powerful recommendation to the philosophical student, whose enquiries are stimulated and directed by the intrinsic beauty of scientific truth, rather than by the practical advantages to which it may be made subservient.

ART. VI. *Sir Andrew Wylie, of that Ilk. By the Author of "Annals of the Parish," "Ayrshire Legatees," "The Provost," &c. In 3 Vols. 12mo. Cadell, London. 1822.*

WE are aware that the work before us has been preceded

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and followed by a whole Northern nine-farrow of novels from the prolific pen of the same author, the discussion of which will hereafter find a place in our pages. In the mean time, however, we are tempted to step out of the regular order of things, in giving the precedence to the present tale, as containing a mixture of high merits and glaring defects, which have caused a great difference of public opinion as to its literary deserts.

Sir Andrew Wylie, Baronet, and Laird of that Ilk, is first introduced to our notice as a weakly and ailing orphan, mewling in the arms of his aged grandmother, who by meritorious and incessant labour, "the eydent hand and unwearied foot," contrives to procure for him such education as the village school of Stoneyholm, in the shire of Ayr, affords. On the day of his initiation, his dawning taste for drollery is displayed by a circumstance which determines his future surname.

"After the dismissal of the school, as he was playing with the other boys on the high road, a carriage and four horses, with outriders, happened to pass, whirling along with the speed and pride of nobility. The school-boys, exhilarated by the splendour of a phenomenon, rare in those days in Stoneyholm, shouted with gladness as it passed, and our hero animated the shout into laughter, by calling out, 'Weel dune, wee wheelie, the muckle ane canna catch you.' From that time he was called 'Wheelie;' but, instead of being offended by it, as boys commonly are by their nicknames, he bore it with the greatest good-humour; and afterwards, when he had learnt to write, marked his books and copies with 'Andrew Wheelie, his book.' Even the master in time used to call him Wheelie, and insensibly fostered his taste for the odd and droll, by sometimes inviting him on a Saturday afternoon to partake of his pale and economical tea." Vol. I. P. 7.

We recollect a similar description of a chaise, given in our own hearing, by a shepherd's boy on the Wiltshire downs. "Thur was a gurt wheel as run a'ter a little one, and could'nt catch'n." Who can say what a "mute inglorious Milton" might have been lost to the world in the person of this observant youth? Andrew Wheelie, or Wylie, however, who, fortunately for himself, possesses more calculating foresight than our young Edwin of Salisbury Plain, soon learns how to cultivate and avail himself of his natural powers of humour. These, added to an early perception of the manageable point of every person's character, ensure him his full share of "the holiday plunder of birds' nests and hazel nuts," without the danger of risking his neck, for which Andrew has a most reverend regard; and moreover,

disarm the displeasure of the easy and kind-hearted master, on occasions when the droll mischief of the urchin, or the rogueries of his pet magpie, have brought him to shame.

"It's but the first fault o' poor Maggy, master, and ye shouldna be overly severe, for she docsna ken, as ye say, that theeving's a sin; so I hope ye'll allow me to gie her an opportunity to tak up the steik in her stocking, and I'll admonish her weel when I get her hame—O ye sinfu' bird, are ye no ashamed of yoursel, to bring such disgrace on me?"

"Maggie instantly testified her contrition and her thankfulness for the advocacy of her master, by hopping from the relaxed grasp of the good natured dominie, and nestling in his bosom.

"'It's really a droll beast, I maun alloo that, and I'll forgie you for this ae time,' said the master; 'but I would advise you to tie a string to its leg, and keep it in the house, for there's no telling what it may commit.'" Vol. I. P. 13.

Poor Maggy's neck is at length wrung off by Miss Mizzy, the sister of the Laird of Craiglands, whose wrath her pilferings have provoked; and the unsavoury revenge which Andrew and four chosen schoolfellows take upon the implacable tabby, call forth at length a serious abjuration from Mr. Tannyhill. The benevolence and singleness of heart of this worthy dominie cannot be better illustrated than by the following address to the culprits, which we recommend to the study of all choleric pedagogues.

"'I told you,' said he, casting his eyes towards our hero, 'that the ill deedy pyet would bring you into baith scaith and scorn; and now ye see my prophecy has come to pass, for there ye stand, five a' in a row, like so many evil doers as ye surely are, that I ought to make an example of, by letting you fin the weight o' my hand. But it's no my way to chastise with stripes on the body: no, unless the heart is made to feel, a bite o' the taws in the loof, or on the back will soon heal. In truth, my bairns, I'm wae for you, for gin ye gang on at this rate what's to become of you, when ye enter the world to mak your bread? wha, Wheelie, will hae ony regard for you, if ye gie yoursel up to mischief?—Others here hae friens that may guide them, but ye hae only your auld feckless grannie, that wi' mickle hard labour has ettled, with a blessed constancy, to breed you up in the fear o' God. O man, it will be a sore return for a' her love and kindness, if ye break her heart at last—I speak to you mair than to the rest, because in this matter ye are the most to blame, and stand in the greatest peril.'" Vol. I. P. 18.

This paternal admonition, enforced by an imposition of fifty psalms to be got by heart at Andrew's leisure, has a powerful effect in steadying his character, and strengthening his memory and perseverance. Willy Cunningham, the

Laird's son, whom his careless "dauner" father has allowed till now to vegetate among the sons of his tenants and labourers, is, however, removed in alarm from the low society of the village school; but our hero is soon consoled for the loss of his crony, by the sympathy of Mary Cunningham, the sister, who kindly aids the penitent in the mastery of his arduous task, and is astonished at his genius in accomplishing it. A half-jesting unconscious attachment arises between the children in consequence, which operates as a strong motive on the future pursuits and exertions of Andrew. But we are anticipating events, and must return to the boyhood of the calculating young Scot. In the selection of those circumstances which form the future character of his hero in its distinguishing points, while they correct its meaner propensities, the author has shewn great phrenological skill. A secret speculation in comfits, in which our hero and his friend Charlie Pierston engage, like Miss Edgeworth's little Neapolitan merchants, receiver, to speak literally, a *dis-comfiture*, and his propensity to low gains is corrected by the disappointment; while the pithy saws of honest Edin Ochiltree's fraternity, "the travelling tinklers and blue gowns," and "the gash and knacky carles and carlins of the village," improve his turn for the homely, quaint, "auld farent" humour, which proves his first recommendation to notice, and in his own words, "make his memory like a wisdom-pock, a fouth of auld knick-knacketies, clues of experience, and shapings of matter, that might serve to clout the rents in the knees and elbows of straits and difficulties." (Vol. I. P. 58.)

After two or three years study at the desk of his relation, John Gledd, a country lawyer, Andrew, recommended as a clerk to Mr. Vellum, a London solicitor, makes his debüt on the bustling stage of the metropolis: and, considering that he is already a lover, and predetermined to be a hero of romance, his appearance is somewhat whimsical. A head, round, smooth, and white as a dumpling, small twinkling eyes, and a diminutive awkward person, arrayed in a shortened suit of his father's old clothes by the skill of Clipping Jock, the lame village taylor's humpbacked apprentice, compose an exterior by no means imposing to the world, one would suppose, "nor worth a lady's eye." The native drollery, shrewdness, and civil courage, however, which animate this unpromising form, soon create him friends and laughers, as will be shewn in the following scene, narrated by Mr. Treddles, his host at Glasgow:—

"I'll never forget the laugh we got, at what he said o' the

College. It's been a sprose amang us ever sin syne.—'Heh!' quo' he, 'but yon's a gruesome like place; the very winnocs are like the peering een and bent brows of auld Philosophorum.'

" 'It happened that night,' continued the manufacturer in his narration, 'that we had some neighbours in to their tea, and the mistress had provided short-bread and seed-cake, wi' some o' her jelly and marmolet, according to the use and wont o' such occasions. When the tea was filled out, our friend drew in his chair to the table, and wasna slack either wi' teeth or claw on the dair-ties.—'Ye seem to like that kind o' bread, Andrew,' said the mistress.—'Atweel,' quo' he, 'it's no ill to tak,' and wi' that he continued to work awa at it wi' the greatest industry; and when he was satisfied, he set back his chair, and took the chumla-lug, in afore Mrs. M'Vicar, the major's widow, a prejnct elderly woman, that never forgot it, till about nine o'clock, when he rose, and lifting one of the candles, said, 'Mistress Treddles, I'll awa to my bed; for I maun to be up to get the Edinburgh carrier the morn's morning by skriegh o'day—Whar am I to cuddle?'—I thought we would have a' deet at this. But when the lass took him wi' another light to the stranger's room, Mr. Plank, that was o' the company, a deep and observant man, said, 'Yon lad's no to be laugh'd at—He'll learn mair havens belyve; and if he pursues his ain end wi' honesty, and as little in the awe of the world as he seems to feel at present, he'll thrive in London, or any other place, wherein his lot may be cast.' Vol. I. P. 75.

After a journey, in which his economy and desire of knowledge is laughably developed, Andrew is landed by the Leith smack at Wapping, "with only a gude Scots tongue for his guardian genius;" and installed in the office of Mr. Vellum. Here begins the improbable part of the story, which, however, is as ingeniously worked into the probable part, as a falsetto into the natural voice of a good singer. The key-stone of Andrew's fortunes is laid by an accidental interview with Lord Sandysford, a young married nobleman, to whom Vellum is agent, and whose attention is amusingly awakened by the naiveté, uncouthness, and Doric drollery, of our original. Having inveigled poor Andrew under false pretences to his own masquerade, and diverted a circle of friends with the fright and eccentricities of "the incomparable unknown," the Earl next invites him to dinner, partly as a civil atonement, and partly in the anticipation of more fun. Andrew, with the intuitive perception of character and opportunities which distinguishes him, resumes on this occasion his wonted self-possession, and by dint of broad Scotch humour and ludicrous songs, (possibly gleaned from some grizzle bearded blue-gown,) obtains a succès de société which establishes him in favour with Lord Sandysford, and

reaches the ears of Mr. Vellum. The latter accordingly employs him in communicating to the improvident young peer the terms of a mortgage in which himself is the secret lender; a delicate commission, which he is desirous to shift on the shoulders of the unconscious stripling. Andrew, however, whom the attentions of the young Earl have inspired with a grateful interest in his behalf, assumes a part rather unexpected by his employer, and advocates the cause of economy with such artless and well-meant earnestness, that Lord Sandvford, though diverted with his naivetè, and neglecting his advice, is in his turn interested by the honest zeal of one whom he has hitherto considered as a butt and buffoon. An occasion having subsequently arisen, on which Andrew detects and exposes the author of a newspaper calumny on Lady Sandvford's reputation, the Earl learns to appreciate his dexterity and intuitive knowledge of the world, and takes the young adventurer by the hand in a more marked manner than before. But the paragraph in question, backed by certain trivial imprudences on the part of his lady, with whom Lord Sandvford lives on fashionable terms, sinks deep into his mind; and the Countess, a high-spirited woman, and conscious of no essential lapse from propriety, is provoked to a voluntary separation from her husband. On taking into consideration the means of making her a liberal alimony, Lord Sandvford is induced to investigate his own affairs, and resolves on retiring to his venerable country seat for purposes of retrenchment. Before his departure, however, he stipulates with Vellum, whose share in the mortgage transaction he has discovered, to allow Andrew a salary improbably large; which, however, the humble agent is glad to tender as a peace-offering. Fresh circumstances soon afterwards arising, which tend to impeach the honour of the Countess, Andrew is sent for by Lord Sandvford, to aid in investigating the mystery; and the zeal, address, and perseverance with which he prosecutes the attempt to clear the lady's reputation, and to reconcile her to her husband, prove finally successful, after a long series of involved adventures, occupying the greater part of the second volume. From this portion of the story, which, to say the truth, is protracted to dullness, we extract part of a scene admirable for its broad humour: in which Andrew humorously browbeats Dr. Trefoil, the confidant of the irritated Countess Dowager:—

“ ‘Noo, Dr. Trefoil,’ replied Andrew; ‘but that I ken ye’re mista’en, I could wager, as sure as ony thing, that there’s a wee spicerie of I’ll no say what in this.—O Doctor, it would hae been mair to the purpose, had ye been kirning drogs with the pistle

and mortar in your ain shop, than gallanting frae Dan to Beer-sheba with an auld prickmaleerie Dowager, to pick holes in the coats o' your neighbours.'

" 'Sir, your language and insinuations are insulting,' cried the Doctor, reddening into valour.

" 'Dr. Trefoil, I'll tell you something that ye'll maybe no be ill pleased to learn. I'm no a game-cock. The deadliest weapon that I ever handle is a doctor's bottle; so that your whuffing and bouncing are baith ill-was't on me. Keep your temper, Doctor; keep your temper, or ye may lose your appetite for my Lord's dinner. Howsever, I forgie you for this bit spunk of your bravery, and I doubt not but we shall by and by be couthy friens, though we will differ on twa points—that's certain. I'll ne'er allow that physick hasna an abominable taste; and some better evidence than your seven senses, my man, maun be forthcoming, before I credit this story o' the twa ghosts that you and the poor feckless auld Leddy saw at Castle Rooksborough.'

" 'Ghosts!' cried the Doctor, utterly amazed at the self-possession of his companion.

" 'Ay, ghosts, Doctor; and I'm thinking they hae been twa o' your ain patients, they hae gi'en you sic a dreadfu' fear. What did they say to you, and what said ye to them.'" Vol. II. P. 12.

His freedom with the Dowager herself we think rather coarse, and all things considered, neither natural nor necessary: but his tact and dexterity comes to his aid just in time to atone for it, and conciliate the worthy old lady.

From the reunion of Lord and Lady Sandysford, the most important advances of Andrew's prosperity naturally commence; but previously to this event, the introduction of the former, and his own amusing peculiarities, have procured him the familiar entree of the most fashionable drawing rooms, and immeasurably raised his consequence in the eyes of Mary Cunningham and her aunt, during their first and only visit to town. His dexterity also in reinstating Mordaunt, the friend of Lord S., in the good graces of Sir Thomas Beauchamp, a whimsical humorist and father of his mistress, and the benevolent activity with which he detects the real author of a murder, of which an unfortunate gang of gypsies were wrongfully accused, raised him higher than before in general opinion. Mr. Vellum admits him to a lucrative partnership, and the influence of Lord Aberside, father of Lady Sandysford, (assisted, gentle reader, by the secret aid of the grateful gypsies!) instals him on cheap terms in the borough of Bidford. And now the author's imagination, warmed by the worship of the little grotesque pagod whom it has set up, begins to run mad in honour of him. Peers manoeuvre for a knife and fork at his first set

dinner; "three duchesses, four marchionesses, five countesses, six viscountesses, and seven baronesses, besides the daughters of all orders of the nobility, lay themselves out for invitations" to a first ball, which they have determined he shall give. He transmutes Lord Aberside's only son in an instant from a Radical to a Tory, much to the satisfaction of the old courtier; restrains the rising ambition of Lord Sandford to the improvement of his estate, and the propagation of heirs to it, and becomes a distinguished committee man and a Baronet, while in the mean time his sleeping partnership with Mr. Vellum is acquiring for him a large fortune. Nay more, the ghosts of our late venerable Monarch, and of the immortal Pitt, are with no great propriety of good taste conjured up for the purpose of doing honour to the naive humour and political acumen of the young M. P. This is rather too much. On revisiting his native village, however, full of the hope of obtaining the hand of the lady in whom all his schemes and exertions have centered, and whom the death of her brother has rendered presumptive heiress of Craiglands, Andrew appears in somewhat of a more probable light, and the more delicate parts of his character grow upon us in a manner which prepares the imagination for his final success. The cottage of his grandmother, whom he has maintained from the period of his first salary, is bought and repaired with exact attention to her former habits, in a modest and comfortable manner; and Sir Andrew, quietly putting his brevet of dignity in his pocket, and taking up his abode under the roof which sheltered his childhood, appears every where with the good old woman, referring all engagements to the convenience and pleasure of his earliest friend, and delighting to shew her by every means in his power, that prosperity has not altered the heart of the original "wee Wheelie." Among his former village associates he neither assumes a protecting air, nor descends to frivolous and affected familiarity; but while he serves their interests in the least ostentatious way, has a kind word or a quaint joke ready for each, referring purposely to old days.

"Among others, he recognized old Thomas Steek, the tailor, leaning on his crutch, and said to him, 'Ye see the Lononers haena been able to put me in a better fashion than you and clipping Jock did.'

"On reaching the church-door, where Mr. Covenant, the elder, a tall, pale, grey-haired man, with a cocked hat, a white three-tier wig, and a blue cloak, was standing at the brod, he paused for a moment, and allowed the master and his grandmother to pass on

before him. The crowd, especially the school-boys, had followed close at his heels, in the expectation of seeing him deposit some liberal donations to the poor. They reckoned on nothing less than a handful of gold, and it at first appeared that he had some intention of realizing their expectation; but he checked himself, and instead of throwing any thing into the plate, gave the elder a slip of paper, to be sent up to the precentor, and simply said to him, 'Mr. Covenant, I'm no just so weel prepared at this moment to do what I ought, so ye'll come to me the morn's morning betimes, when I can better testify my thankfulness for being restored in safety among you;' and in saying these words, he walked thoughtfully to the pew where his grand-mother sat, and took his old place at her side." Vol. III. P. 132.

In the same beautiful tone of considerate kindness is the meeting with old Janet Pirn, for whom he makes a comfortable provision.

"Sir Andrew felt a pang of inexpressible sorrow quiver through his heart, at seeing the old woman in a state of beggary; but instead of giving her a sixpence, he went up to her, and shook her kindly by the hand. 'It's a long time, Janet, since you and me were marrows in the stand at the Fair,' said he; 'but I have had a better trade by the hand, and ye should be nane the waur o't. Grannie here tells me ye're no so able to work as ye were in yon days. I'm really sorry that I didna hear o' this sooner, but I'll try to mak up for't; only I think ye might hae gart the master drop me a line before it came to this.'" Vol. III. P. 191.

We are well inclined to believe, that such is a tolerably faithful picture of the expansion of heart felt by a kindly Scot, on his return to the scenes of his infancy;" at all events, it does honour to the feeling and judgment of the author, and prepares us to anticipate the effects produced on the mind of Miss Cunningham by the attaching qualities and sterling worth of our little hero. With the Laird, however, his success is somewhat more difficult and problematical. The latent family pride of the old gentleman, whom we have hitherto merely known as "a carle that daunerd about the doors wi' his hands in his pouches, and took them out at meal time," has it seems been chafed into action by the late encroachments of the Glasgow manufacturers.

"'Ah! Sir Andrew,' said that illustrated political economist, 'it was a black day when poor Scotland saw the incoming pestilence of the cotton Jennies. The reformers and them were baith cleckit at the same time, and they'll live and thrive, and I hope will be damn'd thegither.

"'Wheesht, wheesht, Laird!' exclaimed the old woman: 'that's an awfu' word—remember the Sabbath day.'

“ ‘Remember the deevil!’ cried this worthy member of the landed interest. ‘Isna what I say a God’s truth? The vera weavers in Glasgow and Paisley hae houses, I’m told, that the Craiglunds here wouldna be a byre to. Can ony gude come, but vice and immorality, from sic upsetting in a Christian kingdom?’ ”
Vol. III. P. 163.

In this temper of mind, though he overwhelms Andrew at first with homely civilities as “a lad weel to do, and to whom we could do no less than gie some countenance,” yet when his name is brought upon the tapis as a match for the heiress of Craiglunds, the jealous prejudices of the old landed proprietor against one whom he persists in considering as “Martha Docken’s oye,” break out with full force in the following dialogue, to which the Laird’s broad Scotch gives an incomparable zest to his testy scepticism.

“ ‘I dipna understand,’ said he, ‘a’ this wark about Martha Docken’s oye. That English Lord and his Leddy mak him joke-fellow wi’ themselves; but the Englishers, as it is weel known, are no overladen with discretion—that’s a certain fact. But how Andrew came to the degree of a Bauronet, is a thing I would fain hear the rights o’. Howsever, I’m thinking that your Bauronets noo-a-days are but, as a body would say, the scum that’s cast uppermost in times o’ war and trouble.’ ”

“ ‘Ay, but, brother,’ said Miss Mizey, ‘Sir Andrew’s a great and wealthy man, and a Member of Parliament; and ye hae heard how Mary and me found him on a footing wi’ the Duchess of Dashingwell, and a’ the nobility, which was just confounding.’ ”

“ ‘Ye have said sae,’ replied the Laird; ‘but everybody kens that Duchesses, especially o’ the English breed, are nae better than they should be.’ ”

“ ‘But you forget, sir,’ interposed Mary, ‘that lady Margaret is sister-in-law to her Grace; and when she gave us letters to the Duchess, she not only assured us that she was a lady of unblemished honour, but beloved and esteemed by all her friends.’ ”

“ ‘Ye wouldna surely hae had Leddy Margaret,’ said the Laird, ‘to speak ill of her ain kith and kin.’ ”

“ ‘But Sir Andrew,’ resumed Miss Mizy, ‘has made a great fortune, and has bought the estate of Wylie.’ ”

“ ‘Is’t paid for?’ interrupted the Laird. ‘I would like to ken that.’ ”

“ ‘I should think,’ said Mary, diffidently, ‘that he must be a man of merit and ability; for you know, sir, that he had but his own conduct for his patron, and he has acquired both riches and honour.’ ”

“ ‘But how did he acquire them?’ cried the Laird, sharply. ‘Any body may acquire riches and honour!—the road is open baith to gentle and semple. But, thanks be and praise, the democraws are no just able yet to mak themselves men o’ family.’ ”

"'It is not likely that Sir Andrew is a democrat; neither his associates nor his inclinations, or I am much mistaken,' replied Mary, 'lie that way.'

"'Wha made you a judge?' exclaimed the Laird.

"'I do not affect any judgement in the matter,' was the answer; 'I only think ——'

"'What business hae ye to think? It's not as clear as a pike-staff that trade and traffic are to be the ruin o' this country. In a few years, It's my opinion, they'll no be sic a thing as a gentleman. There's that poor mean-spirited body Monkgreen, wha was aye ettling to improve and improve his lands, like a common farmer, and wha cut down the fine auld trees o' his grandfather's planting, and set up his sons as Glasgow merchants—What has he made o't? His auld son, Robin, they say, stands benint a counter gieing out wabs to tambourers. Willy, the second, is awa' wi' a pack among the niggers to the West Indies; and his only dochter, she's drawn up wi' a manufacturer, which in broad Scotch mean just a weaver. In another generation, a' that we'll hear o' the auld respectit family of Monkgreen, will be something about a sowan-cog or a sugar-hoggit. I wouldna be surprised to see a clecking o' blackent weans coming hame frae Jamaica, crying 'Massa-granpa' to Monkgreen, yet, before he died—it's a judgement he weel deserves.'" Vol. III. P. 197.

Sir Andrew, however, without making any undue concessions, shews great good sense and good temper in conciliating his father-in-law elect; and Lord Sandyford, who has visited the neighbourhood purposely to forward Andrew's wishes, with his friend Sir Archibald Maybole, succeeds at last, by the marked deference with which they treat the Baronet, in impressing his importance on the mind of the repugnant Laird, who warmed by Sir Archibald's claret, gives his consent to the marriage, and the purposes of his existence being now fulfilled, is the same evening overturned and brought to his grave by a drunken hind, his coachman. The lovers are of course married as soon as propriety will permit, and Sir Andrew, already become Wylie of that Ilk by purchase, combines the estate with that of Craiglands, and, (more wisely than is probable) quits business and public life for the scenes of his childhood.

From the statement and extracts already given, our readers will perhaps form a fair estimate of the merits and defects of this original novel. The former are many and various, the latter glaring and wilful, arising from self-created difficulties. Having assumed an improbable though pleasing groundwork of his story, and perfectly aware that he has done so, the author wantonly multiplies untoward obstacles, that he may shew his skill in surmounting them,

and fairly laughs to scorn the calculations of men of the world, as well as the habitual partialities of the gentler sex. That a raw illiterate country stripling, of mean unrefined education and uncouth manners, strongly addicted to petty gains and the society of beggars, afraid of bogs and thunder showers, and lacking even that degree of personal courage which is as common and necessary as the nose in a man's face; disfigured moreover by an exterior, ridiculously homely, totally devoid of personal vanity or romantic sentiment, and even romping on the dickey with an Abigail for the sole purpose of pilfering her eatables, that such a person should become at the age of seventeen or eighteen the chosen confidant and associate of the great, the fair, and the fastidious; that he should at an age not much later obtain a large fortune, a baronetcy, a seat in parliament, and the affections of a beautiful heiress, who had known him in his original obscurity; and that finally he should carry the cordial sympathies of the reader along with him, in a manner in which the more legitimate heroes of romance seldom do,—is what few will believe on a mere dry statement of the heads of the story. When, however, we have once entered on its perusal, although our sober reason may suggest that such a concurrence of circumstances never did, and never will take place, yet our imagination is inclined to acquiesce implicitly in the fiction: and if the results in question were ever to be attained at all, we perceive that the author has selected the best means of attaining them.

The hinge on which Andrew's advancement turns, "the tide in his affairs, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune," is his introduction to Lord Sandyford, improved as it is by his estimable qualities and diverting oddities: and the young Earl is accordingly represented as exactly the person likely to appreciate the one and enjoy the other. Indolent, whimsical, possessing an eccentric genius and a kind heart, and partly from ennui, partly from secret unhappiness, as weary of this world's state and unprofitable usages as Hamlet himself, endued with sensibility to value, sterling worth and feeling, and penetration enough to detect their counterfeits, he falls in with our valuable little nondescript just at the conjuncture when his mind requires a new excitement, and his affairs demand a faithful, active, and plain spoken adviser. Unable to resist the temptation of exhibiting Andrew as a butt, and eager to make the friendless lad some reparation, his attention is drawn to the good-humour and self-possession with which his butt can either take or crack a joke, and he finishes by laughing with him instead of at him. The rest

follows of course, aided by those conjunctures which authors have a right to invent, and which are not perhaps overstrained, as relating to the history of the Sandyfords. The young Earl, requiring an able adviser and disliking a dull one, too feeling and judicious to trust a mere buffoon, and too proud to brook the influence of a man whose qualities come in competition with his own, is taken with the peculiar character of Andrew: and having entrusted him with a confidence which the latter neither abuses nor presumes on, is finally attached by services the most grateful to his feelings, and the most important to his happiness, while his imagination is amused by a never failing vein of drollery, of which a good specimen may be found in vol. ii. page 5.

We cannot so easily swallow at a gulp the three duchesses, four marchionesses, and eighteen other peeresses, to whom we have already alluded as scrambling for our hero's attentions. To speak seriously, the great, though naturally as amiable and as accessible as the little, are, as our hero would have said, "kittle cattle to shoe behind;" and that from circumstances reflecting no blame on themselves. "If any silly thing," as Pindar observes, "escapes them, it is made a great matter of;" and their least word is seized upon, to be repeated to the praise and glory of the narrator's *savoir vivre*, or treasured as an earnest of favour and patronage. Placed on a conspicuous eminence, they are the more exposed to the scandal of those ephemeral scribblers, who exist by pampering the worst feelings of our nature, and continually teased and perplexed either by the *mauvaise honte*, the ill-founded hopes, or the presumption, of the small wits, parodists, protégés, or parvenus, whom they admit to a familiar footing. Thus situated, we cannot wonder that pride and shyness should arise in them from the common feelings of our nature, and lead them to distrust the intimacy of those out of their own sphere. Such at least appears to have been the conception of the author, and the character of his hero is skilfully adapted to meet the obstacles in question, after his first introduction by Lord Sandyford. "Witty himself, and the source of wit in others," he soon shews that he possesses too little personal vanity, and too much real respectability, to be either degraded or nettled by the part of an oddity to which nature has destined him. To a cheerful, elastic, civil courage, he unites manners independent, unassuming, and original, and of a description which his noble friends have not been accustomed to associate with any thing offensive. Affecting none of that cheap common place worldly polish which to a certain extent is easily ac-

quired by the crowd of "young men about town" of doubtful pretensions, nay even by fiddlers, waiters, and sharpers, and content with the emoluments of his profession, he professedly disclaims all rivalry in address or exterior, with the gay world. Even his intimate associate is not introduced under his wing, to witness his triumph; and in his choice of a good house in an unfashionable street, and the arrangement of the third course of his dinner, and his ball, as well as his sudden allusion to the dying man's will and testament, vol. i. p. 135. he bounds back to his own condition as suddenly as the merry and wise Cawdie Fraser and his compeers. Our readers will recollect the saturnalia of this fraternity, as related in *Humphry Clinker*; and how after playing the boon companion to the utmost limit of allowed freedom, they suddenly took their places behind the chairs of their noble guests, saying, "Noo we're your honour's cawdies again." A similar *amende honorable* is made by Andrew continually, and his unaltered manners remain as a guarantee that it never will be wanting. If on more serious occasions, he appears to forget the dignity of those whom he is addressing, his forward humour is in a moment atoned for by the deep and honest interest in their welfare, in which he forgets himself also; and though he buffoons in word, he never does so in deed. What else could atone for the startling indecorum of calling an earl a goose; but the grateful anxiety shewn and felt in the following words?

" 'This winna do,' cried Andrew, seriously, on observing the absent and melancholy look of Lord Sandysford; 'your Lordship's like a fat goose drapping awa'; and if ye're no ta'en frae the fire, ye'll soon no be worth the taking.' " Vol. II. p. 269

Though we admire the dexterity shewn by the author in thus adapting the character of his hero to the nice part which he has to play, we must admit that events are made most uniformly and civilly subservient to his advancement and reputation. To say nothing of a crowd of minor instances, Vellum acquiesces instantly in a salary which must nearly have swallowed up the profits of the Sandysford agency; and Sir Thomas Beauchamp surrenders at discretion to the arguments of one, whom it is more probable that he would have turned out of his house as an intruding busy body. Blondel is kept back in his profession by an impediment of speech, in order that Andrew may bring him forward, and as to the "metaphysical aid" afforded by the gypsies at the Bidford election, the stratagem would have been too absurd and palpable for the borough of Gotham—that old Craiglands

should die just at the convenient time and that a handsome young heiress should remain single among country lairds, are very allowable fictions; but we are certain that the kind heart of Andrew would not have approved of the manner in which his early friends are sacrificed to him. Poor Willy Cunningham is dispatched in order to enrich his sister, and Charles Pierston, after obtaining a lucrative appointment through Andrew's means, falls a victim to fever, to shew the indifference of Mary towards him, and disinherits his son in Andrew's favour, to display the disinterestedness of the latter in enriching the friendless boy with his own legacy. The slow yielding prejudices of the Laird, and the calm sober growth of his daughter's love, are more naturally described, and would satisfy the most fastidious stickler for probability.

On the whole we consider the Author's talents as more favourably displayed in character than in incident; and in the former respect, the novel now before us is very strong. The chief force, as may be expected, is thrown into the character of Andrew, which is well supported throughout. From the moment of Charlie Pierston's quarrel and broken head, he is the same dexterous peace-maker, and laughing philosopher, occasionally pushing caution to unnecessary lengths, (as in the mole-catching anecdote, vol. i. p. 987.) but always with an honourable purpose; and his inexhaustible flow of humour is well contrasted with a laughable spice of superstition, most characteristically Scotch. (See vol. ii. p. 161.)

With respect to the other characters, polite usage requires that we should first mention Lord and Lady Sandford. The conception of both is good, as regards their relation to Andrew's views and history; but the execution somewhat poor. The Countess is indeed a mere sketch, but with the Earl we are brought more frequently in contact, and cannot help remarking the affectation which here and there pervades his colloquial style, and which, though perhaps natural to the character which the author would describe, is somewhat mawkish. His brother-in-law, Lord Riversdale, is also but a slender youth in understanding, as well in body, though evidently meant to play somewhat of a conspicuous part.

In the "ferlies and uncós," "the perknicketties and pre-jincketees" of Scotch character, the author is much more at home; and his pen possesses a kindred power to the pencil of Wilkie. Even Daft Jamie, with his shrewd uncouth humour, his cupboard love, and his high pretensions, is a

rich and original sketch, differing from poor Davie Gollatfy as essentially as Caliban from Lear's kind-hearted fool. The Laird also, "knotted and knarled with obsolete prejudices," and starting at once from habitual indolence into caustic humour and aristocratic pride, we should conceive to be an admirable picture of a race gone by; and we almost wish that he could have been spared to give us a few more specimens of such comic light-headedness as the following:

"'Brother, said Miss Misy kindly, struck by the growing incoherency of the gentleman, 'I doobt ye're waur than ye let wit.'

"'I'm unco dty,' was the answer. 'It's a wonder o'nature, that the mair a body drinks he aye grows the drier; but Sir Archibald's claret was of a fine quality; and really yon Sir Andrew's a comical creature—I trow I gart the prejinck English Yerl laugh, when I said that Sir Andrew would never be able to kiss our Mary, unless he could speel up and get his taes in her pouches. It's my fear that their bairns will be sic wee modiwarts o'things that when they begin to tottle about the house, we'll hae to tie bells to their backs to hear whar they gang, for I'm thinking they'll be running in aneath the beds. 'Odsake, but I would be blithe to see the wee totties spinning about the floor like peeries.' " Vol. III. p. 286.

Martha Docken and Tannyhill are characters of a different and higher class, the conception of which does honour to the heart and genius of the author. Without departing from the modest truth of nature, he has drawn a beautiful picture of simple good sense and religious patience, in the portrait of the worthy old woman; enlivened occasionally by a vein of innocent drollery which derives additional effect from the sober unconsciousness with which it flows from her.

"For as Solomon says, 'grant me neither poverty nor riches;' and Solomon kent weel what the warld is,—though, poor man, in his auld days he gaed aften far ajee out o' the strait road in the gloaming, tapping wi' his gowden headed staff at the harlot's door, and keeking in at her windows with his bald head and his grey haffits, when he should hae been sitting at hame on his throne, reading his Bible to his captains and counsellors in a kingly manner." Vol. I. p. 228.

The genealogy of Tannyhill may perhaps be traced to that of Dominie Sampson, as that of the good Dominie may to Parson Adams; but our author has borrowed no more than the mere idea, and the execution of the character is completely his own. The frugal neatness of Tannyhill's person, his modest practical wisdom, and the guileless and patriarchal simplicity of his heart, leave an impression on the reader, totally distinct from any thing barlesque or flat;

and the even tenor of his subdued passions is only interrupted by benevolent anxiety for the living, or affectionate recollections of the dead. We quote a passage of peculiar beauty, descriptive of the fate of his early friend, as possessing the true simple pathos of which the lakish mint has coined so many counterfeits.

“ In my green and glad days, there was a briak wee laddie that I used to play wi’ in the summer sun-shine, and slide wi’ on the winter’s ice. The coal was cauld on the hearth of baith our parents, and we were obligated in time to seek our bread in the world. He gaed into Glasgow for his, and was prenticed to a ware-room; but still, about once a year we met, and at ilka meeting, the covenant o’ our young friendship was renewed in our hearts. Belyve, when I had ta’en a turn for divinity, and had gather’d, wi’ the help o’ friends, twa three pounds to tak me to the College, we lived thegither; our means were sma’, and when they were like to wear out I was often very sad, but his spirit was made of light and joy, and he so seasoned our scrimpit meals wi’ the happiness of his nature, that I still look back to the penury of the winter we passed thegither, as to the holly-bush, wi’ its bonny red berries, standing green and bright amidst the snaw. He was a clever and a throughgawn lad, and grew to be a clerk wi’ a great merchant, who sent him to a foreign place wi’ a rich cargo—in the whilk he was to hae a profit. But when he got there, things werena as he had hoped, and his letters to me were ane after another more and more full of doubts and fears, and at last the merchant got ane that told he was dead. I kenna how it was, that at the time I didna experience such a sorrow as I should have felt, and I was vexed when I thought he was dead, and that I should have so little naturalty—strangely, at times, fancying as if he could come back; but in time other cares and concerns grew upon me, and his image, like an epitaph that’s overgrown by moss, was in a manner obliterated, till many years after, when meeting by chance wi’ a gentleman that knew him in that foreign land, we fell into discourse about him, and the stranger told me that he died of a broken heart—all the pride and hopes of his young expectations were blighted by the ill luck of the venture. It’s no to be told what I then suffered; I pined and was solitary, and I couldna eat.” Vol. III. p. 243.

A person who can write thus ought not to condescend to a servile imitation even of the Author of *Waverley*, particularly in the “crambe recocta” of wonderful old women. Meg Merrilies and Elspeth we will allow to be prima donnas in the sibylline department, but the half dozen of *doubles* which have succeeded to them from the same pen, have already tired us of awful anility, and Andrew’s old gypsey, with all the “tremendous solemnity” of her address, appears

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to us but a sorry and bombastic specimen of it. We can easily forgive the "todlike inclination for either folks cocks and hens," which Andrew palliates in behalf of the gypsey family, with the good-natured casuistry of Baillie Jarvie; but we cannot allow them to give away the borough to Andrew with the same ease as the boiled goose's leg.

Our objections to the trial scene rather arise from the manner than the matter. A little more of cross examining and a little less of German mystification would have obtained the desired result equally well, and have been more consonant with the etiquette of a court. But perhaps the author's imagination was haunted by the denouement of a play attributed to his pen, and called we believe, *The Witness*.

We cannot dismiss the novel before us without bearing an unqualified testimony to the good sense and originality which are displayed in its design and conception. Declaring open war against the Byronian class of tall "sublime Werter-faced men," with dark brows and ungoverned enthusiasm, he has embodied the beau ideal of honesty, integrity, mother-wit, and sound feeling, under an exterior and address almost ridiculous, but which he has succeeded in rendering interesting; and he may almost be excused for having in some cases encroached on probability, by those who can estimate the humour, spirit, and good writing, with which his encroachments are maintained.

ART. VII.—*Sermons on the Nature, Offices, and Character of Jesus Christ. By the Rev. T. Bowdler, A.M. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 38. Longman. 1820.*

IF we have suffered this volume to lie on our shelf unnoticed for an unusual length of time, it has not been owing to any feeling of indifference with respect to the subjects contained in it. The bare mention of them will be sufficient to relieve us from such an imputation. For who can hear or read of the incarnation of our blessed Saviour, justification by faith, the principle of spiritual life in the hearts of believers, and their union with their Lord and Master, without having the best feelings of his heart awakened to a diligent attention? Every part of the subject, as the author has stated it, in his title page and preface, is calculated to excite a deeper interest than all that the richest stores of learning can produce, or the boldest imagination can invent. In truth it is our anxious desire to see those lofty themes brought continually forward, and pressed upon the attention of high and low, rich and poor; and the consideration of the "nature,

offices, character of our Lord." though it may be brought within the compass of a single volume, should in some shape or other form part of every discourse from every pulpit.

The effect of this style of preaching, at least upon the lower orders is very obvious. Let a man, we have some right to speak dogmatically, having the experience of many a year over our heads; let a man speak of the atonement as often as he will, and build upon this doctrine an exhortation to turn from sin to righteousness, and we will pledge ourselves that he shall have an attentive audience. Let him speak on the same subject, and use a similar exhortation in his intercourse with his parishioners, and he will produce a beneficial effect upon their hearts and lives far more readily than in any other way. The same he will find to be the most successful mode of giving his parishioners a taste for the ordinances of the Church; the great secret of bringing them, in a spirit of true devotion, to partake of the Lord's Supper is to urge this as a proof of a true faith in Christ.

But we go farther; we should affirm that this kind of instruction is the way to combat false doctrine most successfully. A due regard to the fundamental principles of our holy faith, and particularly to the offices and character of our Saviour, to the cause of his coming into the world, the manner of his life, the efficacy of his death, and the nature of his religion will be found the best safe-guard against error. With this opinion which we have now stated, strongly impressed upon our minds, it afforded us much satisfaction to see that the author of the volume before us had taken occasion to discuss the most important doctrines of the Gospel: and we need scarcely add, that they are treated with peculiar interest and with singular advantage, where the attention is directed immediately to the great Author of salvation. We shall endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the volume, as far as a few pages of a review can do so, and they will then be able to judge of the correctness of our views, and of the style of the author.

The two first Sermons treat of "Jesus Christ our justification;" the former of them being occupied chiefly in pointing out the meritorious cause of justification: the latter in discussing the nature of that faith by which it is accepted. In treating this subject, there is on every side great need of accuracy of distinction. This will not be difficult to any one who thinks clearly, and is conversant with the points he is discussing; the whole however is brought together in a few lines, which may be acceptable to our readers.

"The sum of what hath been said, comprising the doctrine of

our church on this important article of belief is this, we are justified freely by the grace of God, as the high and sole cause: we are justified by the blood of Christ, as the price paid for our redemption: we are justified by faith, as the instrument whereby we accept salvation: we are justified by good works, as the proof of our faith, and the subject of enquiry at the day of judgment. P. 48.

When a subject is well digested, all its bearings and proportions accurately distinguished in the mind, the writer may expatiate as freely as he will on its several parts. The almighty power and providence of the Most High; His justice in threatening punishment upon an offender; His merciful goodness in providing a propitiation: the farther exercise of his justice in pouring out upon the holy victim the full cup of his wrath, and in requiring from those for whom the propitiation is made an acceptance of the salvation provided, and the fulfilment of such terms and conditions as He may see fit to enjoin; and the gracious provision by which that propitiation is available, to procure favor for even the imperfect performance of those conditions; any of these may be brought forward according to the taste of the writer, or the peculiar turn of his mind, without disparagement to the other parts or injury to the general subject. The more correct mode, however, will be to consider the several parts and bearings of the subject, not separately, but in union with each other. Indeed where it is fully treated, it is impossible to do it satisfactorily in any other way. Accordingly in the Sermons now before us, the author points out with great and praise-worthy care, the strict union of justice with mercy in the Divine counsels, before he ventures to indulge in free and exulting language upon the love of God.

"Here," says he, having described the Gospel doctrine of justification, "here is a dispensation worthy of that God who is 'infinite in goodness and truth.' Here is no easy remission or forgetfulness of sin; no insensibility to its evil nature and evil consequences: the law is enforced in all its rigour; the penalty is imposed; the punishment is inflicted: and if mercy rejoices, it is not in a triumph over justice, but in a holy union with it, to the more signal manifestation of the glory of God in the salvation of his creatures." P. 15.

We shall quote the greater part of the passage which follows, as affording a favorable specimen of the writer's style.

"Yet, let me not seem to forget, even for a moment, that love is the distinguishing characteristic of the Gospel dispensation. Though the justice of God has been satisfied,—more fully satisfied

by the perfect righteousness and atoning sacrifice of his Son, than if in its vengeance it had swept from the earth the whole of a guilty race,—yet we are taught that this rigorous enactment was the effect of compassionate loving-kindness. It is not, indeed, easy to conceive how in a perfect being one attribute should display itself more powerfully than another. His love, however, at man's utmost need stands out before the rest, and is announced to us as the cause of that astonishing scheme revealed in the Gospel:—his love for us, even while we were sinners, at enmity with Him, and sunk in the lowest depth of misery. ‘Great and marvellous are all the works of Jehovah, God Almighty!’ But greater than all the rest is that mighty work of salvation, by which, enclosing within the arms of his mercy the whole of a guilty world, with all the generations which should inhabit it from the beginning to the end of time, he poured upon one devoted head the vials of that wrath which should else have blotted out the fair face of his creation. And marvellous was the redemption planned in the Divine mind, when seeing that there was none to help, and wondering (to use the strong language of the Prophet *,) that there was no intercessor. He himself consented to become the victim, and to travail in the greatness of his strength for the deliverance of those whom he loved, mighty to save. Let the terrible sufferings which the Redeemer consented to undergo, testify both the power of his love and the fierceness of that wrath which was so appeased. Let us thankfully rejoice in our high privilege that we are permitted to see and understand the mercies of God in Christ Jesus; for these are things which angels desire to look into, and ages to come, ages never ending, shall contemplate with increasing delight and wonder,—as the faculties of the renewed and incorruptible spirit shall be gradually enlarged and refined in the immediate presence of the Deity,—the breadth and length, and depth and height of that love of Christ which passeth knowledge.” P. 16.

The author goes on to argue from the history of man, and then to point out from Scripture, how unworthy was the creature, and how free the Divine grace in his redemption, and to entreat his hearers to cast away every proud thought of their own innocence or merit, and wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb, and be clothed with his righteousness, affording in this respect an instance of what we lately observed, that a writer, and we may add, a preacher, may safely enlarge on one portion of his subject, without mentioning the rest, yet without injury to them, his ideas being correct, and his expressions carefully guarded.

The Second Discourse is occupied in a full explanation of that faith whereby sinners accept the free gift of salvation. This is described to be in its primary signification, belief, or an acquiescence in the truth of that which is revealed. And

* Isaiah lix. lxiii.

this is undoubtedly well pleasing to God, since it is an acknowledgment of Him in his true character, in all His attributes, glories and perfections; not merely believing in the existence of the Deity, as in any simple proposition; but believing Him to be such as he has declared Himself to be; a distinction which is clearly of the greatest possible importance, and leads to consequences, which it is well worth any person's while to follow up in his own mind. In its second signification, it is an act of the heart, as well as of the understanding, reposing upon God, and relying upon his promises. This shall be described in Mr. Bowdler's own words:—

“ Faith, in this acceptation of the word, is not only belief, but trust and confidence, and stedfast hope in God: ‘it is not in the mouth and outward profession only, but it liveth and stirreth inwardly in the heart*.’ it gives itself up to God, to do and to suffer according to his will, having its eye ever upon him as the father and friend of his creatures, the author and giver of all good: it receives with gratitude the mercies which he vouchsafes to bestow, and bends with unrepining submission under the rod of his chastisement: it contemplates his providence in the government of the world and the events of life, and rejoices to place itself under his guidance and protection: it soars yet higher into the regions of light; gains admittance, as it were, into the presence of the Deity, and there surveys the whole of that mysterious scheme for the salvation of man, which began before the world, and extends to all eternity; and from admiration of the power, and confidence in the truth, and love of the goodness of God, derives a sure trust in his promises, a lively hope of his everlasting favour, a willing obedience to his commands, and a stedfast adherence to him in life and death. This is true Christian faith; the source of real happiness; the fruitful parent of all good works; which begins with prostrating itself with unfeigned submission at the foot of the cross, in devout acknowledgment that every good gift, pardon and mercy, grace to perform the divine commands, and hope of the everlasting reward, proceeds entirely from the free bounty of God, exercised for the sake and through the mediation of Him who suffered: but not lying there in lifeless inactivity, nor trusting with unholy presumption to his goodness, rises to the active use of those powers which it has received from above, and to the working out of that salvation which it so highly esteems. All careless indolence, and all bold assurance, are abhorrent from its nature: as it aims at the highest reward, it deems no labour too great for obtaining it; as it enjoys by divine favour illustrious privileges, it studies to ‘adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.’ The more profoundly it meditates on the perfections of the Godhead, and the more sensibly it feels its own unworthiness, the greater diligence does it employ to ‘cleanse itself from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and to perfect holiness.’” P. 36.

* Homily of Faith.

We have given this passage at full length, though it might have been compressed with advantage both to Mr. Bowdler's readers and our own. But we give it at length; because it leaves little, if any thing, to desire in setting forth the conditions of salvation. An active and fruitful faith, believing in God, and trusting in him, may be described as the one condition under the Gospel: the same by which the Elders obtained a good report; by which Abel and Noah, and Abraham were justified in the sight of God, exercising a firm belief and full confidence in Him, and proving the disposition of the heart by the course of their life. It is the want of due discrimination, and putting asunder what God has joined together, which has produced so much of error and confusion upon this subject. We have been the rather desirous likewise to produce this passage, because we are gratified when the preachers of the present day adopt the sentiments, and even the language of our reformers; and our readers will find in these Discourses, a continual reference to those high authorities, in whom nothing is more remarkable than the correct idea which they had on the subject of justification. Having carried our readers so far into these two Sermons, we will lead them to the end. Having set forth the excellence of faith, Mr. Bowdler proceeds to guard against the danger of making it *meritorious* in procuring justification, an error which seems, as he observes, "to enter into the hearts of many who reject with just abhorrence the idea of procuring justification by their works," forgetting that faith is itself a work, an act of the mind, confounding the cause with the condition of salvation.

It may be asked then, why is faith said to justify, and why is it extolled above all other graces? We shall give the answer in Mr. Bowdler's words:

"For this obvious and instructive reason, that faith accepts the gift mercifully offered by God, and in so doing acknowledges that salvation is of Him alone, proceeding from his free bounty, procured by the perfect obedience and all sufficient sacrifice of his Son*. The receiving it through faith, therefore, is a confession of our unworthiness and inability to procure it for ourselves: it is as through each of us should say, to the mercy of my God and the merits of my Saviour I look for pardon and acceptance: I adore that mighty love which hath purchased so great salvation: defiled with sin I seek to wash away its stains in the blood of the Lamb: I fly to God for refuge and strength, and beseech him to plant in my

* "Because faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins, and that, by faith given us of God, we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth,) therefore Scripture useth to say, that 'faith without works doth justify.' Homily of Salvation. See also the Augustin Confession.

soul the graces of love and hope and filial obedience, and to make me in every thing conformed to the image of Him in whom I have believed." P. 40.

It remains, in order fully to discuss the subject, to shew when justification takes place, and to overthrow the error of those who maintain that salvation, to be free, must be unconditional: upon which latter head it is well observed by Mr. Bowdler, that the atoning sacrifice of the Son of God was the primary condition upon which the Father was pleased to pardon those who had offended, and faith is the condition upon which pardon and salvation are accepted. The subject is properly concluded, with shewing, "that the prescribing of terms and conditions, does not diminish the magnitude, nor the freedom of the favor bestowed," and an exhortation to consider the important doctrine of justification whole and entire, in all its parts and bearings. The remark which we would make is this, that this great and essential doctrine may and ought to be preached and fully explained to all congregations, that when thus explained, it will be understood by all; and when thus preached, it will engage the attention of all; and that the false notions unhappily common on this subject, may thus be opposed with the best prospect of success.

We could have wished to examine the two next Discourses upon the spiritual life in man, "its nature and privileges, the prescribed mode of entering into it, and the means by which it is nourished and supported in the children of God," especially as they lead to the consideration of the question of regeneration—the new and spiritual birth in baptism when this life begins. But we must not do more than notice an important observation, which is pressed more than once in these Discourses, that "all the members of the visible Church are God's children, and thereby heirs of life. That the promises of God are made generally to all the faithful, and must not be limited to a select few; that the honorable titles by which the Apostles address their converts, are applied to the servants of God, not individually, but collectively; and that the words of the sacred writers, and the high titles bestowed upon believers, must not be strained beyond their true meaning, to express a security and freedom from sin which no man can enjoy." But for these, and for a description of the spiritual life at the conclusion of the Second Discourse, we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

We proceed to the next Sermon, the fifth, and one of the most interesting of all, upon one of the titles of our Lord, "The Son of Man," in which the author, grounding his exposition upon the language of Bishop Middleton, (great and honored, and now, alas! lamented name,) takes

occasion to discuss the doctrine of the Incarnation. He shews in the first place, "that this was a title appropriated to himself by Jesus Christ, designating his human nature, yet conveying an intimation of something more than human; it represented a Divine Being, in a state of weakness and humiliation." He then proceeds, after pointing out the importance of belief in the Incarnation, to shew that it was necessary for the due execution of his various offices, that Jesus Christ should have in his own person both the divine and human natures inseparably united; a short quotation from the last division of the Discourse, will shew the manner in which the argument is conducted.

* The same union has been decreed by infinite wisdom in Him who is appointed to be Judge of quick and dead. The power and right to execute judgment resides, like all supreme power, in the Deity. But the particular exercise of that power at the last great day has been committed by the Father to the Son; and for this especial reason, 'because he is the Son of Man*.' Not, as some would render the words, because he is a son of man, that is a mere man; for how can a fallible man judge the world? No; but because he is **THE SON OF MAN**; God incarnate.—He, uniting in himself the perfections of the godhead with sympathy for his fellow-men, is peculiarly qualified to execute judgment under that dispensation, in every part of which 'mercy and truth meet together.' " P. 138.

On this subject the author evidently writes, *con amore*, and we rejoice in seeing it treated in such a manner as to excite a very pleasing interest; because we may say of this, as we said of justification, and would say again of all the great and leading doctrines of our faith, that they may be made intelligible to the meanest capacity, and must be constantly brought forward for the instruction of the ignorant, the confirmation of the wavering, the refutation of error, and for laying a sure foundation for practical exhortation. We know no subject so convincing and so fruitful in these respects, as this of the Incarnation. We can conceive nothing more powerful and more persuasive. We have seen the good effects of inculcating a stedfast belief in the divinity of our Redeemer; and we most anxiously intreat the Clergy of our Church, as far as our feeble voice may reach, to be frequent, and firm, and earnest in enforcing the importance of a right belief in this respect, whether they address themselves to the polished audience of the metropolis, or to the lowest congregation that gathers round the village preacher. If they desire to impress their hearers with the loftiness and magnitude of the subject, and excite them to a due consideration

* John v. 27. See Middleton on the Gr. Art.

of it. We cannot do better than recommend the perusal of the concluding paragraph of Mr. Bowdler's Discourse, which we have much pleasure in extracting.

“ In this title, then, the Son of Man, assumed by our Saviour, and evidently distinguishing him from others of the human race, you see before you a proof of that leading doctrine of our religion, the *Incarnation of the Son of God*. And if your thoughts, my brethren, ascend in any proportion to the dignity of the subject, or its interesting nature excites corresponding feelings in your hearts, you will not deem the time or labour misapplied, which may be given to investigations such as these. For in the Incarnation of Christ you see infinite wisdom providing a satisfaction for divine justice, in such a manner as to excite the offender to love, to gratitude, to the practice of holiness : you see, not the beginning only of man's redemption, but a principle which pervades all the parts and circumstances of it : for you see that whether the Son of Man appears as a Teacher, or a Saviour ; whether he offers an atonement ; or calls the nations to his judgment-seat ; for the due execution of every office, an union of the divine with the human nature is absolutely necessary. How low, then, how cold, how uninteresting are those views of our religion, which would sink the Redeemer of mankind to a level with those lost creatures whom he came to seek and to save ; and by banishing the doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice, would throw away the most powerful incentive to generous feeling, elevated piety, undissembled humility, and unwearied love ! Be watchful then, lest you be tempted to separate the divine and human nature in Christ Jesus. Be upon your guard, lest you be induced by any specious arguments to question the truth of His incarnation ; remembering that if God was not manifest in the flesh, ye are yet in your sins unatoned, and therefore unpardoned. Range in thought, as you will, through all the marvellous works of God ; meditate, as you will, on all his glorious attributes ; let the various proofs of his loving-kindness excite your gratitude ; but let this be ever present to your minds as the greatest of his works, and the highest instance of his love, that He who is ‘ the King of glory, and the everlasting Son of the Father, when he took upon him to deliver man, did not abhor the virgin's womb.’ ” P. 140.

There is another subject, closely connected with this, which occupies two Discourses, namely, “ The Word of God ; ” in discussing which the author goes into a patient investigation of the use of the term, for the purpose of shewing that it is the proper title of the Second Person in the Trinity, and pointing out the various appearances, which He is supposed to have made, and in which He acted as the Agent and Instrument for the Deity, and the Mediator between God and his creatures. Our limits will not allow us to follow our author through his investigations ; *

* The Desire of all Nations. The Preacher of the Gospel. The Preacher of

and we must pass by the other subjects discussed in this Volume, for the sake of giving some account of that with which it concludes, the "Signs of being in Christ."

The author begins with a caution against the misinterpretation of Scripture phrases; to obviate which he lays down two simple and easy rules: first to discover the meaning which is generally given to any particular word by the inspired Writers; secondly, to examine the context, and thus ascertain the sense of the whole passage, and the object of the Writer. These rules are exemplified in several expressions from Scripture, which are of rather an unusual signification, and a few passages which are sometimes interpreted, may we not say perverted, so as to support the Calvinistic doctrines. We were perhaps the more pleased with this part of the Discourse, because we recollect a neighbour, a person in a low station, but of no ordinary attainments in Religion, expressing much satisfaction at the explanation which we had incidentally given of one of those which Mr. Bowdler has produced, that, namely, in which it is said, that "Esau found no place for repentance;" and it struck us forcibly, that the difficult passages of Scripture, those more particularly which are liable to misconstruction, ought to be from time to time carefully explained to the common people. Mr. Bowdler then proceeds to apply those rules to the explanation of his own text, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;" and having shewn the different ways in which the expressions may be understood, he points out some scriptural signs of being in Christ, namely, baptism, faith, keeping the commandments, the being conformed to his image, and partaking of his body and blood in the Eucharist; shewing under each head how a person, by being united to Him, becomes a new creature. Having indulged our own curiosity in examining the Sermons upon this subject, we have thought it possible, that we might gratify that of our readers by this report of them. We have only to add, that the doctrines contained in them are strictly correct. But we have no room for extracts, nor is it necessary to make any. The author indeed seems to have kept himself down in these Discourses to the capacities of country congregations; and we may add, respecting the whole volume, that we suspect he has subjected himself to some difficulty, by having an eye at once to the pulpit and the press. Though we would have every one of the subjects before us addressed even to the poor, yet a different style is then certainly necessary from that which would be suited to a more polished

the Gospel to the Poor. The Light of the World. The True and Living Way
The Good Shepherd. The True Vine.

audience; and he will perplex himself not a little, who desires to please both. Not that any person of real taste will be displeased with Sermons addressed to the lower orders:—there will probably be a simplicity, an affectionate kindness, a persuasiveness, a sincerity, if we may use the term, which will be very fascinating. But, especially, when any deep or doctrinal subject is submitted to the press, we certainly look for a loftier tone, a wider range of fancy, and more tasteful illustration than might be proper or even intelligible, if delivered from a country pulpit. The ornaments which will, in the one case, be thought to set off and illustrate the subject, will in the other case obscure it. Mr. Bowdler is always sound in his doctrine, correct in his view of the nature of the Gospel, and in his interpretation of Scripture plain and persuasive. We will not say, that his sentences might not acquire force by compression, or that we do not sometimes desire a greater elevation of language, and vigour of imagination; yet the following extract from the Sermon on the “*Desire of all Nations*” will perhaps please more fastidious critics than ourselves. He is speaking of the means by which the Magi learned to expect a future Sovereign, the Star which should come out of Jacob, and the Sceptre which should rise out of Israel; and proceeds thus:

“The ages meanwhile roll their appointed course;—the season of the fulfilment of promise draws nigh;—the heathen oracles are silent;—an universal peace prevails, giving leisure for calm thought and contemplation;—the eyes of men are turned to Judea, which is pointed out as the birth-place of the Sovereign of the world;—and lo! a star of extraordinary appearance announces to those who were in the habit of contemplating the heavenly phenomena, the birth of the Messiah; and, like a faithful messenger, guides their willing steps to the court of Herod and the manger at Bethlehem; there, to prostrate themselves before Him, who was born King of the Jews, and present ‘gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.’

“Such were the first-fruits of the Gentile world, offered to the infant Jesus, the pledge and promise of a glorious harvest: such the proof of an expectation prevailing, not only among the poor, the illiterate, and the credulous; but among the rich, and the wise, who could investigate causes, and distinguish the truth. Oh, that such were never blinded by a false philosophy! Oh, that none who possess the pomp of wealth, or the pride of learning, now that the Day-star has risen upon their hearts, and the full blaze of Revelation shines around them, were ashamed to bend before the manger at Bethlehem, in humble adoration of the incarnate God!” P. 161.

The chief merit of these Discourses, however, is that they

lead the reader directly to Him, who is "the Author and Finisher of our faith," and they explain with success the doctrines of the Gospel, and illustrate that union of justice and mercy, which is the striking characteristic of the dealings of God with his creatures. Would that these high and lofty themes were always so contemplated! That man would not think to do honour to God by a partial view of his works, and a partial reverence of some of his attributes! —In the Deity, in his counsels as far as we can comprehend them, in his works as far as we can view them, and particularly in the greatest of his works which has been revealed, the salvation of men, all is perfect and entire, and exactly balanced, and all his attributes display themselves in perfect harmony and perfect beauty. And it is only by thus viewing them, that we can truly comprehend his ways and dealings, and pay Him the honour which is due. In the words of the author before us,

"It is one of the perfections of the Deity to make even those principles, which appear to be discordant, harmonize in a perfect union. It is the frailty of man, that he separates what God has joined; either magnifying divine mercy to the injury of eternal justice, or detracting from its excellence, that he may build on the false foundation of his own works. To our eyes, if we draw our instruction from the fountain of truth, all the dispensations of God will appear tending to one great end, even our sanctification. We shall see 'mercy and truth meet together, righteousness and peace kiss each other.' Drop down ye heavens from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness; let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together." P. 501.

ART. VIII. *An Inquiry whether the Disturbances in Ireland have originated in Tithes, or can be suppressed by a Commutation of them.* By S. N. 52 pp. 8vo. Milliken, Dublin. 1822.

ART. IX. *A Letter from an Irish Dignitary to an English Clergyman, on the Subject of Tithes in Ireland. Written during the Administration of the Duke of Bedford, with the Addition of some Observations and Notes, suggested by the Present State of this Momentous Question.* 36 pp. 8vo. Milliken, Dublin. 1822.

ART. X. *A Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present. A new Edition revised by the Author.* 76 pp. 3s. 8vo. Murray, 1822.

ART. XI. *A Short Address to the Most Reverend, and Honourable William, Lord Primate of all Ireland; re-commendatory of some Commutation or Modification of the Tithes of that Country: with a few Remarks on the Present State of the Irish Church. By the Rev. Sir H. B. Dudley, Bart. late Chancellor, and Prebendary of Ferns, in Ireland; Prebendary of Ely, and Rector of Willingham, Cambridgeshire, new Edition. 80 pp. 8vo. Cadell, 1822.*

ART. XII. *Letter from an Irish Beneficed Clergyman, concerning Tithes. 32 pp. 8vo. Rivingtons, 1822.*

IT is understood that two measures are about to be submitted to the House of Commons on the subject of Irish Tithes. One originates with Mr. Hume, and the other with his Majesty's Ministers.—The treatment which these measures will experience is as different as their authors or their object. The first is an open attempt at spoliation—recommended by an individual unacquainted with Ireland—and totally unqualified for the office which he has undertaken. Such a plan from such a quarter will be received with indignation and defiance—and its author will learn the difference between an inspector of accounts, and a legislator for churches and kingdoms. In the first character Mr. Hume is respectable,—though tiresome—In the second he is too ridiculous to do mischief.

The measure to be proposed by government is a *commutation* not a confiscation of tithe—and its nature and source bespeak diligent attention. Such attention we shall endeavour to bestow. Giving full credit to ministers for the purity of their motives, confident that their bill will not be hurried through Parliament—and trusting that its opponents will be thought worthy of a hearing and an answer, we shall proceed to state the result of our reflections upon the subject. Opportunities will occur hereafter for a general examination of the state of the Irish Church—but the Commutation of Tithe is a distinct and separate question and should be discussed upon its own independent merits.

We begin by a brief notice of the pamphlets under review; and shall hereafter extract their more material statements.

The *Inquiry whether the disturbances in Ireland have originated in tithes or can be suppressed by a commutation of them* is the most important of these publications. It is the work of one who is familiar with the history of his own country—and who can defend his notions of its real interest by references to other nations and other times. He enters farther into the general question of tithes, than our imme-

diate subject requires. But that portion of the *Inquiry*, which refers directly to a commutation, will materially assist our labours.

The *Letter from an Irish Dignitary to an English Clergyman* reminds us that the Whig Administration of 1806 was intent upon some improvements respecting tithe—but was unable to agree upon their nature or limits.

The *Letter from an Irish beneficed Clergyman concerning Tithes*, sets out with lamenting the injudicious interference of Mr. Grant with the affairs of the Church of Ireland, and “that tincture of sectarian prejudice which led him from his very first arrival in that country to look with a suspicious if not a hostile eye on the Clergy of the establishment.” It answers the objections which are commonly urged against the rights of the Irish Clergy to tithes—and contends that the farmers and peasantry would be infinitely more benefited by an abolition of middle men and absentees than by an abolition of Parsons and tithes.

The *Sketch of the State of Ireland past and present* is universally attributed to Mr. Croker; and parts of it apply forcibly to the scheme in agitation. We say nothing of the occasional beauty or the occasional affectation of the style—nor can we coincide in all the sentiments of a writer who would grant the Catholic claims. But there is much in his sketch that is important and authentic, and his admission respecting tithe derive additional weight from the sentiments which he entertains on other subjects.

Sir Henry Bate Dudley’s *Short Address* has been thought worthy of a new edition, and we shall not venture to speak lightly of its merits. As a practical agriculturist, and titheholder his opinion deserves attention: but the results at which he arrives, are that agriculture is sorely discouraged and depressed by the liability of land to tithes, and that tithe cannot be collected without wrangling and ill-will!!

Having thus briefly introduced our authors to the reader’s acquaintance, we proceed to consider the commutation of tithes. And in the first place we must observe that it is a question in which both churches are equally concerned. Lord Liverpool is reported to have said that English and Irish tithes are to be discussed as separate questions, and that in consenting to commute the latter he gave no countenance to a commutation of the former. We are unacquainted with the precise grounds upon which this opinion rests—but are confident that it cannot be sustained. An advocate for the abolition of tithes may contend for the distinction imputed to Lord Liverpool—but where it is proposed to make

a full, fair, and free commutation, there is no difference between England and Ireland. The real or imaginary varieties between the Sister churches, are the foundation of that reasoning which would destroy the one, without destroying the other.—The abolitionist maintains that the Catholic population of Ireland, the greater extent of its ecclesiastical property, the number and value of its sinecure livings and sundry other circumstances which we need not enumerate, constitute so plain a distinction between the two countries, that their tithes need not share the same fate. There is much plausibility in this statement and some truth. It is true that by no stretch of impudence or falsehood can the accusations brought against the Church of Ireland, be made to bear against the Church of England. She must be assaulted on a different pretext. And those who intend to assault her in their own good time may deny that such a design can be fairly inferred from their demands respecting Ireland. But with this the advocate of commutation has nothing to do; it is not his object to injure or punish; and if his plan will not injure the Clergy of Ireland, how can it injure the Clergy of England? If the new payments are not to be as secure and as valuable as the old ones, the term commutation is inapplicable. But a fair commutation, which may be beneficial to both parties, is a boon to be desired rather than an evil to be dreaded, and there can be no reason for conferring such a favour upon a part rather than upon the whole of the kingdom. We contend, therefore, that those who advocate a commutation in Ireland on the ground of the peculiar circumstances of the Irish Church, are inconsistent reasoners. Their premises and conclusions do not hang together. They argue as if the Church of Ireland ought to be curtailed; they resolve that it shall not be hurt. They use the abolitionists weapons to carry on the anti-abolitionists war. On the supposition, (and it is our own firm belief and conviction) that the proposed commutation will do harm to the clergy, Lord Liverpool's reasoning, to say the least, is consistent. On the contrary supposition, (which we understand to be professed and defended by his Lordship) his reasoning is inconsistent, inconclusive, and contradictory. He ought not to insist upon the different situations of the Churches, unless he designs to endanger or to sacrifice one of them.

Instead of admitting that there are any circumstances connected with Ireland which should induce us to accept a commutation of Irish tithe, without approving a similar measure respecting English tithe, we contend that, in justice and good policy, the experiment, whenever it is tried,

should commence upon this side of the water. Here the Clergy can make themselves heard, and any measure which affects their welfare will be fully considered. Their interest cannot be entirely overlooked; their wishes, sentiments, and reasonings, will be quickly and generally known; their constitutional heads and guardians can command a hearing; and in some places, and by some persons, will be heard with impartiality. Let it be proved, therefore, that a commutation of tithe can be effected in England, and there will be ground to believe that it may be adopted in Ireland. Let the interests, or rather the safety and existence of the Church, be discussed where she is powerful, not where she is weak. A measure which the English nation will not accept for themselves, they should be ashamed of dealing out to their neighbour. It is like administering an unknown medicine to the brute creation; animals of brief existence and no value, that die and are forgotten.

In any other view of the case, unless the Church of Ireland be hopeless of worthlessness, she ought to follow, rather than lead the way. The elder sister is entitled to precedence not less in the battle than in the triumph. If a benefit is about to be bestowed she is entitled to her share; if difficulties are to be encountered, she is best able to endure them; if a debate is to be raised on an important question, she should at least be called to counsel, and told to act for others as she would act for herself. So reasonable is this advice, that Mr. Croker pronounces it indisputable. His Pamphlet on the State of Ireland, originally written in 1807, contains the following declaration: "In the consideration of these conflicting difficulties, one principle, however, may be stated as decided—Tithes in Ireland must follow the fate of Tithes in England; and until some change of system can be made palatable to the Church of England, it is idle to discuss any arrangement here." We trust that the eloquent author will avow these sentiments in the House of Commons, and convince his colleagues of their truth.

Nor is the inferior strength and secondary rank of Ireland the only reason for postponing her claim to a commutation of tithe. Her unsettled state is another prime argument against a measure which should be adopted in times of reflection and tranquillity, or never adopted at all. She has been, and we believe she still is, in extreme danger. She is agitated at this moment by violent party feelings; her rulers can hardly keep the peace towards one another; her juries cannot agree upon a political verdict. Her repre-

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representatives in Parliament admit that the turbulence of the country renders it necessary to postpone the Catholic Claims ; and yet this is the season at which a subject that requires the coolest enquiry and deliberation, is to be brought forward, discussed, and decided upon. It may be very good management in those who are hostile to the Church, to contend, that all evils will be removed by a commutation. In which case the greater the evil can be made, or be represented, the more rapidly and extensively should the remedy be applied. But is it prudent in government to listen to such representations ? Can ministers believe that a surrender of tithe will make Lord Wellesley popular with Orange-men, or Mr. Peel with Catholics. If Captain Rock and his troops had demanded such a surrender, as the condition of laying down their arms, would it have been proper or safe to grant it. Would they have learned moderation from success ? Would they have submitted to pay rent with tranquillity, when they found themselves emancipated from tithe by resistance ? The very questions are absurd : and it is scarcely less absurd to suppose, that an alteration in the law of tithes will be received with gratitude as a free gift, rather than be hailed as a victory procured by intimidation. We do not say that it has been thus procured, but we say that the Irish populace will be of that opinion ; and the opinion will be almost as injurious as the reality.

If these preliminary objections are over-ruled, if it is thought proper that the weakest part of the Church shall be exposed to the greatest danger, and that the most unsettled part of the kingdom shall give the law upon a difficult question, we must proceed to a closer view of the measure under consideration. Of its minor details we are necessarily ignorant ; but it provides, unless we are misinformed, for an abrogation of the right to tithe, and for the substitution of a land-tax, varying with the average price of corn, and payable, not by the tenant, but by the landlord. We shall not advert, however, at present, even to these very general enactments, but confine ourselves exclusively to the principle of the plan ; the arguments by which it is supported, and the arguments by which it is opposed.

The former divide themselves into two parts. The measure is recommended by the aristocracy, and will prove beneficial to all classes of the community. We are to enquire whether the first is a good reason, or the second a certain fact.

To oppose the former of these arguments is an unpleasant task. The body of men from whose decision we are to appeal, must be considered as a part of ourselves. They are united to us, they live among us, they fight with us, and for

us, and are esteemed for a thousand amiable qualities, agreeable habits, and honourable actions. But truth compels us to say that when the internal state of Ireland is in question, her aristocracy have no right to dictate. The history of Ireland during the 18th century, convicts them of ignorance or indifference. If they knew, they never practised the measures which could conduce to her welfare. Whatever may be the immediate cause of distress and disaffection, the ultimate cause is the inattention of the gentry to their public duties. Was parliament corrupt? they were the panders to its corruption. Was the Church neglected? they administered its patronage, and divided its spoil. Were the laws ill made and worse executed? they were at once the legislators and the magistrates. There is nothing in modern times more singular than the spectacle of a nation, so generous, so brave, so able abroad, so pitiful at home. Their House of Commons was composed of little family squadrons, ready to change sides whenever a place was offered, or a place refused. The public spirit of one party was debased by intolerance, that of the other by faction. And when the Union put a period to their nominal independence, and became the corner stone of that prosperity which we trust they are destined to enjoy, the best excuse for forcing that measure down the throats of the Irish nation, was a conviction, deep, universal, and well founded, that they were incompetent to govern themselves.

To the argument therefore which rests upon the wishes of the Irish gentry, we answer that if their unanimous requisitions are to be complied with, they should have been permitted to signify them in a Parliament of their own. That permission after long experience was deemed inexpedient, and the attempt to revive it at such a season and upon such a subject is a proof that it was wisely withdrawn. Of all the lights in which we can contemplate the great body of the Irish gentry, that of possessors of landed property is the most unfavourable. And when they demand an alteration in the endowments of the Church and support it on the ground of the benefits which it will confer upon the poor, the argument can hardly be heard with gravity or answered with temper. If the hardships and sufferings of the Irish tenantry were forgotten, the conduct of the aristocracy with respect to tithes would still remain. By the famous resolution of their House of Commons on the subject of *Agistment*, they threw the burden from the shoulders of the rich, and cast it with a double weight upon the poor. They emancipated themselves, and oppressed the peasantry. The gen-

tleman's park, the grazier's meadows, all the land which was in the occupation of the opulent and the thriving, was declared by this resolution to be exempt from the payment of tithes. The Clergy were left to be maintained by the growers of corn and potatoes, and compelled to enforce their claims upon them with additional strictness. Nor is this an antiquated transaction. So precious was the *Agistment* resolution in the eyes of those who reaped its blessings, that the Union was impeded by a dread of its repeal; and a pledge was at last given by the Union administration to confirm that scandalous robbery by an Act of Parliament. A measure excusable in those who consented to it, since if it sanctioned antient plunder, it promised to be a preservative against future spoliation. But a measure which indelibly disgraced the Irish Aristocracy, and warns us not to listen to their present application. If they believe that tithes oppress the poor, let them repeal the law from which that oppression springs. Let them include *Agistment* in the tithe to be commuted, and their object will be gained. They will come into court with clean hands, and their wishes will be respectfully considered. But while a kingdom is ruined by their neglect, a church defrauded by their refusal of its dues, an empire weakened by their foolish dissensions, to stand forward in the character of advocates for the poor is a piece of the most consummate assurance. If the commutation can be defended upon no better ground than the countenance and recommendation of such men as these, its success is and ought to be hopeless.

The question of authority being thus disposed of, we come next to the benefits to be conferred by this system upon various classes of the community—The Clergy are to be benefited by receiving their incomes from a more responsible description of men—the peasantry by paying a small addition to their rent, in lieu of the tithes by which they are now oppressed—the gentry by the disappearance of those heart-rending scenes, which tithe proctors and tithe lawsuits produce—and good will and harmony will spring up at once from the transformation of tithe into land-tax. We must confess that we have no faith in any one of these predictions; and the pamphlets before us will explain and vindicate our incredulity.—They prove that the disturbances for which Ireland is famous, did not originate in tithe—and that the peasantry will reap no material advantage from its removal.

“ The first point I shall undertake to prove, is, that Tithes were not the origin of the insurrections which have disturbed the peace of Ireland: the first causes of complaint were the conduct of

landlords and of Grand Juries, and laymen, not clergymen, the first objects of attack.

"To prove this, which most of my readers (if indeed any persons will, in these days, take the trouble of reading a defence of the clergy) will call a paradox, let me appeal to those uncompromising tests of truth, Facts, and Dates:—

"When the peasantry first rose in *Munster* about the year 1760, the grievances they complained of were the enclosing of commons, the turning out the old tenantry in order to throw many farms into one and the encouragement given to grazing. And levelling enclosures and houghing bullocks were their first employments, and Levellers, not Whiteboys, their first *nom de guerre*.

"The first proclamations against those disturbers of the public peace prove these facts, and shew plainly that the landlords, and not the clergy, were the objects of attack.

"Thus, in April 1760, we find in the Gazette a proclamation against persons who had broken down hedges on the estate of Lord Milton, and burned the house of a man who had taken lands from him; and again, in February, 1762, we find a proclamation against persons who had houghed a horse, belonging to a man whose offence was his having taken lands in the county of Wexford; and in March 1762, two proclamations were issued against persons houghing bullocks, and writing threatening letters to magistrates, and unlawfully assembling to level walls and ditches; but during all this period, and for a long time after, nothing occurs to show that any acts of hostility had been committed against the Clergy or their proctors, or that Tithes had been made a subject of complaint.

"The Hearts of Oak were excited to insurrection, in the year 1763, by a remnant of the feudal system well known by the appellation of the six days' labour, and by a Grand Jury cess laid on at the Spring Assizes in the County of Armagh, which they deemed excessive.

"One of the first proceedings of those insurgents was to swear several gentlemen, on the commons of Armagh, not to lay on more than a farthing an acre land cess towards the repairs of high roads, and not to levy any money for private roads.

"The proclamation in 1763; the address of the Roman Catholics of Armagh, exculpating themselves from the charge of having fomented the existing disturbances; and the resolutions of the Grand Jury of the county of Down, associating to prevent the rioters, which may be seen in the newspapers of the day, shew plainly that it was a general spirit of insubordination which existed among the lower classes of the people, or as the Resolutions alluded to call it, a licentious spirit of opposition to all law, and not any hostility to the clergy, which originated the disturbances of that period.

"The discontents which excited the Hearts of Steel, in the year of 1770, to take arms in the counties of Antrim and Down, had their source in the new setting of a great estate, the terms of

which being the payment of large fines, a considerable proportion of the tenants were unable to obtain renewals, and had recourse to violence against such persons as ventured to take their farms." *Enquiry*, P. 3.

The same account is then given of the disturbances in 1771, and in 1786, and the insurrection of 1822 is briefly traced to its real cause.

"The present dreadful insurrection, unparalleled in atrocity, and unlimited in the extent of its attacks, the original excitement to disturbance was the conduct of an agent; the first demand was, an abatement of rents on a single estate. But once engaged in an unlawful association, its original object was too trifling to engross the whole attention of the confederates. From the rents of a single estate, and the condition of its tenantry, their views were extended to rents and tenants, and taxes and cesses, and Tithes: to the magnitude of farms, and the quantity of land to be allowed as demesne, and the terms on which ground was to be set for planting potatoes, and the price to be paid for labour, and the persons to be employed either as labourers or servants." *Enquiry*, P. 8.

To strengthen this case our author next proves that the tithes demanded by the Clergy of the county of Limerick in which the late disturbances originated have not been such as to give cause for discontent—The average sums charged are not the tenth but the thirtieth part of the crop—and the farmer well knows that were his land freed from tithe, his rent would rise instantly in a higher proportion.

"This consequence of the abolition of Tithes we find confessed by Emmet in his examination before the committee of the House of Lords in 1798; nor could his revolutionary genius suggest any project for preventing it, except *an interference of the legislature to regulate rents*, which would evidently be a subversion of all property*.

"Where then can we find the cottager's advantage from an abolition of Tithe? No where surely but in the imaginations of men who will not give themselves the trouble of looking forward even a single year to the consequences of their own schemes.

"That the poverty of the cottager is not occasioned by *Tithes* can indeed be proved, beyond a doubt, to any person who will bestow but a moment's serious consideration on the subject: proved in the most satisfactory manner, by *facts*.

"Land exempt from Tithe is to be met with in every part of Ireland: the exemption extends to all the estates which had belonged to the numerous monasteries that existed before the Reformation. Let, then, the situation of the cottagers living on

* In France, since the revolution, the rents have increased by a sum more than double what the clergy received for Tithe, though Tithe in that country was levied very strictly.

such lands be inquired into, and it will be found that they are in no degree better clothed, better fed, or better lodged than those who pay Tithe.

"From a similar inquiry in England the result will be exactly the same." *Enquiry*, P. 13.

Here we have a complete answer to that part of the argument, which respects the welfare and interest of the peasantry—The grievance of which they most complain is the exorbitant amount of their rents—and that grievance will increase as soon as landlords receive the tithe.

If it be objected to this evidence, that it is the evidence of a clergyman, and therefore not strictly impartial, we shall not object to put a layman into the witnesses box, and let the character of Irish landlords stand or fall by his testimony. From the Pamphlet which Mr. Croker has not disowned, we extract some observations upon the subject of rent, which will shew that the tithe-holder is not the cause of distress.

"Of the exactions of the owners, and the indigence of the cultivators of land, miserable are the consequences. Landlords without friends or influence—a peasantry, without an interest, almost without a livelihood in the country—nothing to defend—nothing to love; despairing and desperate—ripe and ready for change.

"The evil is plain, the remedy not so evident.

"The price of the use of land, can—at least should—never be restrained by law; free competition is the life-blood of commerce, and the relation of landlord and tenant, in the matter of rents, is purely commercial. The appeal, therefore, must be to the good feeling and good policy of the landholders.

"In England the law of public opinion, as well as the law of reason, terrifies a landlord from plundering of his own estate—much of it is held at his will; but his will is wisdom, or the wisdom of others restrains his will: and he is glad—or obliged—to content himself with just profits strictly paid, by a thriving tenantry. Where there is a protection on one side, fidelity on the other, and confidence on both, the fairest tenure is *at will*: rents then fluctuate with the price of produce, and the results are profits duly apportioned. These results theorists have proposed to obtain by conditional leases, and clauses of surrender and redemption; but unfortunately it is still a theorem.

"In Ireland, tenure at will, is indefinite oppression—tenure by lease, oppression by lease; rents are not the *proportions* of, but nearly the *whole* produce. The actual cultivator is seldom better paid than by scanty food, ragged raiment, and a miry hovel; nothing is saved for exigencies, nothing remitted for capital; and the peasant and the land are alike neglected, impoverished, and starved.

"The theorist says, this, like other commerce, will find its level.

"Experience says to the theorist, *it will not*.

"The peasant's spirit is broken: he thinks not of independence,

dreams not of property, unless in dreams of insurrection. His wishes have no scope; he is habituated to derive from his land and his labour, only his daily potatoe; and we know that competitors offer the whole value of the produce, minus that daily potatoe—sometimes more than the whole value is promised, and nothing paid: the tenant for a few months appeases his hunger; quarter-day approaches,—he absconds; and the absentee landlord, in Dublin or London, exclaims at the knavery of an Irish tenant.

“In the mere spirit of trade, what can landlords expect from tenants without capital or credit? From impoverishing the fountains of their wealth? From denying their factors even a commission on their profits?”

“But a landlord is not a mere land-merchant; he has duties to perform as well as rents to receive; and from his neglect of the former spring his difficulty in the latter, and the general misery and distraction of a country. The combinations of the peasantry against this short-sighted monopoly, are natural and fatal. Whoever assembles the Irish, disturbs them; disturbance soon coalesces with treason, and the suicide avarice, that drives the peasantry to combine, precipitates them to rebel. For fifty years past Ireland has been disturbed and disgraced by a constant warfare between the landlords and their tenants.” *State of Ireland.* P. 44.

After such unqualified and uncontradicted assertions as these, it is in vain to say that tithes are vexatious or unpopular. Every existing institution will, of course, be considered vexatious by a people thus oppressed—no portion of their present lot can be popular while that lot is universal suffering.

But it is said that a commutation will prevent law-suits and quarrels, and diminish that irritable state of public feeling to which Ireland is indebted for so many of her woes. To prove this it is necessary to shew that the mal-contents, under the present system, will be satisfied with the proposed change. The very reverse is notoriously the fact; the outcry against tithes applies to all tithes, and all clergy, and nothing short of an abolition will prevent a recurrence of the clamour. Nor is it true that the payment of tithes is a mere source of dissatisfaction. It operates, on many occasions, in a different manner.

“The Clergy, I trust, are impressed with such sentiments as are due to the anxious care for their characters, and for the interests of the religion of which they are the ministers, manifested in these arguments for depriving them of their property; but I believe they are pretty unanimous in thinking, that the evils enumerated are not quite so great as the clamour with which they are complained of: that for one case in which the parishioner considers himself ill-treated, there are a thousand in which he feels and acknowledges the fairness and generosity which he experiences;

that the history of the suits at law in which the Clergy are parties, affords proofs innumerable of their caution in bringing forward any claims which are not well founded, for that instances of their being defeated are few indeed ; that the man who absents himself from divine worship, because he dislikes the minister, had no very great abundance of religion to lose ; and that, on the whole, the good arising from the Clergy being possessed of a property which brings them to mix, to a certain degree, in the ordinary business of life, preponderates over the evil just in the same proportion that the number of cases in which they shew honesty, and moderation, and disinterestedness, exceeds those wherein they can justly be charged with extortion, uncharitableness, and fraud.

“ In all human institutions there must necessarily be a mixture of ill. To be able to do good and not to do evil, is indeed absolutely impossible, for all power is, in its very nature, inevitably liable to abuse. Those evils and those abuses are always obvious, and obtrude themselves upon the most heedless and inattentive. But surely this very circumstance should lead us to suspect, when an establishment has continued for ages, and existed among nations distinguished for civilization, science, and political wisdom, that some powerful cause must have operated to maintain it ; that some advantages abundantly compensated the evils complained of ; while reflection and prudence had foreseen that attempts at alteration would produce not a diminution, but an increase of evil.

“ The complaints made by the laity against Tithes must have produced a proportionate dislike to them in the Clergy, who besides felt many inconveniences from a revenue so difficult to manage and so liable to defalcation. Yet the Clergy, even in those countries and in those ages when they were most powerful, when controlling the consciences of men they were considered as holding with respect to each individual the keys of eternal life, attempted not to commute their tithes for any other species of property. Does this excite no suspicion that a just and safe commutation is a political problem, the solution of which has not yet been discovered ?” *Enquiry*, P. 36.

It is maintained, however, in spite of this, that the Clergy will be gainers by the commutation ; we are even told that they admit the fact. Our answer is, that if they did gain a temporary increase of their receipts, that advantage would be more than compensated in their estimation, as well as ours, by the diminished security of their successors. At all events, it is unfair to argue from the supposed approbation of men, whose real sentiments it would be so easy to discover. Let a convocation be called, and the assent of the Clergy fairly ascertained. “ It is remarkable,” says the Author of the *Inquiry*, “ that such a proceeding has never been proposed by any of the advocates for a commutation of tithes.” Until it is proposed and carried, all that we hear about the popularity of the proposed measure among the Clergy must be

regarded as idle talk. If they like a commutation, there is no imaginable reason why they should not say so; if they doubt its fairness, or its permanence; if they fear that law-suits will be as necessary to recover a rent-charge from the owners as to recover tithe from the occupiers of land, this opinion which they have hitherto unequivocally expressed, is the only one upon which we can reason, or upon which the legislature can act. The Clergy of Ireland anticipate no advantage from a commutation; they believe that it will not accomplish the objects for which it is designed, they believe that it will neither promote the peace nor the prosperity of their country; they believe that it will transfer the tithe from one class of persons to another, and produce a new description of disputes and litigation.

We are now to consider some of the more obvious objections to the plan which is about to be proposed to the House of Commons. Its advantages are few and uncertain—the evil which it may produce is irremediable. It is impossible to deny that our establishment has many enemies, or that the Church of Ireland is assailed with especial virulence. The least diminution of its strength may be attended with fatal consequences; and such a complete revolution in its revenues as that which is now under contemplation, the substitution of a mere Act of Parliament-title in lieu of the present ancient tenure; the confidence which is about to be placed in Commissioners and Juries, and the prospect of receiving dues from a few hands instead of many, will diminish the strength of the Church in a most alarming degree. At present ecclesiastical titles are the best titles in Ireland. On the day that a Commutation-bill receives the royal assent, they will become at once the worst. Supposing, which is highly improbable, that no direct injury is inflicted upon the tithe-holder, the indirect and future injury will be immense.

“It must be confessed,” says Mr. Croker, “that this change—perhaps *any* change—might endanger tithe property altogether. In the times in which we live, and in such as we see approaching, it cannot be doubted that the very evils of the tythe-system tend to its preservation. Its complication, its minute distribution, its uncertainty, its division between the laity and clergy,—all act as out-works—as impediments in the way of innovation. That which is made easy of *collection* is made easy of *confiscation*; and if this property were reduced to a known amount, to a tangible form, and exclusively affected to ecclesiastical purposes, the temptation to divert it to other uses would be increased and the means of doing so facilitated.” *State of Ireland*, P. 49.

This reasoning can neither be improved nor answered. It incontestibly demonstrates the danger of a commutation, and

it throws the most alarming responsibility upon those by whom the risque is run. Without reverting to the past conduct of Irish proprietors, let the question be argued upon its general merits. Tithes are now paid in various inconsiderable sums by every occupier of land in a parish. The grievance, when it is felt as such, is not considerable, and a joint effort to remove it cannot easily be made. Let the payment in lieu of tithe be cast upon the landlord, and the deduction from his income will be a perpetual source of uneasiness; the amount of his rent-charge will be a sharp thorn in his side, and he will never cease to desire its removal. The difference between the security of many small payments and a few large ones was fully exemplified in this country by the repeal of the property-tax. Indirect taxation to four times its amount has been contentedly and quietly borne; but the direct surrender of a tenth of every considerable income, was resisted by the most enduring, and rejected even by the most servile. If the Interest of the National Debt were raised by direct taxation, the public creditor would be ruined in a twelvemonth, And the receipt of tithe from the occupier instead of the owner of land, is as different as paying the dividends by an excise or an income-tax. Whatever confidence we may place in the present Parliament, or the present ministers, it is certain that a factious Senate or an ambitious Statesman may find their account in diminishing the quit-rents of the Clergy. For every such undertaking a commutation will pave the way. The first blow is half the battle, and the friends and enemies of the Church know that the first blow is struck, as soon as the slightest innovation is permitted. Let a commutation be arranged with all the fairness of which such a measure is capable, let the Clergy consent to it, let the laity promise to be satisfied with it, let the general voice of the empire recommend and applaud it, and even with these and other favourable additions and circumstances which cannot be said to accompany the present measure, a commutation of tithes will be the first step towards the subversion of the Church.

“ We ask only that we may not be made the subject of a dangerous experiment: of an experiment which may fail, and the failure of which can never be remedied. We deprecate our being devoted to destruction to promote the election interest of men, who seek popularity with a certain description of their constituents by our ruin. We pray only that we may not be sacrificed to a Jacobin faction; a faction which would not be appeased by the sacrifice, but, like their brethren in France, fed and strengthened, and rendered more ravenous.

“ The motto of that faction is, in the words of *Catiline*, *tantum modo incepto opus est, cætera res expedit*. They care not at what

end of their work they begin. They know that if once begun it will not end till every institution connected with the venerable constitution of England—the religious establishment in all its departments—the political institutions from the magistracy of the capital, to the Master and Wardens of the meanest corporation—the seminaries of education, from the universities down to the lowest parochial endowment, ALL shall be swept away." *Enquiry*, P. 32.

We shall trouble the authors of the proposed bill with one additional question—What answer do they return to the loud and increasing demand for a Reform in Parliament? Strip their most able speeches of eloquence and wit, and the substantial argument by which they resist Reform is the impossibility of saying where it will stop. And how will they dare to use this argument again, after the sacrifice of Irish tithe? Having exposed the Church to the danger of innovation, they will not be permitted to decline a similar experiment upon the State. The inconsistency of such conduct will be too glaring to escape detection. It will be thought, and thought justly, that their timidity respecting the House of Commons, is a stale and hollow pretext, not urged from a conscientious dread of revolution, but merely put forward as the cloke of other sentiments,—a cloke to be dropped as soon as the wind may change.

We shall probably return to this most important subject. The details of the new system will be speedily submitted to the public, and on them at least we shall be bound to comment. What we have said respecting the principle of the measure may be easily extended and enforced, for the subject is too comprehensive for the pages of a Review. An outline of our opinion upon it we have endeavoured to sketch, and we must leave it with all its roughness and imperfections. If the question excites the attention which it certainly deserves, if the Clergy of the United Kingdom can be made sensible of their danger, and will hasten to express their opinion, and exert their salutary influence, the plague may yet be stayed. Government may be persuaded to wait for more tranquil times before they venture to put the Church of Ireland on the rack. The improvements about to be adopted in the civil administration of that country, the strict execution of the laws, the remission of excessive taxation, and the reduction of exorbitant rents, should be allowed to operate extensively, and have a chance of success before the desperate remedy of a commutation is adopted. As soon as magistrates and land-proprietors do their duty, we shall not object to an inquiry into the conduct of the Clergy. But we deprecate the application of a partial and violent remedy for the relief of an universal and complicated disease.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR MARCH, 1823.

ART. I. *A General and Historical View of Christianity, comprehending its Origin and Progress, the leading Doctrines and Forms of Polity founded on it, and the Effect which it has produced on the moral and political State of Europe.* By George Cook, D. D. &c. &c. Whittakers. 1822.

DR. COOK is already advantageously known to the public as the author of two considerable works on the antiquities of his native country. His history of the Reformation in Scotland is justly esteemed a standard book on that subject; and, his account of the origin and establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk, in the same kingdom, has met with much approbation,—as being at once a moderate and very impartial narrative of events, drawn from a field of enquiry where moderation and impartiality had been theretofore altogether unknown. The chief merit, indeed, of Dr. Cook as an historical writer, arises from the even and unbiassed course which he holds, whilst describing scenes that hardly ever fail, even at the present day, to awaken the animosities of party feeling, and whilst appreciating motives which have never yet been viewed but in connection with occurrences which to one class of readers are still the occasion of triumph, and which to another recall only the memorials of defeat or disappointment.

Possessed with sentiments of esteem and regard for Dr. Cook, it is not without some regret that we are compelled to pass rather an unfavourable judgment on the work now before us. It is impossible, we think, that it can add to his reputation as a man of letters; for, it is totally destitute of that laborious research which is so necessary in the present age to recommend such a book to the favour of the scholar, whilst it is very little adorned with those felicities of style and arrangement which are sometimes found to compensate

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for the absence of both learning and research. The first division of the work, for example, that, namely, which traces the origin and progress of Christianity, can only be described as a meagre compound of Church history, alike deficient in point of substance and detail,—unintelligible to him who has not read other ecclesiastical writers, and unprofitable to him who has happened to enjoy that advantage. Nor have we greater reason to be satisfied with the historical account of the leading “doctrines and forms of polity” which constitute the subject of the second book. As a review of what may be called the *principal questions* in theology, this part of the work is, no doubt, both amusing and instructive; but, with all these advantages, it can never be regarded as occupying the place of a course of lectures on Divinity, even for the limited period to which it applies, because there are many disputed topics in that intricate science of which it takes no notice, and a great variety of arguments employed on the one side and the other in regard to those which are discussed, to which it makes not the slightest reference.

In this way, we apprehend, Dr. Cook has failed to render his book a suitable manual either for the learned or the unlearned; because, to understand it thoroughly, it is necessary to know more than it supplies in its own pages the means of knowing, whilst those readers who possess the requisite knowledge will never have recourse to it either for authority or instruction. In a word, the plan of the book is bad. It is a view of Christianity so extremely *general*, that a man may read it from beginning to end, and yet have but a very indistinct notion either of the history of his faith or of the doctrines of which it is composed. We know not, accordingly, a single publication in existence that it will either supersede or illustrate. Mosheim, Dupin, Jablonski, and Fabricius will be as necessary as ever, and the most studious reader will not find himself relieved from the necessity of perusing one laborious page the less, in Eusebius, Cave, and Lardner. The only point in which it is ever likely to prove of use to a christian people, in these degenerate days, is the tendency which, as a pleasantly written book it must be allowed to have to create a desire in the mind of an inquisitive layman to know something more than itself contains of the memorable events and opinions with which the history of the Church is conversant.

We have already said, that the first book, containing the “history of the origin and progress of Christianity” is excessively jejune. The condition of our holy faith, prior to

the conversion of Constantine, affords not, indeed, much variety of detail; whilst, the number of documents connected with its advancement at that early age is avowedly so small, that it would be affectation to complain of the want of research where the most sedulous enquiry could not hope to be rewarded, by the discovery of a single new fact or even one novel opinion. But, from the period of the first Christian emperor to that of the Reformation the field of investigation is much richer, and has not yet been altogether exhausted; whilst, from the time of Luther to our own days, the history of the Church has branched out into such a variety of forms and connections, that the ecclesiastical annalist cannot fail to find himself supplied at every step with the most abundant and the most interesting materials.

In the third chapter of the same book which the author has devoted to a review of the efforts which have been made in modern times for the dissemination of Christianity, he sets forth, with his usual candour, the various projects of the numerous sects who have recently laboured to extend to heathen countries the benefits and hopes of our blessed religion. To us who have considered this subject with some portion of the attention which it unquestionably merits, nothing has appeared more perplexing than the discrepancy which continues to subsist between the reports that are circulated in this country, by the persons connected with missionary establishments, and the assurances which are, day after day, conveyed to us by individuals of the highest character, who have lived in the very districts abroad where the triumphs of our faith are said to have been achieved. This remark applies in an especial manner to India, whence we have periodical announcements of the most cheering nature imaginable, in regard to the progress of conversion among the native inhabitants; our confidence, in which statements, is almost entirely destroyed by the counter declarations of the most respectable persons, who have not only lived on the spot, but paid the utmost attention to the subject; and, who could not be supposed to be influenced by any assignable motive either to conceal the truth or to give currency to what is false. The experience of Dr. Cook relative to this matter has, we find, been similar to our own. He examines into the records and publications which from time to time are presented to the world,—finds that the statements are definite, circumstantial and well attested,—sees no ground for imagining that the authors of them have any intention to deceive mankind by false or exaggerated descriptions of success, so extremely reprehensible in so sacred an undertaking; and yet, after

admitting all this, says he, it is equally true that there is testimony as unexceptionable in direct opposition to what has been stated. It is matter of daily occurrence, that enlightened men who have long resided in India, confidently assert, that there must be a mistake in the accounts of the missionaries,—that the effect of their labours in Hindostan are wholly inconsiderable,—that the attachment of the Hindoos to their religion is so strong, that in opposition to their constitutional mildness, they would commit the most violent excesses against those by whom it was assailed,—that the Brahmans anxiously confirm this state of mind,—that the boasted numbers who have been converted may be reduced, with one or two exceptions, to a few miscreants who, having lost the benefit of their cast, and been renounced and shunned by their countrymen as beings to be held in detestation, have gladly taken refuge among those who opened their arms to receive them, professing whatever they were required to acknowledge in order that they might be restored to estimation; and, that several of the Hindoos have, from motives of interest, pretended to be christians, and upon these motives ceasing, have abjured their new faith with the strongest expressions of contempt and hostility. It was long urged, he continues, as weakening evidence of this kind, that it was given by men who engrossed with civil pursuits, paid little attention to what related to religion; and, were thus, though living constantly amongst the natives, and holding daily intercourse with them, totally ignorant of their sentiments and feelings in respect to the gospel. But this plea, at all times of little value, and resting upon the most improbable assumption, is now wholly destroyed; because, it is a fact, that many intelligent Europeans have of late carefully turned their thoughts to the subject of the conversion of the Hindoos, have had transmitted to them from Europe the accounts published there of these conversions, and have, in the very places in which they are represented as having occurred, discovered them to be exaggerated or wholly imaginary.

“Here, then, we have testimony against testimony, and in what manner are they who have no other light by which they can be guided, to form their opinions? According to all the principles by which testimony is usually estimated, it may be said, that the report of those who give an unfavourable view of the progress of Christianity ought to be considered as more entitled to credit, because it is made by men who have enjoyed every advantage for forming an accurate conclusion, who have been long conversant with the manners of the Hindoos, and who have no visible interest in stating any thing inconsistent with truth; whereas it is opposed,

though, it is to be kept in mind, not solely, by men eager for their own success, naturally disposed to interpret favourably every circumstance by which it might be promoted, and who, without the slightest imputation, on their integrity, might conceive that they had succeeded, when they were deluded by artful men, acting from motives which their pious and upright minds would be reluctant to suppose could have existed."

Entertaining the opinion which all sensible men have professed on this interesting subject, Dr. Cook advocates the cause of education among the natives of India, being perfectly convinced that the fabric of superstition cannot be successfully undermined, and the Church of Christ erected on its ruins, until the worshippers of Brahma shall have learned to exercise their intellectual faculties, and stored their minds with some accurate knowledge of moral and physical things. The great mistake into which the missionaries of all sects and denominations having fallen, is their preposterous endeavour to make christians before they have made rational beings,—to induce a rude people to acknowledge their belief in the most sublime mysteries, before being subjected to that salutary discipline which compels a man to compare his ideas, and to analyze the processes of nature which take place around him. With this view, schools on a liberal footing, and for the higher orders of the native people, have been recently established at Calcutta, in which no direct attempt is to be made at conversion, or even to induce a departure from the rules of cast. It is merely proposed to communicate instruction in the general principles of religion and morality, as well as in the first elements of useful knowledge. It is imagined, as Mr. H. Murray observes, in his historical account of Discoveries and Travels, that even to correct their extravagant ideas on the subject of geography and history, may pave the way for sound views on other subjects. Hopes are expressed, that when they cease to consider Mount Meru as twenty thousand miles high, and the world as a flower, of which India is the cup, and other countries the leaves, their minds may become more open to rational views on the subject of religion. A knowledge of sacred, and even of profane, history may afford them the means of comprehending the evidences of our holy faith. If the seed is not sown, the ground is at least prepared for it. This measure is as yet only in progress, nor has there been time to estimate its effects; but, we cannot help considering it, as one of all others, best calculated to improve the condition of our Indian subjects.

The title of the second book of Dr. Cook's work, is the "History of Doctrines and Opinions founded upon Christianity, comprehending the most remarkable heresies and tenets which have prevailed in different ages;" but, as we have already observed, it contains nothing more than a partial abridgement of the most common treatises on ecclesiastical history, and does not therefore possess any claim to a more particular notice. It is incumbent upon us, however, to make known, that the author does not follow the usual method of depicting heresies according to their chronological order. He adopts a different plan which, to us, appears to be attended with considerable advantages. He classes theological opinions under a few general heads, and then gives the history of them from the age in which they first arose till the present day, or, at least, till they ceased to provoke controversy, and divide the flock of Christ. The following titles are the subjects of as many separate chapters:—I. The nature and dignity of Jesus Christ, the author of the Christian dispensation; and, the nature of the Holy Ghost.—II. The manner in which Christ accomplished the salvation of mankind.—III. Original state of man, his present moral condition, the extent of the remedy provided in the gospel; and, as implicated with these subjects, predestination.—IV. Morality, as enjoined by the gospel, and as obligatory upon christians.—V. Ordinances prescribed and appointed by the gospel.—VI. Condition of man after he is taken from this world.

We should be extremely unjust to Dr. Cook, did we not likewise acknowledge that his opinions are throughout as sound as his views are liberal and candid; and in several parts of these interesting chapters, the tedium which would otherwise have arisen from the triteness of the subject, is completely dispelled by the lively manner, and eloquent style in which it is handled. In the section on Moral Obligation, for instance, there is some good writing, and much judicious reflection, well suited to correct the Antinomian and mystical absurdity, which ever and anon threatens to disfigure the religious character, in these days of boasted illumination. Alluding to the enthusiastic reveries of Madame Guyon, and the ultra refinements of William Law, he remarks that,

"To the length to which it is there carried, few perhaps are now disposed to go; but there is a marked tendency to mysticism existing at the present day, numbers estimating the effect of religion upon the heart much more from sensations and convictions which they have persuaded themselves that they experience, from sudden

conversions or enthusiastic ardour, than from that unostentatious discharge of the relative duties, and that unwearied benevolence resulting from piety founded on right apprehensions of God, which give rise to consciences void of offence, and to that confidence towards our Creator, resulting from the heart not condemning us.

The Third Book gives the "History of Opinions respecting the Polity or Government of the Church;"—a subject which, though treated of by Dr. Cook with his wonted liberality and fairness, almost necessarily presents a few topics concerning which his conclusions do not appear to us legitimately formed. Into a controversy which has at various times been conducted with the utmost learning and ingenuity as well as, we must add, with the greatest degree of vehemence and bitterness, we have indeed no intention of entering on the present occasion, in reference at least to the broad principles on which the question of Church government ought to be determined. Dr. Cook pretends not to have produced any new argument for the parity of Christian ministers in the age immediately after the Apostles, nor even to have placed the reasoning of his predecessors in a new light. He merely repeats, or abridges the statements of King, Anderson, Jameson, Campbell, and Hill. His principles, however, do not carry him to maintain, as some of the writers now named have maintained, the divine right of Presbytery. It suffices him to deny the apostolical institution of Episcopacy, and to refer that, and all the other arrangements of ecclesiastical polity to mere human invention, influenced by considerations of expediency arising out of the particular circumstances in which our holy faith was originally professed.

It will be admitted by the most bigoted Episcopalian that there is not to be found in the books of the New Testament a formal description of any system of rule, or official gradation to which our Lord can be said to have yielded the sanction of his authority, or to have established as the model by which his followers, in all future ages, should be bound to regulate the constitution of their assemblies. The ministers whom he himself appointed to attend his footsteps while on earth, and to promulgate the gospel after his ascension into heaven, were, from the very nature of their office and qualifications, to be regarded as extraordinary functionaries: and we find not that these were instructed by him, as to the precise powers, and degrees, and orders of the persons whom they were to place in the Church as their immediate successors.

All this will be readily admitted; but, in return, it ought

to be called to mind that there was, in the Jewish Church, a sacred polity already established, which polity, as it was not abolished by our Lord, would naturally be regarded by his earliest disciples, who were all their lives accustomed to it, as the model which was to be imitated in the appointment of office-bearers also under the new dispensation. It was not, in fact, necessary to delineate a scheme of Church government, as the first Christians had already before their eyes the regimen which under the ministry of Moses had been established by Almighty God himself; and which, as it made no part of the rites and ordinances that were to be done away, could not fail to be regarded by the followers of Christ as an exemplar, at least, to be copied by them, as far as circumstances would admit, in the constitution of their new establishment. We find, accordingly, that as soon as the assemblies of the Christians assumed a regular form, the practice of the synagogue was adopted by them as the mode after which they conducted their worship; and on this foundation was afterwards very naturally erected that more perfect hierarchy which is largely described by Ignatius, and alluded to by several of the other apostolical fathers. In the same way, and on the same principle, the liturgical offices of the Jewish Church, the Antiphonal method of singing, and even the dress of the clergy, came to be used in Christian assemblies; inasmuch as all these things, as they were not to be regarded in the light of figures and emblems, and as about to cease with the accomplishment of the events that they had served to shadow forth, were properly esteemed as permanent and ultimate institutions, and retained as suitable instruments and accompaniments in the worship of God. The great platform of the visible Church was already constituted. The scheme of a priesthood and of an ecclesiastical polity, was already familiar to those who constituted the first members of the Christian community; on which account, there can be no ground for surprize that so little is said in the New Testament on the subject of Church government.

It is allowed too, on all hands that, as soon as Christian congregations assumed a regular form, and were no longer under the inspection of the Apostles, the officiating ministers acknowledged the superintendency of one of their number, to whom the title of Bishop came, in a short time, to be exclusively appropriated. At an earlier period, and while as yet the Apostles sustained the government of the Church, the names of Bishop and Presbyter were applied indiscriminately to those who had the cure of souls: and as these terms have a generic as well as a specific import, it will be acknowledged

that no conclusive argument can be founded on their use, without an accurate knowledge of the circumstances in which they were severally employed. The word Bishop might be applied to any person who exercised a pastoral charge, much in the same way that the very familiar word *Commander* may be applied to any one in an army or fleet who has a body of men committed to his direction; but no one who reasons soundly would infer, upon hearing a general-in-chief exhort his colonels to maintain a salutary discipline in the corps which they had been appointed to *command*, that there was no higher rank in the army than that of Colonel. St. Paul, on one occasion, charges the Ephesian elders or presbyters to take heed unto themselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them *Bishops* or overseers; whence it has been hastily concluded that there was no higher order in the Church than that of Presbyter. Even Dr. Cook, who seldom allows his reason to fall a sacrifice either to passion or party views, thinks the inference a just one, and proceeds to build on it, as on a stable foundation, an argument for Presbyterian equality.

"Here," says he, "they whose duty it was to feed the Church of God, as having been set apart through the Holy Spirit for that interesting work, are termed by the Apostle Presbyters and Bishops, and there is not the slightest allusion to the existence of any other *ἐπισκοπος*, or Bishop, superior to these *ἐπισκοποι*, or Bishops, to whom he gives the moving charge now recorded. Had there been any such person it might have been expected that St. Paul would remind them of their duty to him, exhorting them suitably to respect the admonitions of that individual to whom it belonged to superintend their ministerial labours. The application of the term *ἐπισκοπος* to the Presbyters, called for some counsel of this kind, because without it there was evidently a danger that from the manner in which he had expressed himself, the orders of Bishop and Presbyter, if they were distinct orders, would be confounded."

The occurrence here recorded, in regard to the Ephesian Presbyters has, on the contrary, suggested to several authors the following very reasonable hypothesis, namely, that as long as the Apostles lived, these holy men exercised, either in person or by their delegates, the office of Bishop, properly so called—that they presided over the ordinary pastors, who were all equal—and that it was not till the death of the Apostles that one of the Presbyters was chosen president for life of the Presbyterial college, to whom the title of Bishop was afterwards exclusively applied. This opinion is brought forward by Venema, in his *Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiæ*, and op-

posed by Dr. Cook, on the ground that the Apostles were never termed *ἐπίσκοποι*. But in order to give his argument any degree of weight or plausibility, our learned historian ought to have shewn that the Apostles did not *act the part* of Bishops, and not satisfied himself with the very unimportant remark, that they were not *called Bishops*, being usually named by that higher office which denoted the Divine commission that they held from our Lord in person, to propagate his gospel in all parts of the world. Now it appears to us that no instance could have afforded a stronger proof that the Apostles did act the part of Bishops than the one now under consideration. St. Paul, influenced by a supernatural intimation that he was not to see the Presbyters of Ephesus any more, sent for them to meet him at Miletus; and when they were come he delivered to them, and that certainly in the character of a superior, the affecting address which is to be found recorded in the twentieth chapter of the Acts; and whilst he continued in this way to charge himself with the care of all the Churches, and managed their affairs either by writing letters, or by sending accredited deputies, there was no necessity for any resident superintendent, invested with episcopal powers.

Of the delegates employed by St. Paul, the most distinguished were Timothy and Titus, who, in every district where they were appointed to act, are found to have exercised powers and discharged duties to which no Presbyter, limited to the authority vested in his office, has ever yet been pronounced competent. They were empowered to exercise that very species of superintendence which was entrusted to the Bishop, after the apostolic age had passed away; they ordained Presbyters; they exhorted, and rebuked the various orders of functionaries which at that time had a place in the Church; and even extended their discipline to that class of ministers, who, as overseers, were appointed to feed the flock of Christ.

We cannot therefore see any force in Dr. Cook's argument against the episcopal powers of the Apostles, as founded on the circumstance that they are not *called Bishops*; for it will not be denied that they exercised such powers on all the occasions, and in almost every case to which that species of authority could possibly apply.

But we are told that the Apostolical office was extraordinary both in its object and endowments, and could not therefore admit of succession. To this we answer, that so far as it was extraordinary and supernatural, it was certainly meant to expire with those who first held it; but we beg leave to

add, that, in the numerous particulars in which it was not extraordinary, and could be discharged by uninspired men, it both admitted of succession, and was actually entrusted to a great variety of pious individuals, who followed the footsteps of the Apostles in the government of the Church. In the very beginning of the second century, ere yet the ashes of the last of Christ's personal ministers were cold in the grave, we find the practice established of electing a Bishop from among the brethren who was to preside over them in spiritual things, and to discharge for their benefit, as circumstances might require, the ordinary duties of the Apostolic or Episcopal office.

In the darkness which hangs over the first age of the Church, it cannot be surprising that it is not possible in every instance to supply the link which connects the Episcopal regimen of the second century, with the Apostolical government of the preceding. But a similar obscurity obstructs our research into other matters, which are at least of equal importance. We have very little information concerning the labours of the greater number of the Apostles. We know not precisely, on what authority, or on what occasion the change took place in the day of weekly worship. We have to regret also the want of a complete narrative respecting the Canon of Scripture. When the light of authentic history first breaks in upon the annals of the Church, we find that many things were already done and established, of which we could have wished to know the origin, and trace the progress. Instead of proposals and consultations we find facts and usages ; and instead of details illustrating the motives, and describing the occasion of important institutions, we only meet with references to them as to things which had long obtained a footing, and of which the authority seemed never to be called in question. Episcopal government in the Church, has therefore always appeared to us to rest on the same foundation, and to possess the same claim to our confidence with the received Canon of Scripture, and the keeping of the Lord's day instead of the Jewish sabbath ; and the question as to Divine authority, in all the three cases, must be finally determined on the same principles.

Whatever may be the degree of difficulty in identifying the Episcopacy of the second age of the Church, with the superintendency of the Apostles, there can be none in satisfying ourselves that there is no warrant derivable from the practice of the first Christians for the form of ecclesiastical polity which subsists among Presbyterians. It is admitted on all hands, that after the light of the Apostolic day falls into the temporary darkness which succeeds it, the dawn opens upon

that moderate and unambitious Episcopal rule; which obtained, during the second and third centuries, and which afterwards, in less simple times, expanded into all the pomp and magnificence of hierarchical dominion. At no period, however, do we find the administration of the Church conducted by simple Presbyters; and we are not aware that the most ardent admirers of parity profess to be furnished with a single undisputed case, wherein that order of ministers exercised officially the wonted powers of discipline and superintendence in reference to one another.

But we are not of the number of those who maintain that Presbyterian government must necessarily nullify all Christian ordinances, and even defeat the efficacy of the means of grace. Nay, we are disposed to concede so far as to observe that, if a *jus divinum* implies a positive institution and a formal establishment of a particular system of rule, on the part of our Lord Jesus Christ, no method of ecclesiastical regimen, at present subsisting, possesses exclusively a Divine right. But, in its general principles and features, we hold, on the other hand, that, if any authority is to be derived from imitating the model set up by Almighty God in the ancient Church; or if any confidence is to be entertained from the early and uniform practice of the Christian Church itself, in regard to the distinction of its office bearers and the distribution of its authority, we are warranted in giving a decided preference to Episcopacy, as not only the more common, but also the more primitive scheme of ecclesiastical constitution.

Presbyterianism would not, we are certain, be found to answer well for the church establishment of a great country. Like all democracies, it is only suitable for small states that stood in those early and simple conditions of society, in which as yet there is little to divide opinion or to awaken ambition. We are accustomed to hear much of the advantages attending that system as it is exercised in Scotland, and certainly we are not disposed to doubt that it works as well there as in any other part of Christendom. But Scotland is, comparatively speaking, a narrow country, poor, and thinly peopled. Her clergy are scattered over a considerable extent of surface, inconveniently situated for attending church courts, and hence it follows as a matter of course that the real business of the church is done by a few of the senior and more weighty ministers, who live in Edinburgh and the adjacent district. As to the way in which business is actually done, Dr. Cook knows more about it than we do; and we believe, were he disposed to speak his mind, could favour the world with a series of remarks both on the judicial and legislative

character of the supreme court of his church, which would not all at once enchant mankind with a picture of wisdom, purity, or impartiality. Now, if we suppose that instead of nine hundred and fifty ministers who are represented by delegates in the General Assembly, there were, as in England, ten thousand clergy who had a similar right to aid the deliberations and to confirm the decisions of a popular convention, what would be the result? Suppose that a brother Presbyterian accused of heresy, or of immoral conduct, has appealed from the sentence of the inferior tribunals to the judgment of the assembled Church, where the matter at issue is to be canvassed by the unrestrained eloquence, and determined by the eager votes of a thousand orators; many of them ignorant, more of them prejudiced or interested, and hardly any of them impartial; what, we ask again, would be the result? No ecclesiastical body could long withstand the fierce concussions and incessant strife which would thus shake its members. A large Presbyterian church, accordingly, would either soon break down into a number of small associations, independent of one another, or would adopt the expedient of restricting the number of delegates to limits so extremely small as, in effect, to repress the popular voice, and to invest all the powers of government in a convenient oligarchy. In no respect, therefore, even after leaving divine institution, apostolical authority, and primitive usage altogether out of view, has the Presbyterian polity any claim upon our approbation, nor does it present any such features of excellence as to excite our regret that it continues to be confined to the church of which Dr. Cook is one of the principal ornaments.

We have repeated oftener than once that our author is no bigot to the discipline of the Kirk; that he only claims for it the merit of expediency and popular favour; admits it to be a matter of human arrangement, recommended solely by its advantages and adaptation to the particular country where it has been preferred: but, as might be expected, he allows no more in support of any other form of ecclesiastical government.

"In the writings of the Apostles," says he, "those writings which were published after the institution of the Christian Church, there is no distinction indicated among the ordinary Pastors to whom the instruction of the people is committed; and there is no evidence of any kind from which it can be deduced that there was an alteration as to this equality, sanctioned by inspiration, so as to render it essential to the existence of a Christian Church, or to the efficacy of the ordinances of religion, that there should be a departure from it. There was, however, at an early period in

ecclesiastical history such a departure, one of the Presbyters being exclusively denominated the Bishop, having the superintendence of his brethren, and a certain degree of authority in the meetings of the Presbytery. He farther exercised peculiar functions; but, explicitly as this is recorded by ancient writers, it was not considered by them as arising from divine appointment, but merely from motives of expediency. Hence it follows that it is at all times a matter for the determination of any Christian society whether this practice should be adopted by it; and that, unless from existing circumstances such a model does not answer effectually the great design of the Author of Christianity, there cannot be the slightest ground, but decidedly the reverse, for regarding a Church in which the equality of Pastors is preserved as unscriptural; this being in conformity to what the Apostles instituted, and what cannot be condemned or pretended to be a violation of the purpose of the inspired teachers of the Gospel, unless it be admitted that they themselves were ignorant of the proper polity for the Church, and introduced what it turns out to be unchristian to observe—an idea so monstrous, that by the most determined bigotry it must be condemned and rejected.”

We find from the frank acknowledgment of Dr. Cook, that his private opinion is that of his brethren, and that the divine right of Presbytery is no longer maintained by the established Clergy of Scotland. The general conviction amongst them is, that although this system is admirably adapted to promote the great ends of religion, and although the objection of its being incompatible with a monarchical government is proved to be completely without foundation, still it is competent for all Christians to choose the ecclesiastical polity under which they think that religion ought to be administered; and that wherever they find the graces of the divineline, no objection to the polity is ever urged, on the ground, at least, that those who have chosen it, are on that account excluded from being the disciples of Christ. The author laments that liberal and tolerant feeling is less generally cherished in England than it is north of the Tweed: and he hesitates not to impute to our Episcopalian brethren in that country the same narrow-minded prejudices with which he is pleased to think that we ourselves are chargeable. “By the adherents of one sect,” says he, “the decided principles of what in England is denominated High Church, are still firmly retained:” and then he proceeds, with a little more keenness than is natural to him, to give the history of the stubborn Episcopal Dissenters, who, it seems, have still the courage to defend their principles, and avow their tenets, in the heart of a nation distinguished by its attachment to Presbyterian parity and a lay eldership. With few exceptions, they are, he assures us, wedded to the

divine institution of the hierarchy, a subject which occasionally constitutes the main topic of their sermons: and he adds that in the official addresses of the Bishops to their Clergy, or upon occasion of the settlement of their pastors, they frequently represent their Church as the only true one in Scotland, beyond the precincts of which there is no ground to think that the administration of ordinances will be accompanied with the divine efficacy and blessing. We are, however, glad to find that the theory to which they adhere is admitted by Dr. Cook to have no prejudicial effect upon their conduct in society, that many of them cheerfully mingle in pleasant and friendly intercourse with Presbyterians; and that with respect to literature and philosophy, they feel the same respect for them, and the same desire to assist their exertions, as if there was no difference of faith or practice as to the external services of religion.

The Fourth Book of this very comprehensive work embraces the "history of the effects produced by Christianity upon the moral and political state of Europe." No topic is, perhaps, more hacknied than this; and yet, from the good spirit and amiable feeling which pervades his discussions, Dr. Cook has succeeded in rendering it extremely interesting, and has at the same time drawn from it certain inferences well suited to correct those absurd notions relative to the influence of religion on public morals, by means of which some foolish men seem ready to attempt the destruction of every establishment devoted to the use of our national worship.

Assuredly, the history of our holy Faith, from its earliest days until now, furnishes to the Christian a just occasion of triumph; for he sees, in proportion as it advances, a mild spirit of benevolence and purity taking possession of the earth, subduing the ferocious passions of the rude pagan, and bringing into captivity the licentious appetites even of savage life. Its humanizing influence was felt at the very commencement of its progress, by inspiring reverence for the Supreme Being, and for the sanction of an oath; by extending to marriage the holy character which belongs to that important contract; by creating just notions of parental power, and a suitable regard for the female sex. Temperance, chastity, and a humane attention to the rights of all classes, and especially to the necessities of the poor, marked its footsteps as it made its way among the nations. When it became allied with the civil government, it improved the political condition of mankind by extending their privileges, and particularly by founding them on the natural claims, and the

original equality of all human beings. It dissolved, by degrees, the fetters of slavery; and by introducing a humane spirit into the code of public law, softened the manners of the privileged orders of society, so as to render domestic servitude comparatively an easy yoke. The execution of civil and criminal law was rendered mild and equitable. The cruel punishments which disfigure the administration of justice in all rude countries were no longer countenanced or permitted. Torture was abolished as inconsistent at once with the proper object of penal jurisprudence, and with the humane temper of the Gospel. But one of the greatest advantages secured to society by the predominance of Christianity was the institution of the Clerical order—a class of functionaries who, with all the faults that may be justly charged upon them, have nevertheless proved in all ages the protectors of the oppressed, the comforters of the afflicted, and the friends of the poor. The Clergy as a body, as Dr. Cook justly remarks, promoted at a very early period the cause of humanity. In their deportment to their slaves, they shewed a gentleness which had its effect upon the rugged nobles by whom they were surrounded, and they lost no opportunity to inculcate upon these proud masters that slavery ought to be abolished. The enormous wealth which they succeeded in accumulating they did, no doubt, sometimes apply to purposes not altogether pious; but it cannot be said of them that they ever turned a deaf ear to the claims of the miserable. On the contrary, they shared their affluence with them freely and constantly; they attended to their wants; they lessened the pressure of disease, and imparted comfort to thousands who could have obtained it from no other quarter. The truth of this statement was strikingly evinced by that mass of wretchedness which first struck the eye of Protestant governments, after the abolition of the monasteries, and the extensive conversion to secular objects of the funds of the Church.

Even on the score of political rights, not a few of the advantages which we enjoy at the present day, were gained and secured to us by the zeal of the ecclesiastical order. This, says Dr. Cook, was remarkably the case in Scotland, where the Reformers laid the foundation of a pure Church and a free Government. There were several splendid examples of it in the History of England; and it can never be forgotten that to the noble stand which the Bishops made against the bigoted and arbitrary administration of James the Second, we are in a great measure indebted for that glorious revolution which conferred on Britain the admirable form of go-

verament that it has since enjoyed. Something similar may be traced in other countries, arising from the relation in which the Clergy stand to the great body of the community.

The author draws some forcible illustrations of his doctrine relative to the humanizing influence of Christianity from the history of the French Revolution, when the religion of Christ was abjured, and all its tender mercies were despised. Not only was the number of executions such as to exhibit rather a massacre than a judicial infliction of punishment, but the punishments were often of such a nature as to harrow the soul: modes of exquisite torture were devised, and every method by which death could be rendered more dreadful was resorted to with infuriated delight. This, no doubt, must be in part attributed to the violent excitement of civil dissention; but it is no less evident that if the principal actors in these dismal scenes had been under the influence of the Christian religion, or had the Government adhered to the maxims which, through that religion, had in other states been incorporated with criminal jurisprudence, such atrocities as were witnessed would never have stained the annals of France. Accordingly, upon the return to those sound principles by which the European commonwealth had been governed, the punishments detailed in the early records of the Revolution were abolished, with many others which had continued to disgrace the administration of the former dynasty.

We have already given our opinion so freely of this General and Historical Account of Christianity, that it seems unnecessary for us to repeat that its great defect as a literary performance is the want of originality. The matter is good, and the composition is sufficiently agreeable; but then the matter is all to be found in other very common books, and a considerable portion of it is at least as neatly dressed up in the pages of Dr. Campbell and Principal Hill. Dr. Cook could not, we imagine, have seen the work of the last named author before he printed his own; a circumstance which renders it somewhat difficult to account for the striking coincidences in thought, style, opinion, and even authorities, which may be traced between the volumes of the Principal and in those now before us.

We esteem Dr. Cook as a candid, modest, and amiable writer, as a man of competent learning, and commendable industry; as an author, in short, from whom the world is entitled to expect something that will keep his name alive "among the posterities," and secure him a place by the side

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of his countrymen Hume, Robertson, Henry; and Gillies. Why, then, does he publish so fast? Why should he run to the press with a book that any body could compile and arrange almost as well as he has done it! He has been guilty of a gross mistake, disappointed himself, disappointed his friends, disappointed the public, and grievously disappointed the British Critics who would have had pleasure in praising him.

ART. II. *Werner, a Tragedy. By Lord Byron. Murray. 1823.*

ART. III. *Ruitzner; or, the German's Tale. By Harriet Lee. 5th Edition. Murray. 1823.*

WITHOUT any question Lord Byron is a very extraordinary man. For a long time we hesitated upon his claims, but at length we are forced to accede to the opinion of his admirers, and to acknowledge that his conduct, his genius, and his learning, entitle him to a conspicuous place amongst the moral phenomena of the age. Indeed, with the exception of the honest Mr. William Cobbett, we know no one, neither man, woman or child, pig, bonassus, or mermaid, who has such a good right to be deemed and taken for an unaccountable and wonderful thing as Lord Byron himself. Cobbett is his superior certainly; but Lord Byron is too sagacious in discovering merit, and too liberal in recognizing it when known, not to be well content to follow in the splendid wake of that great and discursive statesman. To blow hot and cold from every point in the compass, to praise and abuse respectively republics and monarchies, monarchies and republics; to libel and flatter England and America, Buonaparte and Thomas Paine, the king and the people, friends and enemies, men and women, truth and justice, backwards and forwards ten times over; to do all this without any excuse or bashfulness *within the continent of one work*, is really at once a symptom, a proof, and a consequence of an order of intellect, which we have no adequate terms to describe. Lord Byron's exertions, though very great considered *per se*, are yet much below Mr. William Cobbett's; because though to call Mr. Brougham an incendiary, and to write Marino Faliero, to reprehend Mr. Moore's immoralities, and to distil Don Juan canto after canto through the press, to calumniate his own relations, and to indite verses to their memory, to scream for liberty and to live in slavery, to despise the exile of Elba, and to

crouch to and flatter the exile of St. Helena—though these be great and remarkable efforts of mind, yet there are two facts connected with them which immediately diminish their relative importance, and reduce Lord Byron to a respectful and pupil-like distance from the aforesaid honest Mr. Cobbett. In the first place the Political Register contains *within itself* the above-mentioned diversities of opinion; whereas the *variantes* of Lord Byron are scattered confusedly through eight or nine years, and about twice as many volumes; and secondly, Cobbett daily persuades thousands of his discreet countrymen to adopt his advise *in pleno comitatu* upon the most vital interests of themselves and their country; while no man blest by Providence with an ordinary share of human apprehension will take Lord Byron's judgment or asseveration upon which way the wind blew when his Lordship left Venice. In short, Cobbett has turned round and round, is still turning round and round, and will for ever turn round and round—and yet Cobbett preserves his reputation and influence unimpaired; Lord Byron has twisted round and round, is still twisting round and round, and will for ever twist round and round—but Lord Byron's influence is gone; his country in general loathes or disregards him, and his few remaining accomplices are ashamed of his connection!

Lord Byron has ceased to be dangerous; he is beginning to be ridiculous. He has ever wished to have it believed that he was a being of superior power, and gifted with unusual discrimination of the designs and characters of other men; he cared not if this reputation were purchased at the price of truth or justice; these last were well enough no doubt, but penetration *quocumque modo*, penetration was his object. Lord Byron actually *had* this reputation whilst he was a young man, and the want of it might have been excused; now that he has advanced into staid and middle life, and folly is not so venial, he has been tickled, as a river poacher tickles a fish, has suffered a noose to be put quietly and snugly round his neck, and if he attempts to retreat or diverge, will have a hook run through his nose, and be dragged on shore at the tender mercy of his free-booting comrade. Lord Byron is the *dupe* of Leigh Hunt; the Aristocratico-democrat is the tame hackney scrivener of the jacobinico-radical; the macaroni simperer on the patriotic properties of long fingers is linked hand in hand with the mutton fist of the sometime tenant of a gaol; and an English peer vends blasphemy and sedition to buy bread and butter for London beggars. We have heard of the enno-

bling of plebeians; if this be not an instance of the plebification of nobility, we suppose such a thing *cannot* exist.

We remember being much amused two or three years ago with a pamphlet entitled (we think) "The Book of Wonders," in which some waggish friend of Cobbett's, in order more fully and as it were palpably to demonstrate the luxuriant diversatility of that Political Register's mind and conduct, had collated in two narrow parallel columns sundry of his *pros* and *cons* upon men and measures. Thus:—

"Sir F. Burdett is a man who is every man's friend. He bears the stamp of honesty upon his face. I would trust him with untold gold. He is your man!"
Polit. Reg. 1817.

"Sir F. Burdett is a man who loves to tyrannize. He carries contempt and meanness upon the bridge of his nose. No man of common prudence would admit him inside his doors." Polit. Reg. 1819.

Why does not the Examiner examine the works of Lord Byron for a similar purpose? As striking, if not as amusing, a Book of Wonders might easily be compiled from the works of his companion. For a very recent instance take the following. In January, 1822, Lord Byron utters an oracular sentence that without a strict observance of the unities there may be poetry, but there cannot be any drama; this, he adds, is acknowledged in all the more civilized parts of Europe, and accordingly he writes two plays expressly to demonstrate and adorn this profound assertion. With the real weight of the position itself we have at present nothing to do; we quarrel with no man for thinking that *Cinna* and *Phædra* are more dramatic than *Lear* or *Othello*; upon such an occasion we hold it at once pacific and philosophical to prevent any discussion by that wise maxim, *de gustibus non est disputandum*. But the curious thing is that in November, 1822; just ten months after, the same Lord Byron writes another play, which he explicitly denominates a tragedy; the said tragedy cannot be dramatic in any sense by its author's own decision, because every unity is violated in every page it contains; it is moreover dedicated to Goëthe, who is thereupon called "Illustrious," and is in reality the most audacious despiser and destroyer of all unities and almost all order; in addition to all which, not only is there no drama in it, but no poetry at all;—for *Werner*, the tragedy, of which we have been speaking, is literally and truly written in prose!

Some years back it would have been superfluous to have given any account of a book of Lord Byron's, which

had been published two or three months ; but now when the times are altered, and nobody or next to nobody reads or asks for Lord Byron, it is necessary to go through the unpleasant task of taking some notice of the substance of his compositions. The present is one of the most curious we have seen, and the novelty of the attempt at a prose Unitarian Tragedy (prosy his former ones were) imparts a faint interest to *Werner*, which in susceptible minds amounts almost to curiosity. The exact nature of this attempt should be well understood ; the story, characters, and leading conversations are openly plundered from Ruitzner, a good Canterbury Tale in tolerable English prose ; and the originality of Lord Byron consists in this, that whereas others have usually translated verse into prose, or prose into verse, his Lordship hath conceived and most successfully realized his conception of the possibility of translating prose into prose.

It is true that Mr. Murray has *printed* *Werner*, as if it were poetry ; but this was a natural mistake, for as many, if not all Lord Byron's former works were poetry either good, bad, or indifferent, it was easy for his publisher amongst his many other avocations to take it for granted that *Werner* was also a poem, and so to give directions for impressing it accordingly. If this be really the case, and Mr. Murray has given a more valuable consideration for *Werner* as poetry than he would have given for it as prose, we should be of opinion that he has his remedy upon an *assumpsit*, and that a jury *de medietate* of publishers and authors would assess the true *quantum* which Lord Byron in the present case deserved to have ; or perhaps upon an application to the Lord Chancellor a decree for specific performance of the implied contract might be obtained, and then Lord Byron, unless he chose to lie in contempt of court, would be compelled to translate *Werner* into poetry. But this by the way.

Werner and Josephine, have a long conversation in a ruined apartment of a Castle in Silesia ; they talk about their son, and Josephine hopes he is even then upholding *Werner's* rights to the title and estate of Count Siegendorf.

“ WERNER.

“Tis hopeless, since his strange disappearance from my father's, entailing, as it were, my sins upon himself, no tidings have revealed his course. I parted with him to his grandsire, on the promise that his anger should stop short of the third generation ; but

*Heaven seems to claim *her* stern prerogative, and visit upon my boy his father's faults and follies.

A knocking is heard and Idenstein the Intendant of the Castle enters and after some preliminary chit-chat demands of Werner his name.

" WERNER.

" Are you not afraid to demand it?

" IDENSTEIN.

" Not afraid? Egad! I am afraid. You look as if I ask'd for something better than your name, by the face you put on it.

" WERNER.

" Better, sir!

" IDENSTEIN.

" Better or worse, like matrimony, what shall I say more? you have been a guest this month here in the Prince's palace—to be sure, his highness had resign'd it to the ghosts and rats these twelve years—but 'tis still a palace—I say you have been our lodger, and as yet we do not know your name.

" WERNER.

" My name is WERNER.

" IDENSTEIN.

" A goodly name, a very worthy name as e'er was guilt upon a trader's board; I have a cousin in the lazaretto of Hamburgh, who has got a wife who bore the same. He is an officer of trust, surgeon's assistant (hoping to be surgeon) and has done miracles in the way of business. Perhaps you are related to my relative.

* * *

" WERNER.

" You appear to have *drank* enough already.

* * *

" IDENSTEIN.

" But what you don't know is, that a great personage, who fain would cross against the stream, and three postillions' wishes is drown'd below the ford, with five post-horses, a monkey, and a mastiff, and a valet.

" JOSEPHINE.

" Poor creatures! are you sure?

" IDENSTEIN.

" Yes, of the monkey, and the valet, and the cattle; but as yet we know not if his excellency's dead or no; your noblemen are hard to drown, as it is fit that men in office should be; but,

* What Heaven? The first, second, or third? or is it the Turkish Heaven, where the Houses are? or is it Mrs. Heaven of the Feathers in Holborn?

† If Werner were not drunk himself, he would hardly talk so barbarously. To Lord Byron really forgetting his English?

what is certain is that he has swallow'd enough of the Oder to have burst two peasants* ; and now a Saxon and Hungarian traveller, who, at their proper peril, snatch'd him from the whirling river, have sent him on to crave a lodging, or a grave, according as it may turn out with the live or dead body.

The Hungarian enters, talks like a tall fellow and bullies Idenstein out of a glass of his Hockheimer, which is his *supernaculum*, and twenty years old, and moreover is a *green* glass in *Italics*. Anon a noise of wheels is heard ; Idenstein says to Gabor the Hungarian :—

“ Will you not join me, to help him from his carriage, and present your humble duty at the door?

“ GABOR.

“ I dragg'd him from out that carriage when he would have given his barony or county to repel the rushing river from his gurgling throat. He has valets now enough, they stood aloof then, shaking their dripping ears upon the shore, all roaring, ‘ Help!’ but offering none; and as for *duty* (as you call it), I did mine *then*, now do *yours*. Hence and bow, and cringe him here ! (hither?)

“ IDENSTEIN

“ I cringe!—but I shall lose the opportunity—plague take it ! he'll be *here*, and I not *there* !

[*Exit IDENSTEIN, hastily.*”

How beautifully characteristic these speeches are ! What power and fineness of touch is displayed in those pregnant *Italics* ! What could the gentlemen Poets before the times of ornamental printing have done ? How did they make a difference between a soldier and an intendant ? We are at a stand.

And since we are so, let us in merciful consideration of our own and our reader's patience reflect a moment on the propriety of pursuing any farther the foregoing analysis of *Werner*. Every thing in it, whether character, incident or dialogue, that has the most superficial appearance of vigour and thought, is taken confessedly from *Ruitzner* ; and as *Ruitzner* is written in plain prose, and *Werner* in prose run mad, and as at all events an original is always more pleasing than a copy however faithful, we are inclined to dismiss *Werner* from our presence, and let him gently relapse into that slumber of oblivion and obscurity from which our transient attention, we fear, has awakened him. Peace be with the innocent ! He dies as he was born, *unknowing and unknown* !

Yet, as it will be discovered by the curious investigator

* Which notwithstanding its certainty could not have been true.

that we have rectified the mistake of Mr. Murray's Printer, and restored Werner to his natural dress, and disencumbered him of the travesty jacket which so much injured his appearance, we judge it prudent for our own sakes to quote one specimen of the said Werner as he is exposed to sale, in order to convince the world that we were playing no iniquitous trick in making the alteration we have done; and that in most exact verity we did thereby improve what we so altered in an incalculable degree. Let any one of ordinary feeling for what is right and seemly in taste and execution judge by the following passage. It is one of the most animated speeches in the whole Tragedy.

"GABOR.

"Ay, Sir, and, *for*
 Aught that you know, superior; but proceed—
 I do not ask for hints, and surmises,
 And circumstance, and proofs; I know enough
 Of what I have done for you, and what you owe me,
 To have at least waited your payment *rather*
 Than paid myself, had I been eager *of*
 Your gold. I also know that were I *even*
 The villain I am deem'd, the service render'd
 So recently would not permit you *to*
 Pursue me to the death, except through shame,
 Such as would leave your scutcheon but a blank.
 But this is nothing; I demand of you
 Justice upon your unjust servants, *and*
 From your own lips a disavowal *of*
 All sanction of their insolence: thus much
 You owe to the unknown, who asks no more,
 And never thought to have ask'd so much.

But not to rest the decision of the justness of our opinion and the propriety of our alteration upon one passage, we will subjoin another. It is a passionate address of Stralenheim's to Ulric after he has been robbed of a rouleau of gold while sleeping.

"In short, I was asleep upon a chair,
 My cabinet before me, with some gold
 Upon it, (more than I much like to lose,
 Though in part only): *some ingenious person*
 Contrived to glide through all my own attendants,
 Besides those of the place, and bore away
 An hundred golden ducats, which to find
 I would be fain, and there's an end; *perhaps*
 You (as I still am rather faint), would add

To yesterday's great obligation *this*
Though alight, yet not alight, to aid these men
(Who seem but lukewarm) in recovering it?"

• • •

And soon afterwards he goes on in this harmonious style:

" And though I am not the man to yield without one;
Neither are they who now rise up between me
And my desire. The boy, they say, is a bold one;
But he hath play'd the truant in some hour
Of freakish folly, leaving fortune to
Champion his claims: that's well. The father, *whom*
For years I've track'd, as does the blood-hound, never
In sight, but constantly in scent, had put me
To fault, but *here* I have him, and that's better
It must be *he*!"

We believe there are few persons who will not agree with us in thinking that the style would have been more german to the matter, if these passages had been printed without the formality of stopping short at the end of every two inches and a half, and beginning every eleventh or twelfth word with a capital letter. If any one thinks there is Poetry in these, he must enjoy his own opinion without molestation; because we at least should have no common principles upon which we might argue with such a person. Our notions of Poetry and his must be of such opposite natures, that it would be no wiser to attempt to reason with him upon the subject, than it would be to dispute with a man blind from his birth upon the accuracy of his conception of Sky-blue. Abstract qualities, such as virtue and vice, truth and falsehood; Essential Poetry and Essential Prose, or to be more exact (if we may be pardoned so uncouth a combination), Essential not poetry, are without doubt fixed, permanent and unchangeable in themselves; but our *conceptions* of these qualities may be very different and even contradictory, they may be probably, nay palpably wrong with regard to the Abstract Idea, and yet right in relation to each other. Thus for instance, many persons think Pope the great Poet of the English language; this opinion to a mind disciplined by philosophy and purified by acquaintance with real nature is palpably wrong; yet if the same persons were upon the score of some of his earlier works, and counting downwards from Pope, to call Lord Byron the sixth or seventh Poet of our nation, they would be relatively right, though in fact positively wrong. We repeat upon the score of his earlier or perhaps in general his *other*

works ; because Werner is not a creature of more or less, of better or worse ; Werner is in another scale ; there is no germ of poetry throughout ; it is not conceived poetically, it is not treated poetically, it has nothing to do with Poetry. Such wholesale borrowing as this is a dangerous symptom of decay in the intellectual activity of any writer ; but in the case of Lord Byron, it seems to be something worse than a symptom ; we are rather inclined to pronounce it the developement of a constitutional disease. Lord Byron may treat the charge with contemptuous sarcasm or in contemptuous silence, and he may rely with sufficient confidence upon the general prepossession in favour of the originality of his writings ; but the charge is preferred with great deliberation and upon the amplest testimony ; it is maintained quietly but with fixed determination, and the charge itself has hitherto remained, as it must ever remain, unanswered because it is unanswerable. We formally charge Lord Byron with being under various shapes, in various ways, and in various degrees from the first canto of *Childe Harold* down to Werner—a Plagiary ! We say he has been a plagiary of manner, feeling and style, a plagiary of incident, story and character, a plagiary of thoughts, passion and words ! We say he has *imitated*, to use very soft language, *Madame de Staël* ; he has *imitated* *Mrs. Radcliffe* ; he has *imitated* principally and most constantly *Southey*, *Coleridge* and *Wordsworth*—and *therefore* he abuses them.

“ As if his whole vocation
Were endless imitation.”

We have a book full of undeniable proofs of these assertions, but we shall not enter into the question now. We have our eye upon Lord Byron, and he may depend upon it, that a day of reckoning with him is imminent, and that armour of contempt, however haughty and Italian, will not avail to save his reputation from a grievous stain. We hate usurpation in any sense ; and if usurpation of civil rights be grievous, and usurpation of moral rights be impious, so usurpation of intellectual rights is at once iniquitous and contemptible. Lord Byron has been for many years such an usurper, let him look well to his dominion ; for if it be not founded in truth and justice, not even Leigh Hunt shall save him !

It is not necessary to analyze *Ruitzner*. It has since its republication been very generally read, and we think upon the whole justly admired. Miss Harriet Lee wants softness and flexibility of style, but her subject required those properties as little as possible, and the vigour of the whole per-

formance makes ample amends for some occasional harshness. There is one passage, however, in Ruitzner, which teems with such concentrated ignorance and conceit, that we must expose it, in order that our commendation of the rest of the work may have some value.

"For reasons, doubtless, however, more merciful and wise, Providence had decreed that Ruitzner should not at that critical period die at all! and though this conviction (conviction of what?) seemed to give but little satisfaction to any human beings, his wife and child excepted, it is probable that in the region of eternal blessedness which is to be occupied by minds, not bodies, the grateful and pious expansion of theirs would fill a larger circle in the sphere of existence than the souls of twenty—aye, a hundred—such beings as their host at M——: which hundred, indeed, stripped of their bulky corporeal clothing, would, perhaps, have formed, collectively, so small a mass, as might almost seem to demand the eye of Omniscience to discover any portion of soul at all!"

Let not Miss Harriet Lee alarm herself; we mean not to impute the abominable absurdity and paganism of this passage, as such, to her; we know perfectly well that it was a mere flourish of a sentimental but very ignorant woman. Let Miss Harriet Lee, if she be discreet, weigh the following short questions:

What religion is it that promises a region of eternal blessedness to be occupied by minds, *not bodies*?

Is Spirit capable of physical expansion? And if so, How is the Soul confined even now within its bulky corporeal clothing, seeing most souls experience grateful and pious feeling?

Is a bad man's; nay is a shopkeeper's soul less in physical dimensions than the soul of a saint?

Are not one hundred scavengers' souls as large altogether as the soul of Miss Harriet Lee, or any other good woman?

Is a wicked man's soul *less important* than a good man's?

Metaphysics are not pretty studies for females at any time, but babbling ignorantly about them is detestable.

But this is a solitary blot, and we willingly leave any further observations upon it in order to present our readers, as a conclusion to this article, with an extract, which deserves the highest praise, for animation and splendour of execution. It is part of the scene with Gabor in the palace of Siegendorf, towards the end of the Romance. Let it be compared with its imbecile copy in Werner.

"The Hungarian made a solemn pause, as if revolving within himself the manner in which he should proceed. Conrad, with

stern, but almost breathless impatience, seemed to attend the result, while Siegendorf, who in the frightful history of what passed at Frankfort, perceived an alarming connexion with the hints afforded by his father's papers, had hardly vigour enough left to rouse himself to the last deciding testimony :—yet his heart still beat fondly towards his son, and revolted from a being who, despicable even by his own confession, was stained with every evidence of circumstantial guilt.”

“Your story is excellent,” said Conrad, at length. “Proceed?”

“‘It will improve,’ replied the Hungarian, bitterly.—‘Miserable young man! You do not yet then see—you do not even yet then conjecture, the invisible eye that was open upon your actions?—I was your dupe, indeed, at M——, for I began at length to believe you my friend. You introduced me to your father: he was insignificant—miserable—degraded! soiled with all the exterior debasements of poverty: but I was not so new to life as not to see in him an extraordinary man. Through your means, or his, I became the victim of a disgraceful calumny! Woe to the worthless heart that inflicts on another the penalty of its own crimes! Most heavily will yours rebound upon you both!’ As if roused by the acute recollection of personal indignity, the Hungarian poured out this denunciation in a tone so forcible as struck to the inmost souls of his hearers. ‘Such,’ continued he, after a momentary pause, ‘was the apparent disparity of circumstances between Ruitzner and yourself, as left it impossible for me to guess the nature of your connexion with him: but I quickly perceived there was some. I weighed—I calculated—I conjectured!—I knew too well the ground I stood upon with you, to suspect you of real kindness or generosity: wherefore then did you protect me from Stralenheim and the intendant? Some unfathomable project—some dear and high-wrought interest was at stake: but it was evidently one in which I was to have no share. I quitted the house to give you leisure to construct it. I returned to mark its progress. The momentary prattle of a baby gave me to understand that his father had once been concealed in the chamber where I slept. The secret then lay *there*! Do you start?’ said he to Conrad, who did indeed betray some emotion: ‘Now mark the end! I returned to your father, obviously a most unwelcome guest; though I was yet at a loss to conjecture wherefore. I met you on my way, and you urged me to remain under his roof another night. My soul half acquitted you of a share in the mystery upon this evidence of apparent frankness. I was yet to learn that you were the very master-dæmon, and moving spring of all; and that while you courted, it was for the purpose of plunging me into perdition. Midnight came: I arose, and, minutely examining my chamber, found that I had divined the truth. My course of life had made me acquainted with the courts of princes, and the mysteries of intrigue. Pressing the spring of the secret door, I found myself in

the gallery adjoining to it. Recollection of the Baron's losses, and the poverty of Ruitzner, then directed all my suspicions towards him; and I was credulous enough to acquit you. I had no light, but an irresistible curiosity impelled me forwards. Suddenly I heard a noise: it resembled a groan; low-murmured, but distinct. I stopped—listened—turned every way to ascertain whence the sound issued; but it was not repeated. In the attitude of listening I lost my recollection, and knew not whether I had advanced or was retreating: yet my hand touched the pannel of a door, and it was necessary to determine whither it led. My risk was, however, evident: I drew back, therefore, only as much of the partition as formed a crevice; but my hair stood erect on my head, and my blood froze in my veins, when through it I saw the body of Stralenheim!

“ ‘ But you saw not the murderer!’ exclaimed the Count, in a tone of supernatural vehemence.

“ ‘ He was not, at that moment, in the room: but the locks of the Baron's apartment had been changed, chiefly under his inspection, the day before, and he had doubtless possessed himself of a master-key; for the door of the ante-room was ajar. I saw a man bathing his hands in water: their colour bore horrible testimony against him: at intervals he raised his head, and looked anxiously towards Stralenheim: a lamp stood on the table close by, and its pale but steady light then shewed me distinctly the features of your son. Have I said enough?’ continued he, directing a penetrating glance towards Conrad; ‘ or does a father's eye and heart want further confirmation? Yet hear me to the end,’ he added, abruptly arresting the attention of both, which he perceived was on the point of utterly failing. ‘ Something, Count Siegendorf, is yet due to you? You, who, in the first tumult and agitation of my soul, I doubted not to be an accomplice in the crime. I saw myself at once its victim. I saw at once why I had been by him persuaded to return; and I concluded that I had been purposely stationed by you in the suspicious chamber. For a moment I hesitated upon my conduct; but I was unarmed, and no match at any time for your son in personal address or strength. He too had rendered himself the trusted friend of the Baron; I, at the best, had entered his chamber by subtlety and stealth. It would be impossible to describe the feelings with which I returned to my own. Josephine and her babe were yet within my power. I provided myself with the dagger which I wore commonly at my girdle; and had Ruitzner, by being absent, confirmed my suspicions, I know not what the bloody vengeance and despair that then possessed my soul would have dictated. But when I passed through his chamber, and saw the watch-light dimly burning, while the family group were buried in a tranquil slumber, I exclaimed to myself—Peace be with you, miserable innocents! ye know not what the morning will awaken you to!’ ”

ART. IV. *A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt,*
by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. 8vo. pp. 152.
10s. 6d. Murray. 1822.

SOME people travel for pleasure, and some for profit, but it is by no means clear that either of these has been the object of Sir Archibald Edmonstone: for he must have had a very tiresome journey *in esse*, as the schoolmen say, and we doubt whether it is *in posse*, that his account of this journey should sell. To be sure this is the fault rather of the Book-seller than of the Baronet; and if Mr. Murray chooses to demand ten shillings and sixpence for one hundred and fifty-two small pages, Sir Archibald Edmonstone cannot be blamed because nobody will buy them. In the present instance, however, the publisher is not the only one to be accused. The author for whom he publishes has taken a great deal of trouble to see that which, after all, does not appear to have been worth the trouble of seeing; and he must rest content with the not unuseful distinction of having discovered a spot which no traveller after this discovery, will probably ever think of visiting again.

In the year 1818, Sir Archibald Edmonstone landed in Egypt, at a time which the re-establishment of a vigorous Turkish government, or as he expresses it, "the sturdy despotism of the Pashas" rendered particularly favourable for travellers; and his first object was a trip to the Oases. Geographers have generally supposed the Oases to be three in number. Messrs. Browne and Horneman, much to their disappointment, explored the first, that of Sirvah; and Mr. Bankes's agents have since ascertained it to be the scite of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Mr. Belzoni has fixed the locality of the second, the *Oasis parva*. The third, the *Oasis magna*, has long been traversed by caravans, and was known to Mr. Browne; and Sir Archibald Edmonstone has now disturbed this universally recognized triplicity by adding a fourth to the westward of that, which has been last named. While in search of it he kept a diary, his companions made sketches, and they jointly measured ground plans by a graduated line. This accounts for the letter press and the lithography of his volume. In regard to the map adjoining the title page Sir Archibald is equally explicit; and, thanks to his candour, we can fairly estimate the value which ought to be set upon it. The tourists had no "means of taking observations;" "and they are merely laid down from calculations derived from comparing the camel's march with the points of the

compass, and by conferring our own remarks with information obtained from the natives."

On the 9th of February, 1819, Sir A. Edmonstone and his party left Siout. Their baggage was packed on three camels, and themselves clad in Mamelouc costume, rode on asses. Proceeding in a north-westerly direction, after five hours riding, they arrived at Beniali, where they were hospitably entertained, by the Shehk Daoud Waffee, chief of that portion of the Ababde tribe of Bedouins, which inhabits the African border of Egypt. This Shehk boasted hereditary attachment to the English, for his father had done good military service in their behalf. After a hearty supper of pillaff of rice with oil and honey, a dish of mutton, five or six others of boiled and stewed meat, and a chicken in broth, all which, according to custom, were eaten promiscuously with the fingers, the guests, excepting the English and a neighbouring Shehk, retired.

"When all the guests, except Hamet and ourselves, were gone, we were much amused with a hint Daoud gave us to produce some beverage more potent than water. As he could not with decency ask directly for it, he begged we would not scruple to drink any thing we might have with us. This at first we declined doing, out of respect to his religious prejudices, supposing he meant it only as a compliment; but, upon his pressing it, we brought out a bottle of brandy, which proved a great service to us, and had the happiest effect upon him possible. By the time he had drank five or six glasses, we were the dearest friends he had, and as he conceived riding camels would fatigue us, he promised us horses, notwithstanding he had before pronounced it impossible to procure them." P. 11.

At parting after breakfast on the next morning, (and a Bedouin breakfast, if we may judge from the *Carte*, bread, pancakes, meat, omelette, and dates, falls very little short of a Parisian *dejeuné à la fourchette*.) Daoud requested his guests to write down their names, that in case he visited England, which he wished much to do, on the strength of Elfi Bey's reception, he might know with whom to leave his initiatory card. In two hours, under the guidance of Hamet, they reached his camp, and having agreed upon terms, were provided with an escort. The camp consisted of four hundred families dispersed about some rich meadows on the borders of the desert, and the travellers had a whole day before them for its examination.

"I was much surprised at their mode of treatment of a young camel. As soon as it was born they squeezed and struck its legs

most unmercifully against the ground for some minutes. At first, I conceived this violence arose from disappointment at some defect or deformity, and that they would infallibly kill it; but it appeared they treated it thus roughly, merely for the purpose of rendering the joints supple; and in a very short time the animal was able to stand, and received nutriment from the mother." P. 15.

Towards five in the afternoon they set out for the desert, Shehk Hamet accompanying them to the confines. The first approach of this terrific region is briefly and vividly described.

"As we gradually lost sight of the Nile, and its luxuriant banks, a new world seemed to open to our view. Nothing was to be seen but a vast immeasurable plain of sand, extending itself in all directions, over which the eye searched in vain an object to rest upon. The hardihood which Horace ascribes to the earliest navigator, might with equal truth be applied to those who first ventured to explore these inhospitable tracts. Though we were following a regular line of communication, there was something awful I might almost say, in the sensation, that we had now, as it were, passed the bounds Nature had marked to the habitable portion of the earth. Not a vestige of cultivation, nor even a blade of grass, were to be seen, and, except the carcases of camels which lined our path at no great intervals for the whole extent of our course, there was nothing to remind us that this route was ever frequented. It was impossible too, not to feel some degree of anxiety with respect to the result of our expedition. Our guides, though not numerous enough themselves to molest, might easily have betrayed or deserted us; and our distrust was the less unreasonable, from the experience of modern travellers having done much towards destroying the opinion of the incorruptible fidelity of the Arab tribes. Our suspicions, however, proved groundless. We found no cause to complain of our companions, except their pilfering a few small articles of no value; and in the inhabited spots we were received with a degree of hospitality rarely met with in more civilized parts of the world." P. 20.

The desert is far from being entirely flat, it occasionally presents a variety of surface, and in some instances hills of considerable magnitude. The rock is impregnated with iron; the sand is usually of a very fine substance, though sometimes gravelly: it is rarely deep unless when drifted.

On the fourth day they passed some Barrows which Sir A. Edmonstone believes to be natural. Belzoni has described them as the tombs of the army of Cambyzes. Covies of partridges of a dingy sand colour were found 80 miles within this inhospitable district, and this peculiarity of colour is shared by many other animals as hares, lizards, ants, &c.

The Western Oasis was reached after a march in all of sixty four hours, and its distance from the Bedouin camp was therefore calculated to be 178 miles.

The English was found to be a much better travelling character than the Turkish: and on a disclosure of their nation, the most friendly disposition was manifested to the strangers by the natives. They willingly shewed all the "old buildings" in the neighbourhood, when they found that these were the objects of inquiry. The harvest was but barren; it amounted to no more than a single temple, half choaked with sand, and so dilapidated as to allow imagination considerable licence in framing the ground plan. This Oasis is composed of twelve villages, mostly well wooded with palm-trees, and containing plentiful springs. The climate in winter is extremely variable; sometimes rains are abundant, sometimes there are none at all. Violent winds are prevalent. The plague is unknown, but during the intense heats of summer, fevers and agues are very general. The soil is a light red earth, the chief products of which are barley and rice. The former is sown in October and November, and reaped in March and April. The crop of rice, which requires incessant moisture, succeeds; but not on the same ground. Dates are exported into Egypt, and lemons and citrons are plentiful. The inhabitants are Bedouins of the Ababdè tribe. No inhabited tract beyond, to the west, is known by them. One is spoken of to the north, at the distance of ten days, but it was accidentally discovered years ago, by a single individual, and the route is now forgotten. Thirty days of ten hours each are required to reach Tripoli. The Mograbin or Barbary Arabs occasionally levy contributions on this spot, which, from its remoteness, might be supposed to be safe from the hostility of foreigners. Lions and tigers are not uncommon, but there are no ostriches. Indigo is largely manufactured.

"The shehk assured us there was no record of any Frank ever having visited this Oasis before, but that he knew the English perfectly by reputation, and esteemed them highly. From his declaration, added to the negative testimony of there being neither written or traditional information respecting this region, we had the great satisfaction of being fully convinced that we were the first Europeans who had reached it in modern times." P. 56.

Three days march in an easterly direction brought the travellers to the *Oasis Magna*. On the second day, a ruined temple was examined at El Amour in the intermediate de-

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sert, between the two Oases. It presented nothing which could repay the trouble of visiting it. The distance between the western Oasis and the *Oasis Magna* is computed to be 105 miles, and the whole route is marked at stated intervals by broken pots and tiles, which Sir Archibald Edmonstone reasonably supposes are vestiges of Roman stations.

The *Oasis Magna* is more abundant in antiquities than the Western Oasis. It contains several temples, from which some Greek inscriptions were transcribed. One records the restoration of the temple of Amenebis in the third year of the reign of Antoninus Pius; (A. D. 140.) Another is still earlier, the first of Galba; (A. D. 68;) a third is in the ninth of Tiberius; (A. D. 24,) but none of them comprize any matter of interest.

The greatest curiosity in this Oasis is a large Necropolis, or Mummy-town.

"Having completed our measurements of the Temple, we again went to the Necropolis to examine it more leisurely than we had done before. It contains apparently not fewer than two or three hundred buildings of unburnt brick, ranged without attention to regularity, and of various sizes and shapes. The greater number of them however are square, surmounted by a dome, similar to the small mosques erected over Shehks' tombs, having for the most part a corridor running round, which produces an ornamental effect very striking at a distance, and gives them a nearer resemblance to Roman, than to any existing specimen of Greek or Egyptian architecture. Some few are larger than the rest; one in particular is divided into aisles, like our churches; and that it had been used as such, by the early Christians, is clearly evinced by the traces of saints painted on the wall. Many have Coptic or perhaps Greek inscriptions, but written in a hand not legible, and a few Arabic. In all we entered there is the Greek cross, and the celebrated Egyptian hieroglyphic, the *Crux Ansata* which originally signifying life, would appear to be adapted as a Christian emblem either from its similarity to the shape of the cross, or from its being considered the symbol of a state of future existence. But the great peculiarity is a large square hole in the centre of each, evidently for the purpose of containing a Mummy, and which, from the fragments and wrappings that lay scattered about, had probably been ransacked for the sake of plunder.

"It is therefore obvious that these buildings formed a cemetery to the town which stood near or about the temple of El Cargé, and were subsequently used for sacred purposes by the Christian inhabitants, or at a later period, as places of retreat to them when persecuted by the Mohammedans.

"I should imagine these sepulchres to be of Roman construction at an early period, since it is generally believed that the prac-

tice of embalming was gradually discontinued in Egypt after the extension of Christianity; but among the various receptacles for the remains of the dead, from the stupendous pyramid to the rudest cavern, I know of none existing or recorded, at all corresponding with them in shape and appearance. Considering them therefore as highly curious from their structure as well as unique of their kind, I sincerely hope that any future traveller who may come here, will particularly direct his attention to them, and that moreover he will be able to do what we could not, make faithful transcripts of the inscriptions." P. 108.

Sir Archibald Edmonstone returned to the Nile after an expedition of four and twenty days. His journey would have been more profitable if he had met with either of the marvels, concerning which, it seems, he inquired diligently, but could in return hear nothing. First, "the serpent of incredible magnitude called Togban," which Edressi affirms is only found in the "El Ouahat;" and secondly, the Blemmyes, a nomade people placed by ancient Geographers in these districts; respecting whom Pliny (v. 8.) asserts, "a curious peculiarity;" namely, "that they had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed in their breasts." A glimpse at these wondrous savages would have more than repaid the privations which a route of six hundred miles, over a burning desert, must necessarily require; and would justly have ranked Sir Archibald Edmonstone among the greatest of modern Discoverers: a title of which, from the temper of his Book, we conceive him to be—and very naturally—not a little emulous.

ART. V. *Peveril of the Peak.* By the Author of "*Waverley*," "*Kenilworth*," &c. Four Vols. 12mo. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 2l. 2s. 1822.

AWARE that no praise of ours can add to the long-established reputation of the *Waverley* novels, and that the most laboured introduction cannot say any thing on the merits of the unknown (though not unsuspected) author, which has not already been said, we shall, without further preface, proceed to the examination of his most recent production. So various, indeed, are its incidents, and so busy and complicated its plot, that to enlarge on extraneous matter, would encroach on the limits within which we hold it advisable to confine ourselves.

The action of the tale before us embraces a period of about twenty years, from a short time previous to the restoration of Charles II. to the decline of Oates's well known and successful imposture. The principal characters by whom the two æras in question are connected, are Sir Geoffrey Peveril of Martindale Castle in Derbyshire, and Major Bridgnorth of Moultrassie Hall, his neighbour; the former, a staunch cavalier and high-churchman, distinguished by his untameable valour in the civil wars, his descent from William the Conqueror, and his hereditary title of Peveril of the Peak; the latter, a puritan and commonwealth-man. Early association, and mutual kindnesses done during the period of civil discord, in which the influence of Bridgnorth proves of material service to the life and fortunes of Sir Geoffrey, have operated in cementing a friendship between them, in spite of their jarring political principles, more especially as the zeal of Bridgnorth has so far cooled towards the triumphant regicides, as to render him, with reason, suspected of disaffection to Cromwell's authority. The death of Mrs. Bridgnorth, which happens at the commencement of the history, leads to the repayment of obligations already become burthensome to the pride of Sir Geoffrey. Lady Peveril undertakes the care of her friend's motherless daughter, the infant survivor of several children. By her skill, the little Alice is nursed into a healthy girl, and the desponding presages of her father are gradually removed by the daily good reports brought by the good-natured Sir Geoffrey, of which the following characteristic description deserves notice.

"Morning after morning the good Baronet made Moultrassie Hall the termination of his walk or ride, and said a single word of kindness as he passed. Sometimes he entered the old parlour where the proprietor sate in solitary wretchedness and despondency; but more frequently, (for Sir Geoffrey did not pretend to great talents of conversation,) he paused on the terrace, and stopping or halting his horse by the latticed window, said aloud to the melancholy inmate, 'How is it with you, Master Bridgnorth? (the Knight would never acknowledge his neighbour's military rank of Major;) I just looked in to bid you keep a good heart, man, and to tell you that Julian is, well, and little Alice is well, and all are well at Martindale Castle.'

"A deep sigh, sometimes coupled with 'I thank you, Sir Geoffrey; my grateful duty waits on Lady Peveril,' was generally Bridgnorth's only answer. But the news was received on the one part with the kindness which was designed upon the other; it gradually became less painful and more interesting: the lattice window was never closed, nor was the leathern easy chair, which

stood next to it, ever empty, when the usual hour of the Baronet's momentary visit approached.—At length the expectation of that passing minute became the pivot upon which the thoughts of poor Bridgnorth turned during all the rest of the day. Most men have known the influence of such brief and passing moments at some period of their lives. The moment when a lover passes the window of his mistress—the moment in which the epicure hears the dinner-bell, is that into which is crowded the whole interest of the day;—the hours which precede it are spent in anticipation; the hours which follow, in reflection on what has passed; and fancy dwelling on each brief circumstance, gives to seconds the duration of minutes, to minutes that of hours. Thus seated in his lonely chair, Bridgnorth could catch at a distance the stately step of Sir Geoffrey, or the heavy tramp of his war-horse Black Hastings, which had borne him in many an action; he could hear the hum of 'The King shall enjoy his own again,' or the habitual whistle of 'Cuckolds and Roundheads,' die into reverential silence, as the Knight approached the mansion of affliction; and then came the strong hale voice of the huntsman-soldier with its usual greeting." Vol. I. p. 22.

Soon after follows the restoration of Charles, and the exertions made by Bridgnorth in tranquillizing the country, in conjunction with Sir Geoffrey, have a powerful effect in restoring his mind to more of a settled temper. Cheered by the sight of his daughter, whom he at last summons resolution to behold, the Major accepts, on the part of himself and his puritan neighbours, an invitation to a feast of amnesty, which Lady Peveril gives to both political parties, to celebrate the joyful event which has hurried her husband to court. In the mean time, circumstances have occurred which lead to a rupture between the friends. The well-known Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, (whose real history we believe to be a blank subsequently to the execution of her husband, and the surrender of their little feudal kingdom,) is represented as regaining the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, at the Restoration, in consequence of the reaction of the liegemen, who had allowed her to be deposed and imprisoned. Re-invested with her arbitrary rights, she makes the first use of them in executing Colonel Christian, the brother of the deceased Mrs. Bridgnorth, who sacrificing his gratitude to the welfare of the island, had betrayed his patron's widow and her sovereignty to the parliamentary forces. A warrant from the Privy Council is put in force in consequence of this flagrant violation of the recent act of indemnity; and the Countess, pursued by it, takes refuge in Martindale Castle, with her kinswoman and friend, Lady

Peveril, on the night after the solemn feast just mentioned. Here, in the reckless defiance of a haughty spirit, she makes known her recent story, the next morning, in the presence of Bridgnorth, whose person is unknown to her, and who attempts to interpose his authority as a magistrate for the purpose of securing her, but is baffled by Lady Peveril's precautions. Sir Geoffrey, who returns at this conjuncture, conducts the Countess in safety to a place of security, and with the help of his armed domestics, repulses an attempt made by Bridgnorth to back the authority of the Pursuivant at Arms in arresting her. A personal scuffle which takes place on this occasion, between the Cavalier and Roundhead magistrate, and in which the latter is perforce handled somewhat uncereemoniously, leads to an open breach between them, and to the removal of the little Alice from beneath the roof of her kind foster-mother. Honest Sir Geoffrey, who with true soldier-like *naivete*, mistakes the cause of Bridgnorth's displeasure, makes the matter worse by proffering, to oblige his former friend, a gentlemanly satisfaction, which the religious scruples of the latter forbid his accepting. Mortified by the degradation which he conceives himself to have sustained, and ill-affected towards the new government, which allows the Countess to compound her offence for a heavy fine, Bridgnorth leaves his paternal seat, and resides for some time in New England and among the strict Calvinists of the Continent, leaving Alice, as yet a child, under the superintendence of his brother-in-law's widow, residing in the Isle of Man. Here a considerable blank occurs in the history, or at least is merely filled up with general details, allowing the young Julian Peveril, the only child of Sir Geoffrey, to grow to years of discretion, and Bridgnorth, soured by grief, and inflamed by fanaticism, to become, from a moderate Presbyterian, an Independent and Fifth-Monarchy-Man. In his occasional and secret flittings to England and the Isle of Man, he discovers, that Julian, whom his parents have allowed to be educated with the young Earl of Derby, under the Lady of Latham's chivalrous auspices, and who is grown into a manly and accomplished youth, has renewed his friendship with his former playfellow, Alice, and that with the connivance of her *gouvernante*, Deborah, Julian's former nurse, who has her own ends of future power and promotion in view, the intimacy is assuming a more tender shape. Proposing to himself an end which will presently be developed, the father is induced to connive also at an attachment which begins to awaken the scruples of the modest and high-spirited Alice, who is partly aware of the

obstacles which exist to their happiness, and for her own sake and Julian's, constrains herself to treat him coldly. In the meanwhile, the plans of vengeance against the Countess, which Bridgnorth has never abandoned, and which form only a part of more extensive designs, are seconded by the circumstances of the times. The influence of France, strengthened by the Duchess of Portsmouth, the discovered correspondence of the bigoted Coleman, and the mysterious murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, have raised suspicions against the Catholics, which are fomented by the interested perjuries of Oates and his associates, and the secret machinations of Shaftesbury and the Whig party, who wish to make the general alarm a stepping-stone to power. Among other innocent persons, the Countess of Derby incurs suspicion as the promoter of a second gunpowder plot; and Bridgnorth, in conjunction with Edward Christian, his surviving brother-in-law, and under a secret promise of indemnity from the Whig party, engage with some disaffected Manksmen, in a plan to seize on her person and government. In furtherance of this design, Bridgnorth makes use of Julian's attachment, which he has long secretly known, as a means of tampering with his fidelity to the Countess, but without effect; and Alice, wishing to warn her lover against the trap which is laid for him, without committing or endangering her father, is betrayed into an avowal of her attachment to him, in one of the most beautiful scenes of the book. Peveril, whose fidelity and honour has not for a moment been shaken, departs on a secret mission for the purpose of justifying the Countess at the Court of Whitehall; but, by means of Fenella, a natural daughter and spy of Edward Christian's, whom the latter has introduced into the Countess's household, under the unsuspected character of a deaf and dumb orphan, intelligence is given of the purport of the journey. Christian, who has left the Isle of Man in consequence of the failure of his conspiracy against the Countess, attaches himself to Julian, under a feigned name, as a travelling companion, and by the aid of Chiffinch, the court pander, who entertains them on the road, purloins the letters with which the young man is entrusted. To complete Julian's misfortunes, he arrives at Martindale Castle just at the moment when his father is apprehended as an agent in the popish plot, and is himself taken prisoner in an assault on Bridgnorth, whose authority as a magistrate is called in to back the warrant. Being liberated from the house of the latter, by an insurrection of the neighbouring miners, headed by his father's gamekeeper, Julian pursues his journey to Lon-

don ; and having found out the loss of his papers, recovers them by force on the road from the person of Chiffinch. With the aid of the latter person, Edward Christian, who is the master-hypocrite and villain of the story, proposes to betray the honour of his niece Alice to the profligate Charles, as a step to his own advancement, and to strengthen the interest of the Whig party, whose secret agent he is. Having been entrusted by Bridgnorth with her temporary guardianship, he commits her to the care of Chiffinch's mistress, at whose house she is seen by the Duke of Buckingham. The latter, who is deep in the secrets and political intrigues of Christian's friends, determines, with the vanity and caprice which mark his character, to undermine a plan in which he is not the principal agent, and accordingly lays siege to Alice himself. Julian, however, arriving in town, finds an opportunity of delivering the dispatches, whose import he conceives to be known, into the hands of the King, and of rescuing Alice from the guardianship of Dame Chiffinch, assisted by the good offices of Fenella, who has bestowed her affections on him unsought, and follows him to town without his consent. Being waylaid by bravos in the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, Peveril wounds his most formidable antagonist dangerously, and is committed to prison, while Alice, in the confusion, is carried off by force to the palace of the Duke. From hence, however, she is speedily rescued by the active manœuvres of Christian and Fenella, and replaced with her father, who in addition to his other designs, is plotting an insurrection of Fifth-Monarchy-Men, to take place as soon as circumstances will permit, as a counter-blow to the Popish interest. After a short time spent in Newgate, during which the wounded ruffian recovers, Julian, who has, from obvious circumstances, incurred suspicion as a Popish agent, is brought to trial along with his father, and both are acquitted through the secret influence of the King. In the mean while, the escape of Alice, and the reconciliation of Buckingham with the Duchess of Portsmouth, having rendered Edward Christian's favourite scheme impracticable, he meditates still bolder plans. Swallowing with difficulty, the affront put upon him by the purposed counter-seduction of his niece, he suggests to Buckingham, whose vanity has just been mortified by the refusal of the Princess Anne in marriage, the surprize of Whitehall, and the establishment of the ambitious Duke as Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom. Buckingham consents in a moment of pique, and Bridgnorth, who, though he has avoided giving evidence against the Peverils, is alarmed by the Popish influence which he con-

ceives indicated by their acquittal, prepares his Fifth-Monarchy-men to support the partizans of the Duke. From the success of these machinations, Christian anticipates the gratification both of his ambition and revenge, knowing that the Countess of Derby, who has travelled to London for the purpose of justifying Julian, will be at court on the evening of the plot, and hoping also to raise by his influence to the rank of Duchess, his daughter Fenella, whom Buckingham has seen and admired. Fenella, however, is induced, by some better feeling, to take measures for the discovery of the plot at the critical moment; and Buckingham, in consideration of his having taken private measures for his Sovereign's personal safety, is pardoned, while Christian is allowed to retire with his daughter to New England. Bridgenorth, who had determined to remain and abide the consequences of his failure, receives a similar indemnity; and having now discovered the treachery of his brother-in-law, allows unconditionally an union which gratitude to Lady Peveril, and a secret partiality to her son, had led him to desire. The prejudices of Sir Geoffrey are easily reconciled by the merry Monarch, who has made no attempt to recover the prize designed for him; and the marriage of Alice clears all incumbrances on the Peveril estate, besides restoring its ancient arrondissement.

Such is as brief a statement as we can intelligibly give of a plot, which, though exhibiting consummate skill in its combination and developement, loses a certain portion of interest from the infinite number of counter-movements and wheels within wheels, which it contains. The author (to use the phrase of his imaginary Buckingham) "loves to be in the midst of the most varied and counteracting machinery, watching checks and counter-checks, balancing weights, proving springs and wheels, and regulating and controlling a hundred combined powers." To such an excess is this carried, that even the reader is unable to extract from the mysterious freemasonry of the language, the nature of some of the plots, before they begin to operate: and so frequent are the necessary breaks and recurrences, that in some parts, the narrative must either be passed cursorily over without amusement, or the mind be braced up to that state in which a game of chess would be a pleasure. In remarking this, we are at the same time fully aware of the skill and invention necessary to construct such a plot, and of the merit of the numerous well-drawn characters which figure in it. Nor, as far as the leading political events and personages are concerned, are we prepared to impute any improbability to this able por-

formance. The romance of truth, much more extraordinary than that of fiction, is so blended with the history of the times in question, as to render probable by comparison those feigned events which are necessary to carry on the story. That Shaftesbury should act as master-pander, is not more extraordinary or disgraceful than that strong historical suspicion of his having connived at, if not suborned, Oates and his gang; nor are the marriage-offer, the plot, and the pardon of Buckingham, more wonderful than the secret influence which procured impunity, and even recompense, for the notorious ruffian Blood, after his attempts at murder and treason. Some of the minor improbabilities, however, we cannot so readily excuse. That the prudent and anxious Bridgnorth should commit the unreserved guardianship of his daughter to a person like Christian, whose good faith he doubts,—and that the allusion to Esther and Ahasuerus (Vol. III. p. 139,) should pacify, instead of alarming him, is highly unnatural. In the choice of the means also by which the Whitehall plot is developed, the author appears to have given complete sway to his taste for the ludicrous and eccentric.

“ Two boys, an old man twice a boy, a lane,
Preserved the Britons, was the Romans’ bane,”

as we are informed in *Cymbeline*; and we think that the following humble imitation of Shakspeare’s distich, would be equally applicable to the plot in question :

“ A mute in love, a pigmy in a fiddle,
Preserv’d a monarch, and reveal’d a riddle.”

The anachronisms are of no very heinous nature, and we are the more inclined to overlook them, as we owe to this cause the witty and eloquent conclusion of the introductory essay, in which the cause of historical novels is most luminously pleaded. The transgression for which the author apologizes the most consciously, is, to use his own words, “ that a Countess of Derby is fetched out of her cold grave, and saddled with a set of adventures dated twenty years after her death.” Now, as little, we believe, is generally known of the celebrated Lady of Latham, after her husband’s execution, and the surrender of her island, the novelist has a right to the *quidlibet audendi*, provided he manages it consistently with her known character, and brings it within the period to which many of her contemporaries in age lived. As to Buckingham, who was turned of fifty-two at the close of the Popish plot, he might have been described as a somewhat more mature Damon, without detriment to the interest

of the story; and if we mistake not "long Jack Jenkins" for some possible son or nephew, that useful person was killed a dozen years before by Lord Shrewsbury's second. These are trifles; but we cannot see the use of ante-dating the death of the gallant and high-minded Ossory by two years, when he might have figured with such effect in the third and fourth volumes. The threat to Buckingham, which his father's danger drew from him in the royal presence, might, in the hands of the author of *Kenilworth*, have been worked up in a striking manner, and the character of the son and the hero ably contrasted with that of the selfish and capricious favourite whom he set at defiance. Among the various characters, that of Bridgnorth, though it by no means pleases us the best, appears conceived with the most skill. In this character and that of Burley, he has depicted the Ulysses and Achilles of fanaticism, and traced with a discriminating pen, the effect of the same principle on different temperaments. On the disposition of Balfour, ambitious, turbulent, and blood-thirsty, the flame of bigotry acts as a spark on gunpowder, and mental and bodily strife appears his element; while Bridgnorth, on the contrary, cautious, easy, and phlegmatic by nature, feels the imagined commands of heaven as sore burthens on his spirit, and relapses after contention into additional gloom and despondency. The courage of Balfour is rash, prompt, and boiling; that of Bridgnorth is the offspring of deliberate reflection. The former is ready to sacrifice every consideration to the feeling of revenge; the latter, moderate in his passions, as well as prudent and scrupulous, calculates and temporizes. Again, the good qualities of Bridgnorth, though of a sterling nature, are alloyed by a certain querulousness and coarseness of feeling, consistent with a fanatical education. He forgives without forgetting, and triumphs over his enemy while he fancies himself giving a moral lecture; mortifies the honourable pride of Julian, while he does him an important kindness, and manœuvres with the dexterity of a modern dowager to obtain a son-in-law and proselyte at the expense of the favoured youth's honour. Though however devoid of that delicacy of mind, which his tenets would have denounced as sinful vain-glory, his gratitude, friendliness and parental affection, which continue uniform amidst his wildest vagaries, render his character, if not thoroughly agreeable, at least highly estimable, while the morbid melancholy which weighs him down, inspires a strong interest in his fate.

To the characters of the Peveril family, we turn with more unmixed pleasure. In the delineation of Lady Peveril, par-

ticularly, we seem to contemplate one of the chaste and masterly female portraits of Vandyke, combining beauty, benevolence, and matronly grace, in a finished though easy style, and impressing itself on the recollection in a manner which transports us in thought to the life-time of the original. Such, we fancy, were the mothers of our Straffords, our Falklands, and Montroses, women "whose sons were all brave, and their daughters all virtuous," and in whom the consciousness of high-birth was indicated only by the liberal and noble sentiments which should accompany it. Not to launch too diffusely into the beau ideal, we shall quote the description of Lady Peveril's welcome to her Puritan guests, both as characteristic of herself, and as doing justice to them.

"But feelings more suitable to the purpose of their visit to Martindale Castle, were awakened in the bosoms even of these stern sectaries, when the Lady of the Castle, still in the very prime of beauty and of womanhood, appeared at the top of the breach with her principal female attendants, to receive her guests with the honour and courtesy becoming her invitation. She had laid aside the black dress which had been her sole attire for several years, and was arrayed with a splendour not unbecoming her high descent and quality. Jewels, indeed, she had none; but her long and dark hair was surmounted with a chaplet made of oak-leaves, interspersed with lilies; the former being the emblem of the King's preservation in the Royal Oak, and the latter, of his happy Restoration. What rendered her presence still more interesting to those who looked on her, was the presence of the two children whom she held in either hand; one of whom was well known to them all to be the child of their leader, Major Bridgnorth, who had been restored to life and health by the almost maternal care of the Lady Peveril.

"If even the inferior persons of the party felt the healing influence of her presence, thus accompanied, poor Bridgnorth was almost overwhelmed with it. The strictness of his cast and manners permitted him not to sink on his knee, and kiss the hand which held his orphan; but the deepness of his obeisance—the faltering tremor of his voice—and the glistening of his eye, shewed a grateful respect for the lady whom he addressed—deeper and more reverential than could have been expressed even by Persian prostration. A few courteous and mild words, expressive of the pleasure she found in once more seeing her neighbours as her friends—a few kind inquiries, addressed to the principal individuals among her guests, concerning their families and connections, completed her triumph over angry thoughts and dangerous recollections, and disposed men's ~~hearts~~ ^{bosoms} to sympathize with the purposes of the meeting.

"Even Solsgrace himself, although imagining himself bound by

his office and duty to watch over and counteract the wiles of the 'Amalekitish woman,' did not escape the sympathetic infection; being so much struck with the marks of peace and good will exhibited by Lady Peveril, that he immediately raised the psalm,

'O what a happy thing it is,
And joyful for to see
Brethren to dwell together in
Friendship and unity.'

Vol. I. p. 79.

As to honest Sir Geoffrey, we will frankly own, that his "constant, loving, noble nature," as displayed towards such a wife, has not a little prejudiced us in his favour. Yet we conceive that the Knight possesses some merits of his own, to which the author hardly does justice, in classing him (Vol. I. p. 5.) as a mere old-fashioned squire. The comparison of Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone to a moss grown Corinthian pillar, would not be inapplicable to the stout old Cavalier, whose language and manners, as well as his frank vein of humour, are rough and soldier-like, without being in the slightest degree coarse, and all whose sentiments are thoroughly noble. Kind-hearted and grateful towards Bridgnorth, till his family pride is provoked past endurance, he even then candidly stands rebuked by a dwarf, in the full current of his passion and wrong-headedness. This trait, added to the facility with which his loyalty twice extracts tears from him, his disinterested refusal to involve Sir Jasper in his own voluntary risk, the guileless *bonne foi* with which, after racking his invention how to reconcile Bridgnorth, he challenges him as an especial favour,—and finally, the instinctive presence of mind and prompt courage with which the approach of danger inspires him, compose a character if not faultless, at least attaching, and in which the author probably meant to embody somewhat of old chivalrous simplicity.

If Julian interests us less than his careless and puzzled sire, which we hardly dare confess, it is not for want of any of the high and estimable qualities which a true hero should possess, but because we feel before-hand a full confidence that his prudence and acuteness will extricate him from any difficulty in which his spirit is likely to involve him, independent of the good fortune which must attend the lover of a novel. We have, however, no hesitation in pronouncing him the most manly, rational, and generous of all the author's long list of lovers, and the one who would most awaken our respect and interest in real life.

Alice is fully worthy of her lover, and lovely in spite of the

pinched hood and sectarian precision, which are required to render her natural. Her devoted filial piety, her intuitive sense of honour and delicacy, her civil courage, and the tenderness which breaks out in spite of the most cautious self-control, are admirably portrayed, and form another instance of the peculiar skill in female character possessed by the Great Unknown.

For the warm-hearted and gifted Fenella, it is impossible to avoid feeling, towards the end of the book, both pity and interest, though we are not sure that we either admire or like her. Her love is most outrageously importunate, as well as wholly unsought; and the hardy and thick-skinned manner in which she slides down stone steps and ladders is apt to rise in our recollections in the midst of her eloquent declamation to Buckingham. It is difficult to combine the accomplishments of Mrs. Siddons and Madame Saqui, of Queen Titania, and Princess Caraboo, in one person; and probably no other pen could have made the combination interesting; yet still we can but admit Fenella to our good graces with the sort of incongruous touch-me-not feeling, which a non-descript, half-brownie, half-imp, would excite. It would have tickled our fancies, had the extravaganza been completed by marrying her to the magnanimous pocket-Tydeus, Geoffrey Hudson, who adores her as a superior being, and whose merits she alone (Vol. IV. p. 276,) seems properly to appreciate. The high-souled mannikin is evidently intended as the butt of the piece; and the fire of raillery, both intentional and unintentional, is ably and mercilessly kept up against his littleness and lofty assumptions, which we believe, are described with historical correctness. It may be questioned, however, whether the author, who is kindly addicted to fondle the waifs, strays, and excrescencies of nature, meant to render the dwarf wholly ridiculous, and we are rather inclined to give him credit for wishing to convey in a more delicate manner the moral which Swift had in view in *Gulliver's travels*. It is impossible to shew more forcibly the absurdity of the petulant and consequential feelings of our pigmy nature, and the excellence of those better principles which are its immortal part, than to represent both as existing in a pigmy somewhat more imbecile than ourselves: and accordingly, Sir Geoffrey, while indulging the former, sinks into an angry ape, and rises into a man, a Christian, and an equal, while influenced by the latter.

In the calm undeviating villainy of Edward Christian's character, the author presents a variety of Rashleigh Osbaldistone, acting on more vulgar motives. To render such

a sketch otherwise than wholly disgusting, an able hand is required; and this point is undoubtedly effected. Without enquiring, however, whether such unmixed worthlessness be not somewhat unnatural, we must remark that we cannot see the purpose which Fenella's rope-dancing probation, as devised by her father, is intended to answer; when his own instructions might have so much better prepared her for a life of self-command and dissimulation. The cool reckless self-possession of Christian's manner, indicative of civil courage and steady purpose, is well imagined.

Charles and Buckingham are characteristically drawn, as far as they go. The latter we are the more inclined to believe a faithful portrait, as we contemplate it with unmixed disgust. The former, whose merits and vices were those of ordinary life, and have been already made familiar to us in various ways, must have presented few marked features to the historical novelist, but these few have been well seized.

Though the author's chief attention has been directed to character and incident, yet the book is not deficient in the vivid and picturesque descriptions which enliven his more early productions. We have already quoted the morning ride of Sir Geoffrey, and the reception of the Puritans, to which we might add the whole of the feast at Martindale Castle, the assault of Bridgnorth's house, (which strongly reminds us of the skirmish and fire in Rokeby Hall) the rencontre with the fencing-master, and lastly, the entrance into Newgate; from which last we extract the following description of the surly jailor.

"The resemblance did not end here; for in this small vaulted apartment, the walls of which were hung round with musketoons, pistols, cutlasses, and other weapons, as well as with many sets of fetters and irons of different construction, all disposed in great order, and ready for employment, a person sat, who might not unaptly be compared to a huge bloated and bottled spider, placed there to secure the prey which had fallen into his toils.

"This official had originally been a very strong and square-built man, of large size, but was now so overgrown from over-feeding perhaps, and want of exercise, as to bear the same resemblance to his former self which a stall-fed ox still retains to a wild bull. The look of no man is so inauspicious as of a fat man, upon whose features ill nature has marked an habitual stamp. He seems to have reversed the old proverb, and to have thriven under the influence of the worst affections of the mind. Passionate we can allow a jolly mortal to be; but it seems unnatural to his goodly case to be sulky and brutal. Now this man's features, surly and

tallow-coloured ; his limbs swelled and disproportioned ; his huge paunch and unwieldy carcase, suggested the idea, that, having once found his way into this central recess, he had there battened, like the weasel in the fable, and fed largely and foully until he had become incapable of retreating through any of the narrow paths that terminated upon his cell ; and was there compelled to remain, like a toad under the cold stone, fattening amid the squalid airs of the dungeons by which he was surrounded, which would have proved pestiferous to any other than such a congenial inhabitant." Vol. III. p. 254.

The same lively and faithful character is perceptible in the illustrations from nature and animal life, which occur. The sun-beams in Newgate committed to jail ; the smile on Bridgnorth's face like the momentary glimmer of a sexton's torch on a church-yard wall ; the comparison of Blood to a daunted wolf, and an owl pursued by small birds, as well as that of the English people to the sleath-hound, appeased by the first blood shed in his path are instances of this sort.

The active bustling nature of the plot excludes any very considerable share of feeling ; but those pathetic passages which do occur are in the author's best style, as may be inferred from one or two former quotations. To these we may add the interview between Bridgnorth and Lady Peveril in the avenue ; and as an extract of a more cheering nature, the whole scene at Goddard Crovan's stone, (the Godred of Chatterton perhaps) The latter is an instance, among several, of the author's just conception of love as existing in superior and elevated minds, and as contrasted with the mawkish madness of over-grown children, which has proved the flavouring attraction of so many second-rate of novels.

A few sly truths are scattered in a terse and playful manner, for which we refer our readers to pages 34 and 128 in the second volume ; page 76 in the first, and 147 in the third.

If it were worth while to cavil at smaller errors of the pen, we might notice, that Alice's eyes change colour twice, resuming fortunately their original blue at the second change ; that Lance, in his hurry to fly to his master's aid, changes Aunt Ellesmere into Aunt Whitaker ; and that Chiffinch, in equal haste for his dinner, turns Stephen Ganlesse into Diccon Ganlesse. Nor can we exactly see the reasons which induce Buckingham to converse aloud with his accomplice Christian in the presence of the aforesaid Chiffinch, in whose custody he was at the time.

It may also savour somewhat of hyper-criticism to remark, that the conclusion wants the full harmonious close which is

analogous to the return to the key-note in music, and which distinguishes the author's earlier productions. Though we will admit, that it is something to have brought the lovers together under the same roof, and secured the consent of the honest Knight, and though we have no wish to see revived the obsolete and tiresome prettinesses of a Grandisonian wedding, still we think that something satisfactory *might* have been added at the expence of retrenching from other parts, a little of the political intrigue and slang. We are sorry to bid adieu to our favourite Lady Pevevil so abruptly, and to see Sir Geoffrey and the worthy Bridgnorth part without an express reconciliation. Christian, it is true, could not conveniently have been hanged without involving Buckingham; but surely Fenella, who deserves a better fate than to wander with a ruined and branded miscreant, might have been assigned as the companion of her opulent uncle, with comfort to both parties, and to the reader's satisfaction.

On the whole, however, we have seldom perused any one of the brilliant series of the Waverley novels, better calculated to stand the test of criticism than the present. If inferior in situations of thrilling interest, in pathos, and in humour, to those earlier tales where the author exercised the freshness and force of his imagination on Scottish subjects, it is evenly and well-written throughout, and free from those vagaries into which that sportive imagination has seduced him on other occasions. No rhyming and romping ghost is introduced to quiz a taylor, souse a sexton, and burn the hero's fingers; no thread-bare jest, like Monkbarns's eternal "phoca," pesters us in every page; and no Caleb Balderstone keeps us on the tenter-hooks by his distressing buffoonery on a piteous subject. The merits of the work will be appreciated highly by those who understand the difficulties which were to be contended with in its composition. To fill up the mere outlines which history has left us, into vivid portraits, perfect in character and costume, to introduce to our familiar acquaintance persons of whose species the very traces have vanished; to impart an interest to a dull period of history, by means consistent with historical truth, and to stimulate us to the investigation of all details connected with that period, is an arduous task, and in no instance better performed than in the present novel, which, if not, at the first glance, the most striking of the author's works, will keep up his reputation undiminished.

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ART. VI. *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily. By the Rev. John James Blunt. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and late one of the Travelling Bachelors of that University.* 8vo. pp. 310. 9s. 6d. Murray. 1823.

CONYERS MIDDLETON'S well known *Letter from Rome*, though highly vaunted by its admirers, was never, we confess, very much to our taste; and inasmuch as it imputed Paganism to Popery, we always thought it a lamentable failure in argument. In many points, no doubt, the modern Italians resemble their forefathers; and it would rather, on the other hand, be a matter of surprise if they did not do so; for it is not easy to believe, that the lapse even of eighteen centuries can so far have altered the course of nature, as utterly to have eradicated from the dominions of the Sovereign Pontiff all manners and customs which were once practised in Imperial, or even in Consular Rome:

In longum tamen ævum
Manserunt, hodièque manent vestigia.

The identity of place, climate, and national temperament will necessarily preserve many traces of similarity in inhabitants of the same countries, however distant their generations may be from each other: and it is clearly not a little unjust to attribute to any fancied coincidence between the genius of two distinct religions, certain likenesses and connexions which, with greater fairness, may be assigned to more universally operative causes. We shall not be suspected of any particular bias in favour of the Romish superstition; but we do contend that our good Protestants in the North of England, might as justly be accused of observing the mysterious celebration of the Saxon Medroenack, when they place their Yule Coal on the Christmas fire; or that the orthodox peasant of Gloucestershire, in banqueting upon cyder and carraways on Twelfth Night, might be supposed to eat and drink in commemoration of the Danish Frega and Niordus, as that most of the religious ceremonies of the Italian Papist are to be charged upon an adulterous intercourse between the ex-mythology of the heathen Jupiter, and the existing corruption of the Babylonish woman.

Mr. Blunt, in the little volume before us, has, we think, treated the subject with greater justice and greater judgment: qualities for which, by the way, the writer we have

above alluded to, was by no means distinguished. In a tour through Italy and Sicily, in the years 1818-19, Mr. Blunt's attention was naturally drawn to the frequent parallelisms between that which he had read in his classical studies, and that which he saw in his classical travels: and the notes of these coincidences which he entered in his journal, soon grew from paragraphs to pages.

" The result has been the little book that is here offered to the public; to which, though popular spectacles, agriculture, domestic economy, and other topics, furnish their contingent, yet the religion of Italy and Sicily certainly occupies a prominent place in it; not from any superior anxiety on my part to discover points of similarity between pagan and Christian times under this department of my subject, but from the intimate and visible union which the forms of religion maintain with all the events of private life in those countries. It is to protect myself from any charge of illiberality in what I have to say under this head, that I have been induced to write this short preface; afraid lest that should be taken for a polemical, which was only intended for a literary essay. I feel the more desirous that this should be clearly understood, because otherwise it might be supposed that I am about to renew the warfare against the Church of Rome, which Dr. Middleton waged so vigorously in his celebrated 'Letter.' My present aim is perfectly distinct from his. I mean no attack upon that Church; and if I were to attack it, I should do so on more general, and, as I conceive, stronger grounds. I have lived much amongst its members, and have experienced from them many personal civilities. That their faith is erroneous, of course I believe; but I believe that the faith of him who would oppose it with uncharitable bitterness and invective, is no less so. In tracing, however the vestiges of a classical age which still exist in Italy and Sicily, it is impossible not frequently to refer to the rites and ceremonies of paganism, or to avoid remarking the close connection which they often have with those at present in use. Many such customs are innocent in themselves, and therefore may be retained by the Church of Italy without censure. Some few are more than innocent, they are meritorious, and therefore may be retained with praise. But others, it must be confessed, and those no small class either, are unquestionably superstitious and idolatrous, and therefore ought to be abolished. Of this the *enlightened* Romanist himself is no less conscious than those who hold the reformed faith; for he cannot defend, nor do I think he would be desirous of attempting it, the gross abuses which fraud or credulity or inveterate custom has engrafted upon the fundamental tenets of his Church. Many of these abuses, however, it was necessary to introduce in order to complete my picture; nor had I any reason for passing over unnoticed objects which are familiar to all who travel through Italy. Where I have discovered then any points of conformity between the religion of ancient and

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modern Rome, I have fearlessly mentioned them, as I would mention any points of conformity between the houses or streets; neither have I denied myself the full liberty of expressing my own opinion upon their character and propriety. Thus much for the religious portion of my essay." Pref. p. viii.

The worship of saints is Mr. Blunt's first topic, and he fairly makes out a resemblance between the modern rabble of canonized defunct, and the *συνφετός ὑπανίωνων*, which, even in the days of Hesiod, had swelled the celestial catalogue to the amount of 30,000; and in those of Domitian, pressed yet more heavily upon the unhappy Atlas. The various offices of the *Lares* he considers to be faithfully represented, whether as *compitales*, by the Madonna who is mostly to be found in the intersection of streets; or as *janitores*, by the puppets of the same personage appended on each side of the outer gate of a villa; or as *cubiculares*, by the crucifixes and pictures of favourite saints which cover the wall near each bed in an hospital. Ten such are to be found at a single bed's head at Marsala; and by the side of the King of Naples' pillow, in one of his palaces, is plaistered up an ill executed print, representing the present Pope calming a storm. Again, Mr. Blunt sees the *Lares Tutelares* in the guardian images conspicuous at the prow or in the cabin of the Santa Elizabeta, the Santa Maria della Providenza, or the Santissimo Core di Jesu, *cum multis aliis*, with which almost every creek and harbour in the Mediterranean is thronged. Now all this, we think, proves that the Italians are possessed of warm imaginations, and that they carry their religious feelings more into every day life than we do ourselves; but it proves nothing more; nor do we believe that Mr. Blunt adduces it for any other purpose. Where *we* content ourselves by digging a hole for a gas lamp or for a finger post, *they* erect a Madonna or a Bambino. The Royal Game of Goose or the Yorkshire Tragedy, which form the common ornaments of *our* cottages, are superseded in *theirs* by some marvellous legend redolent of beatitude; and instead of the Amazonian Trull, or the weather-beaten Admiral which frowns from under the bowsprit of a British man-of-war, they carve on their prows the fair image of some bucculent Cherub, or some semi-anatomized Saint.

In Sicily, Santa Agatha, the patroness of Catania, is honored with two festivals. The earliest, in February, lasts for four days. On two of these the sports commence with a horse race, an amusement which in England is not generally referred to the worship of Ceres, any more than a visit to Drury-lane is considered as a devotional act to Bacchus;

but it seems that in the rites of the agricultural goddess, a horse-race formed part of the spectacle, and therefore Santa Agatha's sweepstakes *must* have originated from that of Demeter. On the third day, a profusion of wax candles is dedicated to the saint, in the centre of a public square. Mr. Blunt quotes two passages from the *Fasti*, to shew that torches were used in the rites of Ceres. The same poem, we think, would here have furnished him with a passage more to his present purpose; and one, which we observe he has afterwards cited to another. For in this instance we are inclined to believe, not that the derivation of Popery from Paganism, may be established; but that the stubborn and enduring vitality of an inveterate superstition may be strikingly exhibited. The modern papists know nothing about the amours of the infernal monarch in the fields of Henna; nor when they light their candles to St. Agatha do they dream that the bereaved mother of Proserpine, when in search of her ravished daughter, did the same with the pines which she plucked at the foot of *Ætna*; but they continue a practice which may be traced up very nearly to the same day in the very same country, for more than two thousand years; and the reason for which was known, with as little certainty, in the time of Ovid, when he composed his *Fasti*, as it was in that of the Jesuit Sautel, when he versified his similar rhythmic calendar, the *Annus Sacer Poeticus*.

"Ipse ego Flaminicam poscentem Februa vidi;
Februa poscenti pinea virga data est." *Fasti*, ii. 27.

For so (in spite of Heinsius's conjecture *spinea*,) we must read the passage. While speaking of the *second* of February (Santa Agatha's candles are lit on the third,) the author of the *English Festival*, observes, "The Romans this night went about the city of Rome with torches and candles burning, in worship of this woman Februa, for hope to have the more helpe and succoure of her son Mars." Pope Sergius has the credit of transferring "this faulse maumetry and untrue belief," to "God's worship," and to him and to the accredited mother of Mars, we believe, the almanack is indebted for Candlemass Day, and the Sicilians for this part of the festival of Santa Agatha.

The variation in the single day will not impugn the identity of the custom. Any time in the neighbourhood of Candlemass was enough for the fulfilment of the Februan rite. Stow has preserved an account of a curious mumming, practised by the citizens of London in 1377, for the disport of the young Prince Richard, son of the Black Prince. It was

on the *Sunday before Candlemass*, that a large company, "disguised and well horsed, in a mummary, with sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets, shalmes, and other minstrels, and *innumerable torch lights of wax*, rode to Kennington, besides Lambeth, where the young Prince was."

The two last days of Santa Agatha's festival are connected by Mr. Blunt with much ingenuity and readiness of elegant scholarship, with the Eleusinian procession. The image of the *holy patroness* is drawn in a huge car through the city of Catania, attended by a rabble of votaries, testifying their reverence with fanatical cries and gestures. At her second celebration in August, the car is yet loftier, and more than twenty yoke of oxen are harnessed to it. The custom, in this second season, is, we doubt not, referable in Italy to the worship of Ceres; in other parts of the world, (for a similar custom exists in many others,) to the facility with which the human mind has recourse to some outward ceremony in the expression of its more vivid feelings, and to the convenience which a material object furnishes to the gross and untutored spirit, which is not able to attain the sublime contemplation of an invisible Benefactor. The harvest is a season of universal joy; and Ceres and Vacuna, under different names, though with much the same attributes, have every where called forth the gratitude of the husbandman, at the time in which the chief labors of his year were closed. The joyous revelry of Santa Agatha may be recognised in the Jewish feast of Tabernacles, in the Saxon harvest week, and in our own *mell suppers*; and the memory of some of our readers perhaps may recall to them a day, of which we ourselves have heard the report from our elders, when the *Kern Baby*, a figure made of corn, was triumphantly paraded in a *waggon drawn by oxen*, accompanied by music, and cheered by the shouts of the surrounding rustics, even through the streets of our Protestant Alma Mater; nor did we hear farther that the reverend Cæmus shrank beneath his sedge at the sight, or fancied that a second Julian was arising from among the farmers of Gogmagog and Cherry-Hinton.

The similarity in many points between the modern Italian churches and the ancient Roman temples cannot be doubted; for they are frequently identical. It was well in the ages of "Christian ire," that the wisdom of the Pontiffs so often diverted popular fury from its object: and by lending the borrowed horn of Pan to Moses, saved many an unhappy work of art from the rage of Iconoclasm. Whatever is most rare and sumptuous, will probably be lavished by the profusion of piety upon edifices erected in honour of the Deity;

and because the Cathedral at Pisa, the Baptistry at Florence, &c. &c. have bronze portals, and bronze portals were also used in the pagan sacred buildings; because the temples at Lanuvium and Ardea and Syracuse, as well as those at Rome, were adorned with paintings, and paintings are still a conspicuous decoration of Popish churches, we should not by any means pronounce that the latter custom is derived from that which is earlier, any farther than as they both arose from a motive common to all mankind.

Of the pertinacity with which language maintains its existence, long after its original meaning has become extinct, Mr. Blunt has furnished two remarkable instances.

“ The first and most important of the religious services of the Romans was sacrifice; and the first and most important of the religious services of their posterity is the mass. This too is a sacrifice, and is accordingly termed *sacrificio della Messa*. The victim which was the subject of the former was called *Hostia*; the wafer which is the subject of the latter is called *Ostia* also: and yet so little does the import of the term seem attended to by the Italians, that it is used as the common name for letter-wafers, and may be seen labelled on the box which contains them in any stationer's shop in Rome. For those who are curious in tracing the progress of language, I will here mention an advertisement for a sale by auction which I noticed on a wall at Milan: it was expressed thus,—‘ *Asta dei mobili* ;’ the people themselves having no more notion why ‘ *Asta* ’ should signify an auction, than why ‘ *Ostia* ’ should signify a wafer.” P. 113.

But to return to our former position. It was the imaginative temperament of the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy, which peopled all inanimate nature with divinity; and framed a mythology the most poetical of any which the world has ever seen.

Where are the Muses now ! they do not tread
The forked hill, nor linger by that spring
Where first the unearthly courser rear'd his head,
Paw'd the dry rock, and plum'd his heavenward wing.
Nor in Aonia do the sisters sing,
And pour to listening groves their melody.
No touch of inspiration wakes the string;
No frantic Priestess waves the thyrsè on high;
Mute is each echoing vale, each haunted stream is dry.
How weary, stale and profitless is now
The reason'd march of Nature ! while the bond
Of senseless matter wreathes her drooping brow,
The whirling earth spins in a drowsy round
On its fix'd axle: never to be found,
Always intruding, Gravitation's law

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Spreads its dull influence to Creation's bound.
Fled are the golden dreams the poet saw ;
Rent is the sportive veil which Fancy lov'd to draw.

O ! for that mighty conclave on the brow
Of stormy Ida, where amid the crowd
Of lesser Deities, Jove hurl'd below
His bolt of vengeance, and in thunders loud
Spoke the dread anger of offended God.
She too, the bright and laughter-loving Queen,
Whose glance could sooth the terrors of his nod ;
And he, the dimpled youth of lovely mien,
Who pour'd the nectar'd draught, and ever smil'd between.

Then Hesper nightly from his dewy star
Flung silver radiance ; and in silent state
The Lord of morning harness'd to his car
The steeds that breath'd of Occan ; at Heaven's gate,
Lifting its head, the Hours as guardians wait,
The lightly-cinctured Hours, who danc'd before
His eastern chariot, even as he sate
Scatt'ring fresh roses to the laughing ground,
And hymning songs of joy and notes of gladsome sound !

Now there would be just as much reason in charging the poet, in sober earnestness, with adherence to Paganism, because he clings to that machinery which seems best fitted to the purposes of song ; as there is in Dr. Middleton's hypothesis, that the Christianity of Rome is only modified Heathenism, because its professors have adapted to the purposes of true religion, certain stimulants which were found to excite devotional feeling, in that which was untrue. Without any indecorous approximation of Paganism to Revelation, it may fairly be contended, that the sincere worshipper in a false creed is influenced by the same kind of zeal which, if he could be enlightened through God's mercy, would make him a sincere worshipper in the creed that is true ; for Revelation neither creates a God whom we are to adore, nor implants in us those feelings which lead to his adoration : it rather gives a correct knowledge of the one, and regulates and purifies the other.

Hence then arises the similarity between the customs of ancient and modern Italy : hence the Romanist of the South, whose fancy is vivid, invests so many visible and tangible objects with imaginary sanctity : while the Presbyterian of a more northern clime sturdily rejects most ceremonial accompaniments, and holds them to be abominations, profanely abstracting from the purity of spiritual devotion. Our own reformed Church is perhaps not a little indebted

for the happy medium which it has obtained between tawdry pomp on the one hand, and unseemly nakedness on the other, to the influence of natural causes: for the non-essentials of religion will, most probably, always vary according to the character of the people among whom this religion is established.

We shall easily see how national habits have incorporated themselves with subjects connected with religion, in the following account of a spectacle witnessed by Mr. Blunt himself. If the reader will take the trouble of comparing it with some of our old English "Mysteries," the particulars in which it will be found to differ from them may tend to illustrate our argument.

"It bore for its title, 'Moses in Egypt.' The piece opened with the plague of darkness, in the midst of which were sitting Pharaoh, his son (whom the writer is pleased to call Osiris), and his wife Amalthea. The queen, who has less obstinacy than her husband, is desirous of delivering her country at once both of (from) plagues and Israelites; and is consequently complimented by the great Lawgiver with the courteous appellation of '*Gentile Donna*.' The prince, on the other hand, being deeply engaged in a private amour with one Elcia, a young and beautiful Jewess, feels equally anxious to detain the descendants of Jacob. The arguments, however, and influence of the queen prevail. Moses and Aaron are summoned to attend, and forthwith make their appearance in costumes of divers colours, and, of course, with beards of a most venerable length. The former on his knees addresses a prayer to Heaven, waves his hand, and restores light to Egypt. They then sing a duet together, and are succeeded by Pharaoh, Amalthea, and Osiris, who perform a trio. Osiris now holds an interview of love with Elcia, and of politics with his friend and adviser Mambre. By means of arguments which this counsellor suggests to him, he brings about a change of mind of his royal father. Moses again shakes his rod, and a storm of thunder and hail ensues, accompanied by showers of sparks, which descend from the ceiling, in imitation, it is presumed, of 'that fire which ran along the ground.' All are in consternation. Meanwhile the crafty prince, aware that this new calamity must a second time subdue the inflexibility of the king, determines at all events to secure his favourite, and accordingly conducts her by torch-light to a subterraneous vault, where she is to remain till he can find a convenient opportunity to remove himself and her from the court to the woods and pastures; where, it seems, he proposes to lead the life of a '*semplice pastore*,' one to which his capacity appears very well suited. Aaron, however, is quickly at his heels, pursues them into the vault, and brings back Elcia to light, and to her countrywomen, who are now preparing for departure to the sound of very sprightly music. Again Pharaoh retracts his word, and is threatened

in vain by Moses with the death of the first born. Osiris laughs the menace to scorn, and with unsheathed sword rushes on the Prophet. The latter exclaims, '*Io non ti temo*;'—at the same moment a ball of burning tow, intended for a thunderbolt, is launched at the prince from the top of the scene, and kills him on the spot: and now Elcia throws herself upon the corpse, bewails her unhappy lot, invokes the furies of Avernus to spend their rage upon her, and gains some vapid consolation from a certain young lady called Amenofi, a sister of Aaron. The last act exhibits Moses dividing the Red Sea; the children of Israel passing through it; the subsequent overthrow of their pursuers: and with the production of some immense masses of black pasteboard towards Egypt, to represent the pillar of cloud, and a large oval illuminated reflector towards the Israelites, to express the pillar of fire, this absurd and indecent spectacle was concluded." P. 139.

To us, indeed, this heterogeneous jumble of truth and fiction, this confusion of things holy and profane, is most "absurd and indecent;" not more repugnant to good taste, than it is to piety. We do not believe, however, that it is so to an Italian audience; any more than we believe that the Mysteries above alluded to were considered by our own ancestors as burlesques or parodies on Scripture. Imagination is a whimsical quality. It requires to be fed equally, though with different kinds of food, in states of gross barbarism, and of very subtle refinement. The chorusses of Handel, and the Transfiguration of Raphael awaken in the heart of the cultivated devotee feelings which belong to the same order, (however different in degree) as those which are excited in the *canaille*, when they throng to these sacred *opérette*.

In most of these remarks, we think Mr. Blunt will agree with us: for he has amply redeemed, in the progress of his volume, the pledge which he gave in its commencement; and he has throughout carefully abstained from dipping his pen in the gall of controversy. Content with pointing out coincidences, he has not proceeded to refer them to causes. It is in this one point that we have endeavoured to advance a single step beyond him.

Mr. Blunt next passes to miscellaneous resemblances. In a chapter on "Charms," he shows that saliva is still supposed to retain its ancient virtues; and he might have added, not in Italy only, but in England also. It is with some vague notion of procuring more than natural advantages, that our pugilists spit in their hands before they begin their combat. Every quack will enlarge on the medicinal qualities of fasting spittle, though not as a received agent in a mere human

Pharmacopoeia; and the school-boy, who *spits his faith*, and the keelsman who, when he strikes for wages, *spits upon the same stone* with his confederates, does so with an unconscious accordance to the superstition which Pliny has mentioned, and which his countrymen continue to practise.

The agriculture of Italy appears to be little changed since the days of Virgil. Mr. Blunt points out the similar want of inclosures existing then and now; and pleasingly illustrates the former openness of country, by shewing that the bull of the Georgics is kept in, not by a fence, but by a mountain or a river; and that the horse of the same poem manifests his fire, by rushing to the torrent or the bridge; not by topping a five-barred gate. He refers also to the distinguished privileges and honours of Terminus, as a proof that the uninclosed nature of the fields made the sanction of religion necessary for the preservation of the boundaries of property. The *buris*, or single stale, still guides the Italian plough; the *binæ aures* are yet attached to the share; the inverted *temo* trails along the ground as the oxen wind their weary way homeward. The corn is trodden out by these same beasts, a custom borrowed by the ancient Romans themselves, through the Greeks, (Il. T. 496,) from the Egyptians; if at least we do but adopt the obvious reading of *βουσι* for *βοι*, and thus avoid the Laputan custom, mentioned by Herodotus, II. 14. The threshing floor is not

“ Like our own, made of oaken planks and inclosed in a building; but such is the dryness of the soil, and serenity of the climate, that some level spot of ground, free from grass, and of a firm surface, having been selected, the operation itself is carried on in the open air.—Here is another vestige of ancient husbandry.”

“ Area cum primis ingenti æquanda cylindro,
Et vertenda manu, et cretâ solidanda tenaci,
Ne subeant herbæ, neu pulvere victa fatiscat.” P. 209.

And such also may be implied from many passages in Homer to have been the construction of the Greek *ἀλών*. The Italian vine in our own days is married, as of old, to the poplar and the elm; unlike those in France, Switzerland, and Germany, which are cut down annually, and trained upon poles. We cordially wish that the produce was not improved by this latter most unpicturesque mode of culture; but as the vineyards which we can hope to visit are but few in comparison with the corks which we may reasonably expect to draw, we are not without our consolation. Land in Italy is now most generally parcelled out by the proprietor, who prefers a town life, through his *fattore*, to the families who

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The stock is originally supplied by the Sabine and the produce. This, observes Mr. Columella, is recommended by Columella, and approved by Varro. The *fattore* is the *villicus*, the *conductor* of the Sabine farm.

In the construction of modern Italian houses, a strong resemblance to those which have been disinterred at Pompeii and Herculaneum are to be seen in either, but brasiers

for contrivance against the cold which the Italians and Romans used to carry about with them a small vessel containing water, called a *scaldini*. It is in the shape of a basket, and is used by the wealthier citizens, is of copper; the poor use those of earthen-ware. This utensil they sometimes set upon the table, sometimes at their feet, or upon the floor, till warmth has been communicated to all parts of the body. In detail, whilst the careful housewife hangs at her waist a *scaldini*, with which she stirs up from time to time the

we do doubt the '*prunæ batillum*' of Horace's friend, the *prætor* of Fuenti, was an implement of the same kind." (*Sat. i. l. 231*).

On this we must venture to express our doubt. The *prunæ batillum* is mentioned among the other official insignia of the *prætor*. Just as Alderman Wood engraved upon his *prætor* cards, *Feu Lord Maire de Londres*; or as Sir *Chadous* Stephen Hunter paid private morning visits in his *prætor* chain and budge fur, so the insane Aufidius carried about with him, wherever he went, the *prætexta*, the *latus clavus*, and the remaining *præmia* of his *prætor*ship. The *prætor* was not a *comforter*, or there would have been nothing ridiculous in this imp of brief authority, making it his constant companion. It was rather, (and such is Gesner's explanation,) a vessel containing live coals, which might always be ready for sacrifice as the magistrate needed it. Such a vessel, in shape like a banker's shovel, but far exceeding it in gigantic dimensions, was employed, in our own memory, to convey burning charcoal from the hall to the dormitory, in one of our royal foundations. The *prætor* tottered under the weight, and it was familiarly known even to him by the name *batillum*, which it doubtless bore when the school was an appendage to the adjoining monastery; and the monks, be it remembered, were not always the worst commentators on the classics.

In the economy of daily life, the modern Italian closely

resembles his progenitors. *Caffè nero* is the breakfasting *jentaculum*. *Pranzo* at noon, is the *prandium*. Then follows the *Siesta*, which, without a corresponding name, was equally the custom in former ages. The throng which fills the piazzas and the *corso* in the coolness of evening, finds its counterpart in the *vespertinum forum*, in which *Matho's new lectica* is faithfully represented, with little change, either of name or nature, by the present *lettiga*. The *cena* or *cæna* concludes the day of busy idleness. In dress the loose cloak has succeeded the *toga* in civic costume: but the peasants generally wear goat skins; those of *Fundi* use sandals; and "throughout the Neapolitan district, the truncated conical hat, or *pileus*," is the husbandman's coverlid.

In the following passage, there appears to be a slight inaccuracy of classical recollection; a rare occurrence with Mr. Blunt.

"I know not whether it be worth while to mention, that the Italians, Sicilians, and indeed most nations on the shores of the Mediterranean, are supplied with coarse woollen red caps from Venice, which are in such general request, particularly amongst the seamen, that the manufacture of them constitutes a principal branch of Venetian industry. Though this fallen republic is not of classical date, yet it is possible that the epithet '*Venetus*,' applied by Juvenal to the '*cucullus*,' or hood, a cheap article of dress in his time, might not merely have expressed the colour, but also the country in which the fabric subsisted (*Juv. Sat.* iii. 170); and that modern Venice may have inherited a trade anciently exercised amongst the *Veneti*, inhabitants of the neighbouring continent." P. 263.

The *cucullus* by no means belonged to the *Veneti* of the Adriatic: it was a hooded cloak, forming part of the dress of the western maritime Gauls, the *Santones* and the *Veneti*, whose descendants have congregated themselves in *Saintes*, in *Satonge*, and *Vannes*, in *Bretagne*. A second passage in Juvenal, need scarcely be cited to corroborate our statement.

"Quo, si nocturnus adulter
Tempora *Santonico* velas adopena *cucullo*?" VIII. 144.

Nor one from Martial, with a similar allusion—

"*Gallia Santonico* vestit te *Bardocucullo*." XIV. 128.

If *Venetus* be taken as a colour, it can never be applied to the red caps of modern Venice. We know indeed that it has been sometimes considered as synonymous with the conveniently changeable colour *cœruleus*; and also that *cœruleus*

has been confounded with *glaucus*, which Ainsworth interprets with whimsical uncertainty, "grey or blue, sky-colored, azure, or sea-green; or, according to others, a bright and fiery red, as in the eyes of an owl." But a passage in Vegetius, (*de Re Mil.* IV.) settles with more precision the colour *venetus*. He calls it *cæruleus, qui color est marinis fluctibus similis. Color Thalassicus*. And so Gibbon has treated it in his account of the factions of the Circus.—(*Decline and Fall*, chap. xl. note 42.)

We here take our leave of Mr. Blunt, with many thanks for the gratification which we have derived from his most agreeable essay. We are by no means conscious that we differ from him in any of the opinions which we have expressed; though we must again repeat our dissent from the argument proposed by Conyers Middleton. The idolatry of the Church of Rome, (and that she is chargeable with idolatry, we readily admit,) is not the idolatry of Paganism. The worship of the Host, however far removed from the doctrine of the Gospel, cannot be fairly confounded with the image-worship of ancient mythology; and as for the adoption of pictures and statues in churches, we are among those who cordially wish that the offer of Barry and Sir Joshua Reynolds, for the decoration of St. Paul's, had not been rejected, from motives, which appear to us, to savor of ultra-squeamishness. That such material objects may be perverted to superstitious uses there can be little doubt; but the genius of Protestantism leaves small room for fear that this would ever have been the case among ourselves; and the fashion of the present day, on the other hand, leads us to dread that Jack and Martin, under pretence of tearing off embroidery, will care little how harshly they rend the coat itself. In reference to such matters as these, the contrast between the present essayist and his predecessor in the same line is most favourable to Mr. Blunt. He has travelled like a scholar, a man of taste, and a man of reflection; and his volume has strong claims upon the attention of all those who wish, in these points, to be thought to resemble him.

ART. VII. *A Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. upon his Durham Speech, and the Three Articles in the last Edinburgh Review, upon the subject of the Clergy.* 8vo. 108 pp. Rivingtons. 1823.

ART. VIII. *A Remonstrance addressed to H. Brougham,*

Esq. M.P. by one of the "Working Clergy." 8vo. 50 pp. Rivingtons. 1823.

IN our Review of Dr. Phillpotts Pamphlet we expressed a firm conviction that the attack upon the Church of England would be gallantly and successfully withstood. The ink with which we wrote was hardly dry when the prediction was accomplished by the *Letter* and the *Remonstrance* to Mr. Brougham. Much had been previously effected by the Address to Mr. Jeffrey. The *Durham Case* had been placed in its proper colours, the object of Mr. Brougham and his Client had been exposed, the question had been brought into a narrow compass and a tangible shape. The writers now before us avail themselves of these circumstances. Steering clear of the particular merits of the Durham libel, which have been amply explained by Dr. Phillpotts, they proceed to repel the general assault upon the Church. Taking no notice of Mr. Jeffrey, who was the receiver of the stolen goods, they turn to Mr. Brougham, who was the actual perpetrator of the outrage. The Editor of the Edinburgh Review may be regarded as the keeper of a flash house at which sacrilege is talked over and planned; the contributors are the band that actually do the job. The conviction and punishment of the latter will be most likely to deter others from similar crimes. And such a task was never more happily accomplished than by the publications under review. They enter fully and fairly into the charges which have been made against the Church, disprove the accusations, and retort upon the accusers. A more triumphant defence was never made; and seldom, even in these days of misrepresentation and calumny, have the ignorance, the insolence, the inconsistency, the self-contradiction of reformers been more happily or more completely exposed. We shall endeavour to put the reader in possession of an outline of these pamphlets, but recommend him not to rest satisfied without perusing them for himself.

The first charge against the Church to which the letter-writer adverts, is that of "pluralities and non-residence, and unequal distribution of wealth, leaving the working parish priest oftentimes to starve while the sinecurist of the cathedral revels in all the enjoyments of rank and fortune." Upon this he observes—

"Your Reviewer has here echoed a favourite distinction of your own, between the working and the dignified Clergy; the parochial Minister and the cathedral Sinecurist—a distinction which I have before observed not to be founded in fact. The parochial and the

dignified Clergy are not, like the Regulars and Seculars of the Roman Catholic Church, distinct bodies of men, but they are the same. There are not twenty dignitaries in the kingdom who are not also parish priests. Nor do the dignities which they hold exempt them from residence on their respective livings. The law does not allow of any longer absence from their parochial cures than the statutes of their respective cathedrals require, and this absence is in general from one to three months. For three months, then, they are dignitaries, and for nine they are parish priests. Even in the very cathedral, against which your invective is especially directed, eight Prebendaries out of the twelve are resident and working parish priests. You see Mr. Darnell for one month in his stall—follow him down to his heavy parochial charge in the city, and where will you find a more active or a more Christian minister? Follow Dr. Gray to Bishop's Wearmouth, and in that populous and important parish, what trace can you discover of the cathedral sinecurist? Take the other six, and you will find them as well known in their parishes as they are in their stalls. In selecting Durham, I select a cathedral the most unfavourable to my argument, for there are two of its prebendaries without any parochial cure, a circumstance which you will hardly find in any other chapter in the kingdom.

"Look around you, Sir, in the metropolis. Is the good Dr. Andrews the less active at St. James's because he is the Dean of Canterbury? Are the labours of Dr. Hodgson less effective at St. George's because he is the Dean of Carlisle? Look, Sir, at the exertions of that truly Christian minister, Archdeacon Pott, in the poor and populous parish of St. Martin, and do you grudge him a prebend of 500*l.* per annum, to which he has lately been presented, as the reward and the support of his labours. In London and its neighbourhood I can count more than twenty resident and working parish priests, who are each possessed of some cathedral dignity, which so far from diminishing, adds to the powers of their parochial utility.

"The most extensive Cures are generally the worst paid; and the demands upon the incumbent are often the largest, when his means of satisfying them are the least. Here, then, a cathedral stall comes with peculiar advantage in aid of the meagre resources of a parish priest. By this addition to his income, the parish priest is enabled to perform those generous acts, such as the building or the maintaining parochial schools, which in your speech before the House of Commons you so justly panegyricized. I can with truth assert, that more than one half of the annual income derived from cathedral preferments is expended in the parishes of their several possessors.

"But it is not only to sustain the income and to find resources for the liberality of the working parish priest, that cathedrals were established. Their dignities were intended as a reward for meritorious exertion in every department of the Church. These are the

stations in which should be placed men of superior piety, learning, and worth—men who as scholars have exerted their talents in the defence of the Gospel, or as parish priests have laboured in its ministry. True it is, that these venerable and august foundations may be made the instruments of political jobbery, or of Episcopal nepotism. If it be so, let the authors of the mischief be answerable at the bar of public opinion here, as they must be at the bar of a higher tribunal hereafter. But let not the abuse, happen when it may, be visited upon the use. The hope which these high stations hold out, is, if properly regulated, the fostering parent of Ecclesiastical merit; it is an encouragement for high-talented men to enter the sacred profession, and when they have entered, it is an incentive to holy and honourable exertion." *Letter, &c.* P. 12.

"With respect to pluralities, I have only to observe that they are by no means so injurious in practice as you might at first imagine. Your Reviewer (p. 364.) describes the *pluralities and non-residence* of the English Church as existing in a *degree unknown even to the Romish scheme*. That this is an assertion unfounded in fact, the experience of most men in their own immediate neighbourhood will decidedly testify. Your Reviewer has coupled also pluralities and non-residence together, as if the former evil was necessarily productive of the latter; and so it unquestionably might have been, if the vigilance and activity of the Bishops had not changed the system of things. It is now, I believe, a rare occurrence to find a benefice without a resident Clergyman, whose residence is essential to the proper discharge of the duties of the parish. There are hundreds of contiguous parishes indeed whose population is so small as to admit the same Clergyman to discharge the duties of two at once, in the most conscientious and effective manner. There are hundreds, I may say thousands of parishes, whose revenues are so trifling that two together will go but a little way to support their minister. What says the Edinburgh Review upon this point? 'In such a state of endowment, all idea of rigid residence is out of the question; emolument which a footman would spurn can hardly be recommended to a scholar and a gentleman.' Vol. ii. p. 204. In such cases, at least, pluralities are not only defensible, but they are actually necessary. But let us turn our attention to another species of plurality. Many a Clergyman who lives in the active discharge of a heavy parish in a populous town, (a cure which is in general very scantily paid,) is the incumbent of another benefice in the country, with a smaller population and a larger revenue. Upon this latter benefice he maintains a resident curate, and occasionally visits it himself to see that the duties are duly discharged, and with the remainder of the revenue he supports himself in his residence on a laborious and unprofitable charge. Here, then, we have the working parish priest, and the non-resident pluralist united in the same person, and in what respect is the religious interest of the country injured by the

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union? This is a more common case than you might at first imagine; both the incumbents and the curates of poor and populous parishes will often be found, in this sense, to be pluralists." *Letter*, &c. P. 19.

Mr. Brougham had taken occasion to contrast the Church Establishment of England with that of Scotland—deciding, as was to be expected, in favour of the latter. The letter-writer convicts the orator of an error in stating that there are no such things as curates on the other side of the Tweed, admits the general merits of the sister Church, laments the small number of their eminent theologians, and compares their services in that character with the works of the English Clergy. The whole is summed up in the following terms:—

"If you abolish the dignities and level the distinctions of the sacred profession, you take away those inducements which, in the mind of many a hesitating youth, will turn the scale in its favour. What will be the consequence? Young men of academical distinction and attainment will no longer think of the Church as a profession; the Ministry will pass into inferior hands; instead of a learned and a high-talented Clergy, you will have a body of men without weight and without influence. Such men in a country parish may be worthy and efficient ministers; but against the progress of scepticism and infidelity in the higher orders they will be unable to oppose the slightest barrier.

"For many years, as you, Sir, well know, Edinburgh has been the head-quarters of infidelity. The diffusion of scepticism among the higher ranks is fully equal to that of religion among the lower. The philosopher is teaching the academic to scoff, while the minister is teaching the plough-boy to pray. This is a system, Sir, which cannot long continue. The diffusion of knowledge, and the interchange of opinion which marks the present day, will effectually prevent the conversion of religion into an engine of state police. In the more distant part of Scotland, where the primitive simplicity of the national manners still continues, the clergy may retain their beneficial power; but in those more populous districts, which are illuminated by the productions of the liberal press, the influence of the Clergy is rapidly diminishing. This diminution is excellently pourtrayed in a little work which is familiar to every English reader, "*The Annals of the Parish*." The fact is, that the Scottish Clergy, as a body, have neither the learning nor the power which is necessary, in these times, to defend the citadel of Christianity, and to silence its assailants. As a peace establishment they are admirable, but in time of war they are inefficient. There is no inducement held out in the Scottish Church for a young man of family, of talent, or of attainment, to enter the Clerical profession, or to bring any superior endowments to the defence and support of the sacred cause. In England the case is other-

wise; the ablest scholars, the deepest mathematicians, the highest in rank, and the wealthiest in family, enter the Church without reluctance and without degradation. What is the consequence? In England, among the higher orders, infidelity will scarcely dare to shew its head; whatever shape it may assume, under what cover soever it may shelter itself, it is detected and exposed. The vigilance of the Clergy enables them to mark the first appearance of the disease, and their talent to arrest its contagion. The enemies of Christianity, unable to cope with its defenders in fair and open combat, have retreated from the field; and are now exercising their revenge in blackening the characters and undermining the influence of their conquerors." *Letter, &c.* P. 30.

The next charge against our Establishment is the amount of its revenues, and the vexatious mode of raising them. We make some extracts on this head from the *Working Clergyman's Remonstrance*. This change of authors is introduced merely for the sake of variety—the letter-writer's observations upon the same subject being quite as unanswerable, and somewhat more detailed. The Remonstrant commences by an attempt to discover the motives of his opponents, and answers his argument in the happiest manner.

"Perhaps the secret of this inveterate rancour against the Establishment may be that which is well expressed in the Greek proverb,

Δρυὶς πειούσης, πᾶς ἀπὸρ ξυλαίεται.

"When an oak falls, every man scuffles for a faggot."

Some great proprietor of coal-mines, may perhaps anticipate with conscious delight the auspicious day,

"When Troy shall fall,
"And one prodigious ruin swallow all;"

when of the slices, which shall be carved out of the patrimony of the see of Durham, no inconsiderable share shall be added to his own territories; while you, perhaps, may carry to your tent something ὀλίγον τι φίλον τι, an estate or two from some other northern diocese. But you, Sir, well know, even if *he* has not the wit to perceive it, that the spirit of equalization will make but one step from the palace to the hall; and when Ucalegon shall be on fire at Durham, it must be a strong party wall which will protect *his* manors and his mines from the conflagration. "Haslerigg," says Mr. D. Israeli, "whom Clarendon terms 'an absurd bold man,' would have no bishops: but this was not from any want of reverence to church-lands, for he heaped for himself such wealth, as to have been nick-named 'the Bishop of Durham *.'" Such are

* Curiosities of Literature, 2nd Series, iii. p. 442. The article on the Rump is well worth reading.

ever the disinterested statesmen who exclaim against the church, "Babylon shall be over-thrown," and who look to accomplish in their own persons the remainder of the prophecy, which declares that "her palaces shall be inhabited only by owls and satyrs." *Remonstrance*, P. 21.

"The Reviewer asks, 'who can pretend to doubt that religious instruction might be *afforded far cheaper* to the people than in either England or Ireland?' He seems to consider that religious instruction is a sort of staple commodity, of invariable goodness; and that by a judicious application of the principles of political economy, a bargain may be made with the ministers of religion, to do the people in theology at so much a head. But you, Sir, know perfectly well, that if the instructor be meanly paid, the instruction will fall proportionably in goodness, although the subject matter of instruction may remain the same. I can with ease find a tailor who 'can afford me my clothes far cheaper' than I am accustomed to get them: but if my coat hangs loosely upon me, and the seams give way, and the nap wears off in a week or two, I shall not gain by the exchange. I have seen, not long since, an advertisement in one of the papers, of a classical tutor, professing to teach the Greek language 'according to the method of the late Professor Porson' in six lessons, for one guinea. This is selling Greek at a much cheaper rate than that at which the public schools and universities can afford it; and upon the reviewer's principles, I suppose we should soon have a 'London Commercial Divinity Company,' who would favour the public with religious instruction unadulterated, at the lowest wholesale price.

"Doubtless many persons are to be found, who will 'afford religious instruction,' 'even at a cheaper rate than the *Scotch* clergy.'" Let proposals be sent in by those who may be disposed to farm the religious part of the community, to instruct the nation by contract; and you will find either the Ranters, or the Jumpers, or some other species of the genus Holderforth, will offer to supply the article at less expense than the present Scotch Kirk. The teacher who can *make* a pulpit before he *preaches* in it, can certainly 'afford religious instruction' at a cheaper rate than those who live wholly of the things of the altar: the question is, whether *such* religious instruction be worth purchasing at any rate? What would you have said to the reviewer, if he had asked, as he might have done with at least an equal degree of propriety, 'Who can pretend to doubt that *legal advice* might be afforded far cheaper to the people than it now is in the British dominions?' The Old Bailey solicitors, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Isaacs, will give you their opinion for a very moderate fee; yet I apprehend that the crowd of clients will still continue to besiege *your* chambers, even if Mr. Brougham *charges* three times as much for his commodity as Mr. Charles Pearson. Let not common sense and propriety be again insulted by a driveller who talks of the most important of all national objects in the language of Broker's Row. I say nothing of

his implied assumption, that religious instruction, properly so called, is the whole and only business of the clergy : for if I were to speak of the decent solemnization of public worship, and the right and due administration of the sacraments, I know not whether his own experience would qualify him to comprehend the full force of the argument.

"The reviewer acknowledges (candid creature!) that "there *have been* pious men in our church, who instead of making a profit of their rich endowments, rather regarded themselves as stewards for the poor :'' and he quotes the instances of Bishop Burnet, and Bishop Butler ; to whose names it were easy to add a long list of others, who have been and still are examples of liberality. But without descending to particular instances, I defy him to mention any order or class of men, who expend so large a portion of their revenues upon works of piety and charity as the clergy of the Church of England. Take from them their possessions, (of which, let it be remembered, they have only the usufruct) and divide them amongst the gentry or yeomanry of the land, and I will venture to predict that the difference will soon be felt and deplored, not only by every charitable institution, but by the poor of almost every parish throughout the kingdom. I would not institute invidious comparisons ; but let the reviewer take the trouble to compare, even from the printed reports of public charities, the sums which are annually given by the opulent and dignified clergy, with those which are contributed by the heads of the law, who enjoy equal or larger incomes. Let him then pursue his inquiries into private life ; let him ask of the excellent conductors of the Office for suppressing Mendicity, whether the clergy have been found deficient in secret acts of charity ? To take one instance out of many, let him inquire whether the truly benevolent prelate, whom you, Sir, thought fit to beard under the walls of his own palace, has ever shut his ear, or closed his hand to one deserving individual, of the almost innumerable applicants who daily solicit his bounty ? When a school was to be endowed for the maintenance and education of the orphans of the clergy, while one nobleman gave twenty, and another ten pounds, the Bishop of Durham gave *thirteen hundred*. Was *that* a misapplication of the revenues of the church ? would any of the revilers of our order, if the patrimony of the see of Durham had been transferred to *them*, have given thirteen hundred pounds, or even thirteen ? Such instances as these, and I could name many such even in our own times, (some indeed of still greater munificence) redeem the Establishment from the disgrace which may possibly be inflicted upon it by the parsimony of a few individuals. Take one benefice with another, and it may safely be affirmed, that a far greater proportion of the revenues of the church is bestowed upon charitable objects, than would be so expended, if they were vested in any other part of the community." *Remonstrance*, P. 23.

From the revenues and the character of the Clergy, Mr. Brougham's Reviewer travels to the doctrines of the Church ;

and if our readers are so ignorant of the character of the Edinburgh Review as to listen for a single moment to its remarks on Liturgies and doctrines, they may find an admirable refutation of them in the pamphlets before us. But, in truth, such remarks are unworthy of a serious answer, and we pass on to more interesting topics.

The first of these is the attack upon the Bishop of London, the author of which, in spite of the Remonstrant's allusion, we believe to be still unknown. There is nothing in the works before us which will induce him to drop his mask. With respect to the ridiculous assertion of the Reviewer, that Bishop Howley has disappointed the expectation of his friends, the Letter-writer says,—

“When the Reviewer speaks of the ‘friends of the Bishop,’ he little knows perhaps their number and their warmth. There is not a worthy and a conscientious Clergyman in the Diocese of London, but he is the friend of Bishop Howley. The poorest Curate among them would be the first to vindicate the cause and to uphold the name of a superior so loved and honoured. This is not the language, Sir, either of friendship or adulation; it is the language of the whole Diocese, and of every one in it, whether he be clerical or lay, who has had the means of forming a judgment upon the character and conduct of the Prelate in question. Whatever disappointment may have been felt with respect to Bishop Howley, has been felt not by the friends, but by the enemies of the Church which he adorns.

“Most unfortunate, Sir, have your Edinburgh associates been in the man whom they have selected to turn out, as they imagine, for the sport and the scorn of their readers. By this most unwise and most unwarrantable assault, they have outraged the feelings of the best part of the English public, who will not tamely submit to see a Prelate, whose piety, learning, and goodness, do honour both to the nation and to its Church, run down without provocation and without mercy. The next time they think it expedient to bait a bishop, advise them, Sir, as they value their own reputation, to be a little more cautious in the selection of their victim.” *Letter, &c.* P. 79.

On the not less contemptible, and not less laughable critique upon his Lordship's style, the Working Clergyman observes,—

“The Reviewer's abuse of the Bishop's *style* is amusing enough, when considered as coming from a writer who begins by saying that ‘high station and influence *claims* attention’—and again, ‘the reputation for abilities which he once enjoyed, and which (*reputation to wit*) are supposed to have raised him in the Church, render this falling off a *somewhat* unaccountable phenomenon.’ With equal accuracy he talks of ‘protesting against an intention,’ and of a ‘leaning *for* the incumbent.’

"This is the gentleman who says that the Bishop's Charge 'abounds in the figure of speech called *slip-slop*!' If he had ever read Joseph Andrews, he would have known that *slip-slop* is something quite different from what he supposes.

"The fact is, (and I confidently appeal to every competent critic) that his Lordship's style is remarkably correct and chaste; very different from that pert and *staccato* kind of writing, which our periodical journals have of late years rendered too fashionable, and which the critic seems to have taken as a model of his own: *he* thinks, perhaps, that a few flaws in grammar or sense, a few bold violations of the received laws of composition give a spirit and raciness to writing: whereas in the polished and classical periods of the Bishop,

per læve severos

Effundit junctura ungues." *Remonstrance*, P. 42

We cannot refrain from quoting the remarks of the same writer upon the other charges against the Bishop of London.

"I now approach a subject, which I hardly know how to treat, whether with the indignation which must be excited in every generous and candid mind, by insults gratuitously offered to learning, piety, and virtue; or with the contempt and ridicule, which are the proper portion of him, who with a mixture of stupidity and insolence attacks that which is unassailable, and hurls his leaden javelin against a shield of adamant. I need not tell you that I allude to the attack which has been made upon the character, talents, and principles of the present Bishop of London, in the same number of the Edinburgh Review, which contains the abuse of the Bishop and Clergy of Durham, of the Bishop of Peterborough, and, by insinuation, of the Bishop of Chester. But there is one very remarkable feature in the case of the first-mentioned prelate, which at once shows that there existed, in the breast of some of the principal conductors of the Review, a determined purpose of traducing and vilifying the character of that excellent man, and stamps that determination with the character of personal animosity of the bitterest and basest kind. We have not only an unfair and disingenuous report of the Bishop's Charge to his Clergy, prefaced by a garbled account of his primary Charge, published eight years ago; but he is dragged without ceremony before the public, in company with the Durham Clergy, and again, with the most unaccountable violation of propriety and good taste, into the article on Mr. Canning and Reform. This looks very much as if one head at least, though not one hand, were concerned in all these articles. That on the Durham case was to all appearance written by one of your legal friends, in concert with yourself; that on Mr. Canning is, I think, generally *believed* to be yours. I will tell you why I cannot persuade myself to be of that opinion." *Remonstrance*, P. 35.

"The Reviewer of his Charge describes the Bishop as having,

even in the year 1814, laid down the doctrine "that teaching children to read, and enabling them to read *whatever religious books* their parents may put into their hands, is a positive evil;" although his lordship, even as quoted by the Reviewer, expressly limits his statement of the danger of knowledge to "knowledge *disjoined from religious instruction*." This was in 1814. You, Sir, could have taught the Reviewer a different lesson, who after a jealous examination of the dispositions with which different members of the legislature viewed the proposed inquiry into the abuse of charities, especially of those concerning education, were pleased to pronounce the following eulogium upon that distinguished prelate, in the year 1818.

"Among the honorary commissioners, we had been led to hope that Lord Lansdowne and the Bishop of London would appear. It is not easy to find two individuals more admirably qualified for the office, by the union of inflexible integrity with conciliatory temper, and of acute understanding with habits of application to affairs. But I own that in my eyes those distinguished persons were still further recommended by their avowed disposition in favor of the proposed inquiry *." Yet this is the prelate whom the Reviewers stigmatises as "the enemy, upon principle, of whatever informs and enlightens the poor;" the Reviewer himself having cited the Bishop's words, that "in proportion as these additional energies imparted to the mass of the people" (by the systematic culture of intellect) are under the direction of good principles, they will give stability to the government, advance the cause of religion and morals, and contribute to the general advantage." Could a Christian Bishop speak more strongly in behalf of knowledge? Is he, whose office it is to watch over the religious principles of his flock, to suppress all mention of *Christian* instruction, when he is recommending the education of the poor? Is it *his* duty to stand up for the favourite system of the Reviewers, of schools for ALL and Religion for NONE? Is it "*calumniating knowledge*," as this ignorant traducer terms it, to say, that when under the direction of good principles it does all that could be wished? or can any one deny that when it is *not* under the direction of good principles it may do a great deal of harm? *Remonstrance*, P. 37.

"Yet the Review calls it "a monstrous assumption" of the Bishop's, that "the diffusion of knowledge and cultivation of intellect may exceed the countervailing powers of religion and morality." Is *countervailing* then a stronger word than Lord Bacon's *corrective*? The Reviewer indeed is pleased to give it the meaning of *counter-acting*; which never belonged to it. To *countervail* (*contra valere*) is 'to be of equal weight or value;' and will the Reviewer presume to deny that religion and morality are of less weight or value than "the diffusion of knowledge?" No person but one who

* Letter to Sir S. Romilly, p. 20.

is impenetrably dull, or wilfully blind, can fail to perceive the Bishop's real meaning, which is, that religious and moral instruction is necessary, to preserve a due equilibrium in the human mind, which, without it, is, to say the least, liable to what Bacon terms "ventosity or swelling;" and that deism, and atheism itself, are the natural results of this intellectual *œdema*, I suppose I need not prove even to the Reviewer himself." *Remonstrance*, P. 40.

"It is now, I think, perfectly clear, that if I am mistaken in supposing the existence of a conspiracy, between the Edinburgh Reviewers and the infidel faction, against the Church, there has been a conspiracy between some of those Reviewers themselves against one of the most exemplary and irreproachable of its rulers. The learning and piety, as well as the liberality and conciliatory temper of the present Bishop of London, being so notorious, as to have commanded the tribute of praise even from yourself, it is impossible to account for the violent and rancorous attack which your friends and fellow-labourers have simultaneously made upon him, except on the supposition, that having found their system of general inuendo, and indefinite calumny, too slow in its operation, they have now resolved to take up the *ratio ultima* of low and ungenerous party feeling; and to exchange the nobler warfare of *principles*, for the more disreputable hostility of *personal* abuse. These sharp-shooters of the North, driven from the open plains of controversy behind the stunted underwood, which withers on the soil of metaphysics and false quantities, are beginning to *pick out* the ablest amongst those who line the ramparts of our Church; and where they discern an opponent, formidable for the very excellencies which they profess to admire, a living refutation of their calumnies, they make *him* their common mark; like the suitors of Penelope, who encourage one another to hurl their spears at once against Ulysses, as the most formidable of their adversaries;

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁ κῆδος, ἰππὴν ἕτός γε πίσησιν.

Remonstrance, P. 47.

Another point upon which the Edinburgh Review and "its most voluminous contributor" receives a merited castigation, relates to their praises of the Church of Scotland. Of that Church, and its doctrines, and its ministers, and its labours, they have been the systematic opponents, openly preferring the philosophy of what they term their modern Athens, to the old-fashioned Christianity of the Kirk. But for the sake of reviling the Church of England, Mr. Brougham and his reviewers are suddenly seized with a violent affection for Presbyterianism. Such conversions are not unprecedented in him or them. When the Education Bill was supported by Dissenters, Mr. Brougham lauded them to the skies, and heaped up insult upon insult on the Bishops, the Universities, and the Clergy. The boldness of

the measure did not ensure its success. The nation took part with the Church. The orator saw the necessity of changing his ground; extolled the Clergy as warmly as he had reviled them, and quizzed his poor friends the Socinians and Quakers with as little mercy as he had formerly shewn to Bishops and Deans. It has been the same throughout his whole career. To serve the purpose of the present moment, he unsays all the declarations of his past life, and asserts his belief in new opinions which must be disowned to-morrow, in their turn. The Administration which he opposes has more than once owed its safety to his violence. If he is terrible as an enemy, he is not less terrible as a friend. Should his rhetorical talents ever place him at the head of a party, the country will be exposed to greater danger than she has encountered since the Revolution. Let us hope that the good feeling and good sense of the Whigs will ever retain Mr. Brougham in a subordinate situation. We take leave of him in the eloquent language of the writers under review.—

“An annotator upon the Review in question, has aptly characterized your Durham speech as ‘criminative, contemptuous, and defying.’ Such are the expressions, not of your adversary, but of your associate. It is criminating indeed, but what charge does it substantiate? It is contemptuous; but what has contempt to do with enquiry? It is defying; but where is the danger? It is easy, Sir, to be criminative where we know that the defence of those whom we accuse will not be heard. It is easy to be contemptuous when we think that insolence will stifle examination. It is easy to defy when we are ascertained that no notice can be taken of our defiance. Your eloquence, Sir, has been described by the same associate as “terrible;” and truly, if it fall short of the *διωκτικὴ* of a Demosthenes, it is not altogether deficient in the terrors of a Robespierre. Hitherto, your reign of terror has been confined to the tyranny of language; but how soon persecution may assume a more substantial form, and words pass into things, it would be well for the Laity no less than the Clergy to consider.” *Letter, &c.* P. 8.

“I am sensible that I owe some apology to the Bishop of London himself, for having presumed to say a word in vindication of a character, which a rare union of learning and piety, moderation and firmness, a perfect singleness of intention and a truly christian meekness, places as far above my commendation, as above the impotent malice of the Edinburgh Review. But I was desirous of producing some strong reasons, why you, Sir, who have borne such ample and unsolicited testimony to his Lordship’s worth, should no longer permit your train of underlings to insult public feeling and decency, by a series of calumnies, the discredit of which redounds in some measure upon yourself. Your pack is on the wrong scent,

and must be taught better manners. Their's is no "gallant chiding;" but the discordant yapping of mongrel curs, unused to the pursuit of nobler game, and far indeed from being

matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each.

"With regard to yourself, Sir, if the invectives with which you assailed the Church and Clergy in your speech at Durham, were sincere, or if you have had any share in dishing them up again, with a fresh spice of malignity, in the *Edinburgh Review*, what can we say of you, after your deliberate panegyric upon both, except this ?

His own opinion was his law : i'the presence
He would say untruths ; and be ever double
Both in his words and meaning : *He was never,*
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful."

Remonstrance, P. 49.

Our limits will not permit us to extract the passages in which the *Edinburgh Reviewers* are convicted of having applied to the Scotch Clergy expressions more contemptuous than any with which the English Clergy are now honoured ; nor others from which it appears that they could speak of the Church of England, when it suited their purpose, in the most respectful and flattering terms. But we cannot refrain from advertng to one or two parts of the article on the *Durham Case*, which have been passed over by Mr. Brougham's Correspondents.

The author or authors of that invective lay great stress upon the opinions of Bishop Watson and Dr. Paley, both of whom they pronounce to be *zealous Churchmen*, and the latter of an *orthodoxy never questioned*. The assertions are notoriously false. The sound churchmanship and orthodoxy of both these celebrated men were questioned by three-fourths of their brethren. Whether the suspicion was just or unjust we do not pretend to decide, but its *existence* is denied by the Reviewer with a hardihood which is above all praise.

The acrimonious wit of Dean Swift is forced into the anti-episcopal cause, and under circumstances which convince us that even in the council-chamber of Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Brougham there are instances of gross carelessness, inadvertence, and stupidity. Swift is represented as abstaining from an attack upon the Bishops on all occasions save one ; on that one it is admitted that he was under the influence of "pique," and yet what was said by such a man as Swift "in a moment of pique" is represented as his real opinion, though it was confessedly in opposition to the whole tenour of his long fearless, and bitter political and literary career!!

We are favoured also with a quotation from Burke's speech in support of the Bill for quieting the dormant claims of the Church. We transcribe the whole passage, from the tenth volume of his works, presuming that the portion of it printed in Italics is not to be found in the Reviewer's copy.

"I do not mean any thing against the Church, her dignities, her honours, or her possessions. I SHOULD WISH EVEN TO ENLARGE THEM ALL—not that the Church of England is incompetently endowed. This is to take nothing from her but the power of making herself odious. If she be secure herself, she can have no objection to the security of others. FOR I HOPE SHE IS SECURE FROM LAY-BIGOTRY, AND ANTI-PRIESTCRAFT — FOR CERTAINLY SUCH THINGS THERE ARE. I heartily wish to see the Church secure in such possessions as will not only enable her ministers to preach the Gospel with ease, but of such a kind as will enable them to preach it with its full effect; so that the Pastor shall not have the inauspicious appearance of a tax-gatherer; such a maintenance as is compatible with the civil prosperity and improvement of their country."

But perhaps the most surprising piece of assurance in the whole number is the extract from Milton, with which the *Durham Case* concludes. *The Remonstrant* has truly said, that as Milton was writing against Episcopacy, it is idle to consider him an impartial witness. He might have added, that the adoption of Milton's sublime Prayer to the Tri-personal Godhead by the Edinburgh Reviewers is a profanation little short of blasphemy. That their folly may be as conspicuous as their impiety, they propose to cure the Church's wounds by the very medicines which have destroyed her once already. Their extract is taken from a Tract which Milton put forth in 1641, and which contributed to the production of the subsequent troubles. Under the influence of an anti-popish ague (for the dangers of Popery were the great burden of his song) the poet pleads hard for the destruction of Episcopacy, for the popular election of the Clergy, for the abolition of tithes, and for the establishment of a National Synod upon the Presbyterian model. And the conclusion of a long argument which, in spite of its gross falsification of history, the wit and eloquence of the writer induce us still to read, is contained in the following passage—a passage immediately preceding the prayer extracted by the Reviewer: "Were it such an incurable mischief *to make a little trial* what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body?" The poet's wish was more than granted: animated by his invectives, the Parliament made a *great trial* of the plan which he recommended for their adoption. The result was, the overthrow of the

Church, and the ruin of its ministers; the destruction of the Monarchy, and the murder of the Monarch! Was it not rather indiscreet in Mr. Brougham's encomiast to recall these facts to our recollection? Does he believe that the event of another little trial will be desired by his readers, or is he merely guilty of pilfering a libel under the pretence that it is a prayer? Whatever his intention may have been, we believe that his imprudent violence will prevent its accomplishment. He has opened his fire by declaring that the prosecution of a Durham Printer has excited a controversy out of which the Church must inevitably retreat with diminished credit. But in another part of his article he stumbles upon an assertion which is considerably nearer the truth, namely, that the attack upon the Clergy by Messrs. Brougham, Williams, Jeffrey, and Co. "has excited the liveliest feelings in all parts of the neighbouring kingdom, and is calculated to produce effects probably as little in the contemplation as they may be to the liking of its promoters." If this sentence be involved and awkward, the blame must be cast upon the fastidious northern critics. If it be just, and in one sense its justice is indisputable, it deserves to be cherished by its elegant fabricators as a proof that they have not written fifty pages of 'clerical abuse' without stumbling upon one word of truth.

ART. IX. *Essays on Subjects of Important Enquiry, in Metaphysics, Morals and Religion; accompanied by References to Passages in numerous Authors, illustrative of the same.* By the late Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. 8vo. pp. 628. 15s. Cadell. 1822.

THE appearance of this posthumous work, serves to remind us of the gradual, but important alteration, which is taking place in English society. The author, the late Mr. Hawkins Browne, belonged to a class which has already become scarce, and which will soon be altogether extinct. He sat in parliament for nearly thirty years, as an independent country gentleman. During the whole of that time he devoted himself to the various duties of the senate, and was accustomed to take a part in the most important discussions. His private life, was that of a scholar and a Christian, whose leisure is employed in extensive reading and profitable meditation, and who is not unwilling to communicate the results of his study. We do not say that it is possible or desirable

to convert all modern senators into men of this description; but when we observe the different characters which most of them assume, we cannot take leave of the *old school*, without feelings of regret and alarm.

If a young man of birth and fortune obtains a seat in the House of Commons, and wishes, without entangling himself in the trammels of party, to make use of his understanding and activity, the chances are, that he will go astray. He will be tempted to put himself forward in all causes, and upon all occasions, to become vice-president and orator to five hundred institutions; to be a police man, or a corn-law man, or a Lanark man, or a road man. He will move for a committee of the honourable house, and treat his constituents and correspondents with a journey to town at the public expence, for the sake of proving that there may be smoke without fire, or fire without smoke, plague without infection, or infection without plague. Much curious information may be procured in this manner, and some real improvements introduced into the management of public business. But will the system tend to strengthen and elevate the minds of our statesmen? Will it enable or prepare them to take a comprehensive view of the interests of their country, or the duty of its children? Will it recruit the senatorial ranks with English gentlemen of the old stamp, well versed in the history of their native land; firmly attached to its institutions, and incapable of consenting to remove its land-marks? It would be difficult and hazardous to answer in the affirmative. Constitutional questions are now discussed, after a different fashion from that which prevailed in days of yore. There is not the same disposition to reason, or to act upon fixed principles. There is not the same reliance upon the tried wisdom of preceding generations. There is more affectation of science, more smattering and smartness, and, of course, more presumption and more ignorance. Unless there be a certain number of persons of solid judgment and long experience, who are listened to upon great occasions with deference—the political vessel is deficient in ballast. Such deficiency may be expected to arise from too great an extension of the present system. And we shall sincerely rejoice at its abandonment. The return of our country gentlemen to old pursuits and old studies, will be advantageous to every class of society. It may diminish their present means of making a noise, or cutting a figure; but it will enable them to do permanent good to their country and their fellow-creatures.

To return to the volume before us. It consists of five and

twenty essays, on the most important religious and moral subjects.—Reason; The Passions; Free Agency; Society; Moral Obligation; Virtue; Vice; The Being of God; The Incommunicable Attributes of God; The Moral Attributes of God; the Wisdom of God; the Power of God; the Moral Government of God; Infidelity; Religion; Enthusiasm; Superstition; Prayer; A State of Trial; The Reward of Virtue; The Punishment of Vice; Providence; The Immateriality of the Soul; The Immortality of the Soul; The Evidences of the Christian Revelation. The Author informs us in his Preface, that the arrangement was formed many years ago, and that he was led in the course of his reading upon theology and moral philosophy, to transcribe those passages which appeared to throw a material light upon the subjects he intended to discuss. He did so with the hope of entering fully into all those points; but having no leisure for the accomplishment of so great a work, and unwilling that his labour should be entirely lost, he drew up a short essay on each of the forementioned subjects, as an introduction to that extensive enquiry which the references suggest, and may produce. These essays, and these references, are comprised in the present work. The latter are divided into eleven periods, occupying a space of two or three years each, during which they were collected. Some idea may be given of their author's industry and perseverance, by stating, that the references occupy at least a third of the book, and send us to specified parts of the writings of two or three hundred voluminous authors. We do not see the advantage or propriety of retaining the division into periods. The reader cannot easily divest himself of the notion, that these divisions relate to the subject matter of the essays. And the fact that they are only governed by the time at which Mr. Browne happened to peruse this or that volume, is continually overlooked. If any divisions had been retained, they should have followed either the different parts of each head of enquiry, or the different subjects of which the authors treat. The latter strikes us as the preferable plan. The theological, the moral, the metaphysical, the historical writers might have been separately classed, and afterwards subdivided into ancient and modern, Christian and heathen, domestic and foreign, or any other similar divisions.

We shall furnish the reader with extracts from the essays on Infidelity, and on the Reward of Virtue, which will enable him to form a fair opinion of the general contents of the volume.

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"It has been contended, that we are quite passive in our belief, therefore infidelity cannot be criminal; and that the human mind is so differently framed, that the same evidence which convinces one man has no effect upon another. Both these theories are unfounded, or supported by false principles. The former supposes that we are not free agents in our thoughts, whatever we may be in our words and actions. The latter supposes, that mind in every rational being is not the same, but capable of a diversity destructive of its very essence. This is a position which would lead to universal scepticism. Upon the same principle, that we are supposed passive in our belief, we may imagine ourselves passive in all moral and social virtues. It is difficult, I allow, to conquer an inveterate prejudice, especially the prejudices which pride and licentiousness indulge against religion; but not more difficult than to subdue an inordinate passion. The fastidious declare that they find it impossible to sympathize with any man. The capricious and conceited feel an invincible reluctance to accommodate themselves to company they despise, or to enjoy that society into which they must naturally fall; but are these difficulties, or these impossibilities, as we fondly call them, pleas, which any wise or good man will allow, for the violation of every duty which benevolence, gratitude, or natural affection demand? Can the misanthrope or the infidel plead an insuperable necessity at the tribunal of an omniscient judge, who knows the free agency he has bestowed upon man, and the responsibility flowing from it? Every truth, when it is brought before the mind, becomes self-evident, and must be universally received. But the difficulty consists in bringing truths properly before the mind, when they are not evident at first sight. No religious truth is evident at first sight; it must, therefore, be brought before the mind by some voluntary exertion of the intellectual agent, that is, of the being who contemplates it. No instructor can teach a pupil, without some active energy of the pupil's own mind. It is, therefore, in our power to refuse to make this exertion, and if we do not decline the effort altogether, the intense-ness or remission of it, the time we employ in it, all depends upon ourselves. As ignorance depresses us in the moral intellectual scale, so we raise ourselves, not only in the moral and intellectual, but in the religious scale of being, by all the conviction which we are enabled, through our own voluntary exertions, to obtain of divine truth. I am ready to acknowledge, that we cannot investigate the truth of any theological position, nor have it properly presented to the mind, if there is a great deficiency of natural capacity, or education, or learning, or leisure; but these advantages are not required in an eminent degree, if we confine our examination to the fundamental doctrines of natural or revealed religion. These qualifications become chiefly necessary, when some subtlety of human invention, supported by sophistry is to be exploded; or when we enquire into the true interpretation of a particular passage in scripture; or when we attempt to explore the regions of eternity and immensity;

or the nature of that Being who, in his full perfection, is incomprehensible to every created mind." If, however, in our inquiries after divine truth, we are properly sensible of our defects, whatever is wanting in knowledge or ability will be supplied by an humble and a docile temper, and our right of private judgment will be best exerted in the choice of an enlightened guide. Although we advance towards perfection, and gradually ascend according to the number of true propositions which we believe, if we act correspondently to them, yet we shall not, at the day of judgment, be rewarded or punished exactly in this proportion; for the number of true propositions, which we believe, depends upon a variety of unavoidable circumstances. Our reward or punishment will be awarded in conformity with our laudable diligence or culpable neglect" P. 336.

" If self-satisfaction proceeds from adulation and vanity, it is of a very shadowy and fluctuating nature; liable to be overthrown by every wind of popular fame; dependent upon the breath of man; subject every hour to innumerable mortifications, and always regulated by the flow or depression of animal spirits. But if it proceeds from a real knowledge of moral truth, and of our own hearts, it is the habitual consciousness of virtue, which we cannot have without the possession of it.

" Nor will our sense of deficiency impair this satisfaction, if we are assured of our sincere endeavours to conquer every bad propensity, and to make a daily progress in virtue. The more earnest these endeavours are, and the greater the success of them, the higher will be our enjoyment, and the more perfect our morality. When there is a particular danger of acting wrong, a firm resolution constantly opposed to that danger, is a continued act of virtue. Vicious indulgencies deprave, virtuous self-government improves, the inward constitution and character; and by raising us to a greater eminence in the moral scale, renders us more capable of self-satisfaction. The more accurate, the more enlarged, the more elevated our conceptions of duty are, the happier we shall be, if we act according to our knowledge of what is right. Duty and happiness are inseparable from virtue; the former as the principle, the latter the result; the former the guide, the latter the reward. A bad mind is the sorest adversity which can befall us; for in the most accumulated distress, the comfort of a good conscience will afford a pleasure, far beyond any delightful sensations which prosperity the most unbounded, without a good conscience, can bestow. The want of this true principle of self-satisfaction renders all pleasures insipid, if we partake of them; at the same time that they become necessary to dispel our mental gloom, and we cannot endure the calamity which their deprivation inflicts. We cannot bear their absence, yet have no enjoyment of them when present. I acknowledge, that self-satisfaction, though arising from the most frivolous fancies and absurd pretensions, will furnish some transient gratifi-

cation. The very madman is happy while he thinks himself a king; but the happiness, which self-satisfaction produces, the peace of mind which it creates, must be in proportion to the solidity of the foundation upon which it stands. The firm and impregnable rock, which alone can afford it an adequate support, is the full conviction, that we have brought no calamities upon ourselves, and that our conduct has always been directed to the wisest and best ends; and that to obtain these ends we have been diligent in prayer, and have used all the lawful means which it has been in our power to exert." P. 474.

If this work does not become as extensively popular, as it is unquestionably and highly useful, the circumstance must be attributed to the following facts. The style and matter throughout the volume are sensible rather than brilliant—and a pure mind, a correct judgment, and an unwearied industry, are more conspicuous than originality, or philosophical free-thinking. The author sustains the character of a Christian, a Churchman, and a Patriot—and though the composition of such a work must be more beneficial than the perusal of it, yet no man will rise from a perusal of these Essays, without feeling that he has derived pleasure and instruction from the occupation.

ART. X. *Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the Tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England. Collected by Davies Gilbert, F.R.S. F.A.S. &c.* 8vo. pp. 36. Nichols and Son. 1822.

OUR readers will probably feel the same curiosity respecting this little publication which was excited in our own minds when its appearance was announced. We cannot pretend to say that the appetite has been completely gratified; for we expected a larger and more valuable collection than that with which Mr. Davies Gilbert has furnished us. But he is entitled to our thanks even for the present scanty list; and this example may probably induce the inhabitants of other parts of the island, skilled in antiquarian and religious lore, to do for their respective neighbourhoods what Mr. Gilbert has done for the West; and such publications will have their admirers in every circle. In the midland counties we have heard carols quite as remarkable as any now before us. The history of *Lazarus and Dives*, particularly occurs to us, and we should be glad to see a correct copy of that poem. It describes the merits and fortunes of the heroes at great

length; and concludes to the best of our recollection with informing Dives

“ That there is a seat prepared for him
Upon a serpent's knee.”

The ballads printed by Mr. Gilbert are exclusively *Christmas* Carols. Those to which we allude were always sung by the mummers at Christmas, but had no specific connection with that festival. The whole of our Author's Preface and Postscript are curious; and so is the poetry which we are about to transcribe. They lead to serious reflections upon the altered state of a peasantry which once was contented and ignorant; but is now partaking largely of the tree of knowledge; and tasting both its sweet and bitter fruits.

“ The following Carols or Christmas Songs were chanted to the tunes accompanying them, in churches on Christmas day, and in private houses on Christmas eve, throughout the West of England, up to the latter part of the late century.

“ The Editor is desirous of preserving them in their actual forms, however distorted by false grammar or by obscurities, as specimens of times now passed away, and of religious feelings superseded by others of a different cast. He is anxious also to preserve them on account of the delight they afforded him in his childhood; when the festivities of Christmas-eve were anticipated by many days of preparation, and prolonged through several weeks by repetition and remembrances.

“ Christmas-day, like every other great festival, has prefixed to it in the calendar a vigil or fast; and in Catholic countries mass is still celebrated at midnight after Christmas-eve, when austerities cease, and rejoicings of all kinds succeed. Shadows of these customs were, till very lately, preserved in the Protestant West of England. The day of Christmas eve was passed in an ordinary manner; but at seven or eight o'clock in the evening, cakes were drawn hot from the oven; cyder or beer exhilarated the spirits in every house; and the singing of carols was continued late into the night. On Christmas-day these carols took the place of psalms in all the churches, especially at afternoon service, the whole congregation joining; and at the end it was usual for the parish clerk to declare, in a loud voice, his wishes for a merry Christmas a happy new year to all the parishioners.

“ None of the sports or gambols, so frequently practised on subsequent days, ever mixed themselves with the religious observances of Christmas-eve. Two of the sports most used in Cornwall were, the one, a metrical play, exhibiting the successful powers of St. George exerted against a Mahometan adversary; the

other a less dignified representation of some transactions at a market or fair.

"In the first, Saint George enters accoutred with complete armour, and exclaims,

"Here come I Saint George,
That valiant champion bold,
And with my sword and spear,
I've won three crowns of gold.

"I slew the dragon, *he*
And brought him to the slaughter,
By which I gained fair Sabra,
The King of Egypt's daughter."

"The Pagan enters.

"Here come I the Turkish knight,
Come from the Turkish land to fight,
* * * * *
* * * * * bold,
And if your blood is hot,
I soon will make it cold."

"They fight, the Turkish knight falls, and rising on one knee,

"Oh! pardon me St. George,
Oh! pardon me, I crave,
Oh! give me but my life,
And I will be thy slave."

"Saint George, however, again strikes him down; but immediately relenting, calls out

"Is there no doctor to be found,
To cure a deep and deadly wound."

"A doctor enters, declaring that he has a small phial filled with the juice of some particular plant, capable of recalling any one to life; he tries, however, and fails: when Saint George kills him, enraged by his want of success. Soon after this the Turkish knight appears perfectly well; and having been fully convinced of his errors by the strength of Saint George's arm, he becomes a Christian, and the scene closes.

"The fair or market usually followed, as a farce. Several persons arranged on benches were sometimes supposed to sell corn; and one applying to each seller in his turn inquired the price, using a set form of words, to be answered in a corresponding manner. If any error were committed, a grave personage was introduced with much ceremony, grotesquely attired, and provided with a large stick; who, after stipulating for some ludicrous reward, such as a gallon of moon-light, proceeded to shoe

the untamed colt, by striking the person in error on the sole of the foot.

“ For an ample account of various customs and ceremonies practised at Christmas in former periods, the reader is referred to Brand's ‘ Observations on Popular Antiquities,’ edited by Henry Ellis, F.R.S. and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, two vols. 4to. and to ‘ The Clavis Calendaria, by John Brady,’ two vols. 8vo. In each of these works will be found a very curious dissertation on the word *yule* ; the name of a Pagan festival, which has passed into most European languages, to denominate Christmas. The French *noel* is obviously derived from this word, and appears corrupted into ‘ Now well,’ when it forms a part of the chorus in the fourth carol ; and perhaps indicates the whole to be a translation.”

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the preceding page was printed, a friend has pointed out to me what is said under the word *nouvel* or *noel*, in ‘ Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Française, par M. Menage.’

“ Le Mot de Nouel étoit autrefois un mot de jouissance ; on le croit dans toutes les fêtes et solennités publiques.

“ Martial de Paris, à l'entrée du Roy Charles VII. dans Verneuil :

“ Ce jour vint le Roy à Verneuil,
Où il fut receu à grand joye
Du peuple joyeux à merveil,
En criant Noel par la voye.”

CAROL III.

I.

“ A virgin most pure, as the prophets do tell,
Hath brought forth a baby as it hath befell,
To be our Redeemer from death, hell, and sin,
Which Adam's transgression had wrapped us in.

“ CHORUS.

“ Aye, and therefore be you merry,
Rejoice and be you merry ;
Set sorrows aside,
Christ Jesus our Saviour was born on this tide.

II.

“ In Bethlehem in Jewry a city there was,
Where Joseph and Mary together did pass,
And there to be taxed with many one more,
For Cæsar commanded the same should be so.
Aye, and therefore, &c.

III.

" But when they had entered the city so fair,
A number of people so mighty was there;
That Joseph and Mary whose substance was small,
Could find in the inn there no lodging at all.
Aye, and therefore, &c.

IV.

" Then were they constrain'd in a stable to lye,
Where horses and asses they us'd for to tie;
Their lodging so simple they took it no scorn,
But against the next morning our Saviour was born.
Aye, and therefore, &c.

V.

" The King of all kings to this world being brought,
Small store of fine linen to wrap him was sought;
And when she had swaddled her young son so sweet,
Within an ox manger she laid him to sleep.
Aye, and therefore, &c.

VI.

" Then God sent an angel from heaven so high,
To certain poor shepherds in fields where they lye,
And bade them no longer in sorrow to stay,
Because that our Saviour was born on this day.
Aye, and therefore, &c.

VII.

" Then presently after the shepherds did spy,
A number of angels that stood in the sky,
They joyfully talked and sweetly did sing,
To God be all glory our heavenly King.

" CHORUS.

" Aye, and therefore be you merry,
Rejoice and be you merry;
Set sorrows aside,
Christ Jesus our Saviour was born on this tide.

P. 18.

ART. XI. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1821. Parts I. and II.*
Papers on Anatomy Physiology and Natural History.
Papers on Chemistry.

THE whole of the Royal Society's Transactions for the year 1821, are now before the public. The papers are numerous

and form a full volume. The general aspect of the progress of discovery as exhibited in these records is such as to excite much interest; and the Royal Society under its new President seems to be continuing its labours in a degree fully equal to the diligence and success displayed at any former period. We have already noticed one set of very important discoveries, which greatly add to the high distinction already attending the name of Davy, and mark the present volume of the Transactions with peculiar interest. In relation to this subject, we may observe that this volume contains a notice, stating, that the President and Council adjudged the medal on Sir Godfrey Copley's donation for the year 1820, to Professor John Christian Ærsted, of Copenhagen, for his electro-magnetic discoveries; and it would have added greatly to the value and interest of the volume, had it been enriched by an account of that philosopher's discoveries.

As we have already occupied some space in our late numbers in the examination of some parts of the volume before us, we propose at present, briefly to enumerate the subjects of the several papers under their respective departments; going more into detail with those of more peculiar importance, beginning with the departments of physiology and chemistry.

On subjects of anatomy, physiology and natural history, we have many able papers to present to the notice of our readers.

No. 1. On the black rete Mucosum of the Negro, being a defence against the scorching effects of the sun's rays. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. F.R.S.

This paper contains some simple experiments made by comparing the effect of heat radiating from the sun, in producing the sensation of scorching, with that of heat intercepted by an absorbing substance.

In one instance a thermometer placed on the naked hand, rose to 98° in the sun, and a scorching pain was experienced; whilst on the other hand a thermometer placed under a piece of black cloth, rose to 106° without the slightest pain ensuing.

A negro's hand exposed to a temperature of 100° in the sun for ten minutes felt no pain whatever.

Several other experiments of a similar nature were made, from all which Sir E. Home deduces the following conclusion.

"From these experiments, it is evident that the power of the sun's rays to scorch the skin of animals is destroyed when applied to a black surface, although the absolute heat, in consequence of the absorption of the rays is greater.

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“ The same wise providence which has given so extraordinary a provision to the negro for the defence of his skin, while living within the tropics, has extended it to the bottom of the eye, which would suffer in a greater or less degree when exposed to strong light; the retina, from its transparency allowing it to pass without injury. The nigrum pigmentum is not necessary for vision, but is provided only as a defence against strong light.”

Several instances are mentioned in support of the last assertion. Among them we learn that the owl, which never sees the sun, has no nigrum pigmentum; in Negroes it is darker than in Europeans; and in animals exposed to the sun, darker than in those not so exposed.

The author concludes by saying that he has merely stated facts; but that Sir H. Davy explained them by saying that the radiant heat in the sun's rays was absorbed by the black surface, and converted into sensible heat. A distinction of considerable importance in studying the nature of heat; it being found to possess different properties when (if we may be allowed the expression) at rest, and when in motion.

Nos. 2 and 3, are short notices of a singular fact in natural history.

No. 8, is by Dr. J. Davy, on some points in the physiology of the genus *Rana*.

No. 5. The Croonian lecture. Microscopical observations on the following subjects. On the Brain and Nerves; showing that the materials of which they are composed exist in the blood. On the discovery of valves in the branches of the vas breve lying between the villous and muscular coats of the stomach. On the structure of the Spleen. By Sir Everard Home, Bart., V.P.R.S.

The information which Sir E. Home has been enabled to obtain on these subjects is owing to the great perfection to which microscopical observation has been carried by Mr. Bauer. The most important feature of these discoveries, consists in the knowledge obtained of the existence of a transparent elastic mucus, soluble in water; which serves to unite in rows small colourless globules, from $\frac{1}{1800}$ to $\frac{1}{2000}$ part of an inch in diameter: thus forming them into fibres: bundles of these fibres constitute the structure of the nerves, and the brain is found to contain the same globules united by the elastic mucus. The transparency and solubility of this mucus, Sir E. Home thinks will account for its not having been hitherto noticed. There is found to be some difference in the prevalent size of the globules in the different parts of the brain. In general terms it may be said that the smaller sized globules prevail most in the outer parts of the brain,

and the larger in the interior. The proportion also of the mucus to the quantity of globules, is greater, and its consistence less tenacious in the outward or cortical part of the brain, than in the medullary or inward part.

Every part of the brain is supplied with minute blood vessels. These are found traversing the cortical part in very delicate ramifications. In the medullary substance they are larger. The veins are of smaller diameter than the arteries, and are furnished with numerous valves. This circumstance, Sir E. Home thinks, explains why there are no absorbents in this organ: these veins perform that office by means of their valves; and carry the absorbed matter into the superior longitudinal sinus; which seems to be more of a reservoir than a vein, and is found to contain decomposed colouring matter besides blood.

These investigations are intermixed with some very hypothetical considerations which we will not notice, but proceed to mention the progress of these researches, in tracing the presence of the soluble transparent mucus through all the brain and nerves as the medium by which the globules are connected together; and lastly the same substance was found to be an important constituent in the blood, and the medium by which the colouring matter is attached to the surface of the red globules. Thus terminates the first object of these enquiries. The second was one in some measure connected with the first, having been suggested by the discovery of the absorbent system of the brain, which led Sir E. Home to conjecture that there might be some similar provision for carrying off the fluids taken into the stomach whenever the quantity or quality interfered with the process of digestion. He had ascertained that some fluids were so carried off; and by Mr. Bauer's means he was enabled to demonstrate vessels in the coats of the stomach, and to give strong collateral evidence of their acting as absorbents. And it immediately suggested itself that this was the use of the branches of the *vas breve* in a situation well supplied with other blood vessels. Into the detail of the investigation we cannot enter, as they cannot be understood without the beautiful plates which accompany the paper. A similar remark will apply to the author's examination of the spleen; of which we will only give the concluding inference:

“The spleen from this mechanism appears to be a reservoir for the superabundant serum, lymph globules, soluble mucus, and colouring matter, carried into the circulation immediately after the process of digestion is completed.”

No. 12. A further account of fossil bones discovered in

caverns inclosed in the lime stone stocks at Plymouth. By Joseph Whidbey, Esq.

Sir E. Home has added an anatomical description of the different bones, &c.

No. 18. (Part II.) An account of the skeletons of the Dugong, two-horned Rhinoceros, and Tapir of Sumatra, sent to England by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Governor of Bencoolen. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. V.P.R.S.

This paper is for the most part confined to anatomical details. We will only extract one part, which is interesting, as shewing several beautiful instances of provision for the habits and functions of the animal, in its structure.

The bones of the skeleton give a form very different from what is met with in the whale tribe. The middle part of the back is the highest point in the water: and the lungs are extended to great length on the two sides, close to the spine, so that they furnish the means of the animal becoming buoyant, and when no exertion is made, the body will naturally float in an horizontal posture.

When we consider that this animal is the only one yet known, that grazes at the bottom of the sea, (if the expression may be allowed,) and is not supported on four legs, we must admit that it will require a particular mode of balancing its body over the weeds upon which it feeds.

The Hippopotamus which uses the same kind of food, supports itself under water by the strength of its limbs; and the Dugong, as a compensation for not being able to support its body on the ground, (having only two short arms or fins,) has this means of suspending itself in the sea, peculiar to itself. The peculiarity of its position explains the form of the jaws, which are bent down at an angle with the skull, this new mode of floating, when compared with that of other sea animals, makes a beautiful variety. The *Balæna Mysticetus*, which catches its prey at great depths, is surrounded by blubber, not unlike a cork jacket. The *Spermaceti Whale*, whose prey is not so far removed from the surface, has the mass of spermaceti in a bony concavity on the skull. The shark has the liver loaded with oil, nearly in the same relative situation as the lungs of the Dugong.

The rest of the paper consists of anatomical descriptions of the Rhinoceros and Tapir. The whole is illustrated by several plates of the Dugong and the other animals, as also of their skeletons and various parts of their anatomy, for the original specimens of which we are indebted to the industry and zeal in collecting subjects of natural history, which are so conspicuous in Sir T. S. Raffles.

No. 21. Is entirely of a surgical nature: detailing the case of a very elaborate and skilful operation, performed by Mr. Earle, by which a portion of the urethra, which had been destroyed, was replaced by a canal, formed by gradually supplying the deficiency, by portions of the adjacent integuments.

No. 26. On the peculiarities that distinguish the Manatee of the West Indies, from the Dugong of the East Indian seas. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. V.P.R.S.

The Manatee differs in its external form from the Dugong, the tail being much broader, and the ribs having greater lateral extension. As this animal feeds upon the plants that grow at the mouths of great rivers, and the Dugong upon those met with in the shallows of the sea, this difference of form will make it more buoyant, and better fitted to float in fresh water: while its habits of life place it between the Dugong and Hippopotamus. The account is illustrated with plates.

No. 28. On the Nerves: giving an account of some experiments on their structure and functions, which lead to a new arrangement of the system. By Charles Bell, Esq.

This is an elaborate and interesting paper, on a branch of physiological science, the most important, and at the same time hitherto the most obscure, but which the author of these researches conceives has now assumed a new character: the intricacies of the nervous system have been unravelled, and the peculiar structure and functions of the individual nerves ascertained; so that the absolute confusion in which this department was involved, has disappeared, and the natural and simple order has been discovered. Such at least is the view which Mr. Bell takes of the subject in its present improved state; the advancement having been occasioned by the gradual accumulation of observations within the last few years, among which his own hold a very conspicuous place. The great principle which Mr. Bell has the merit of suggesting, is, that where any organ performs several functions, it is supplied with as many separate systems of nerves as it performs offices: and that the same observation may be extended to many muscles and other parts of the body, which though not the direct organs of a particular function, are yet called into action, whenever that function is exercised, as auxiliaries. In this way, many of the most remote muscles are employed, though perhaps hardly perceptible, in many functions of an organ, which seems not at all connected with them.

“When,” says the author, “we minutely and carefully examine

the nerves of the human body, and compare them with those of other animals, a very singular coincidence is observed between the number of organs, the compound nature of their functions, and the number of nerves which are transmitted to them. No organ which possesses only one property, or endowment, has more than one nerve, however exquisite the sense or action may be; but if two nerves coming from different sources, are directed to one part, this is the sign of a double function performed by it. If a part or organ, have many distinct nerves, we may be certain that instead of having a mere accumulation of nervous power, it possesses distinct powers, or enters into different combinations, in proportion to the number of its nerves. The knowledge of this circumstance gives new interest to the investigation of this part of anatomy."

"Thus in reviewing the comparative anatomy of the nerves of the mouth, we shall find that in creatures which do not breathe, the mouth having only one function to perform, one nerve is sufficient. In certain animals, where the face and nostrils have no complexity of relations, these parts have only a single nerve. If the throat has no complexity of organization, it has no variety of nerves. But on the other hand, when the anatomist employs weeks to dissect and disentangle the nerves of the tongue, throat, and palate in the human subject, he finds at length, that he has exhibited the branches of five different trunks of nerves: and there is no clue to the labyrinth, until he considers the multiplied offices of the mouth in man: that it is a pneumatic, as well as a manducatory organ: that it is the organ of voice and speech, as of taste, and exquisite feeling. It would, indeed, be matter of surprize, if the same nerve served for the action of gnawing and feeding in the lower animals of simple structure, and also for the governance of those complicated operations, which serve to interpret the wants and sentiments of man."

In these terms our author developes the leading principle of his researches. He finds in all animals two systems of nerves; some of the differences between which have long been remarked by physiologists; but he points out the exact accordance of those systems of nerves superadded to the one simple symmetrical system which pervades all animals, with the complexity of functions superadded to the simple functions of sensation and loco-motion, and which increases with the rank of the animal in the scale of existence.

These luminous and profound views are established by a number of experiments and observations, the details of many of which are given in this paper. The function of respiration is selected as a good instance for the critical examination of the soundness of the principle proposed: and the arrangement of the systems of nerves in the different parts connected with this important function, are shewn to afford the strongest evidence in favor of the proposed theory.

Comparative anatomy, the author considers, as affording strong proofs of the truth of his principle. Among other instances, he states, that when a feeler or antenna answers merely the purpose of sensation, it has only one nerve running along it. It was suggested to him that if his theory were true, the trunk of the elephant, answering purposes both of feeling and respiration should have two nerves; whereas, Cuvier has stated, that it has only one. Mr. Herbert Mayo however, in dissecting a young elephant, found the trunk furnished with two nerves proceeding from different systems, exactly as the theory supposes. In conclusion, Mr. Bell points out some practical applications of the knowledge thus attained, in surgery: he also promises a continuation of the investigation, with respect to the nervous systems of other parts of the body employed in respiration which will be necessary to complete the proof of his theory, he having in the present paper only gone through the nerves of the head and face.

We will now proceed to survey very briefly, the papers in the department of chemistry, in the volume before us.

No. 4. On two new compounds of Chlorine and Carbon, and on a new compound of Iodine, Carbon, and Hydrogen. By Mr. Faraday chemical assistant at the Royal Institution.

The true nature of chlorine which for a long time remained doubtful, having been ascertained, it became important to learn the nature of all the compounds it was capable of forming. This has been long done with all except carbon: the author of the present paper has succeeded in forming two compounds of chlorine with this substance. These are found to be a per-chloride, and a proto-chloride of carbon. And their properties are examined at great length, and the modes of procuring them. The close analogy also between chlorine and iodine, suggested to Mr. F. the trial of forming a compound of the latter with carbon. He has as yet however only succeeded in uniting iodine with carbon by the intervention of hydrogen. The pure iodine remains for future research.

No. 27. On a new compound of Chlorine and Carbon. By Richard Phillips, F.R.S.E. and F.L.S. and Michael Faraday, Chemical Assistant, R. I.

It is remarkable, that another compound of these substances should be found so soon after the discovery of the two just mentioned.

This substance was formed accidentally during another process, and observed by M. Julin, who sent a portion to

this country, where it was examined by the authors of this paper. By well conducted experiments on the very small quantity sent over, they determined with sufficient precision that it is composed of one portion of chlorine and two of carbon. The proportions of the former compounds are, the per-chloride, three chlorine and two carbon; the proto-chloride, one chlorine and one carbon.

No. 13. On the aëriform compounds of charcoal and hydrogen: with an account of some additional experiments on the gases from oil and from coal. By William Henry, M.D. F.R.S. &c.

This is a profound and ingenious examination of several points relating to the different species of carburetted hydrogen gas. The subject is closely connected with one on which we made some observations in a former number, when brought forward in the Bakerian Lecture for 1820, by Mr. Brande. The present paper contains a refutation of the views of that gentleman, or rather we should say, a re-establishment of the old doctrine, founded on the most decisive and accurate experiments, with respect to one part of the subject, viz. the existence and composition of the simple carburetted hydrogen: whilst on the other hand, olefiant gas, which Mr. Brande considers the essential ingredient in the gases obtained from coal, seems from these experiments not to exist in those gases; they only contain a gas which resembles it in some peculiar properties, but whose composition is different, and as yet, undetermined.

The author first examined the gas commonly considered as carburetted hydrogen, and which has also been repeatedly examined by other chemists: he determined its specific gravity, and several properties; and finding the results obtained by different modes, and under very different circumstances, all nearly the same, he concludes, that there can be no reason for refusing to consider it a true chemical compound, having uniform properties and composition. He then exhibits the atomic composition of carburetted hydrogen, and olefiant gas. The former is one atom charcoal to two atoms hydrogen; the latter one atom of each.

He then tried experiments as to the action of chlorine on carburetted hydrogen; and found, that a condensation was produced when they were exposed for a short time to the common light of day; but none whatever if light were completely excluded. He found the reverse to be the case with olefiant gas, which is condensed by chlorine in the dark. This, therefore, became a method of analyzing a mixture

of these gases which he found susceptible of great precision.

The mixed gases from oil and coal, were now subjected to analysis by means of chlorine. These processes and their results are detailed; and upon the whole, it was found that the portion of these mixtures not condensible by chlorine consisted of carburetted hydrogen, carbonic oxide, and hydrogen, with a little azote, part of which may be traced to the impurity of the chlorine. No instance ever occurred to Dr. H. of a gas obtained from oil or from coal, which after the action of chlorine upon it with the exclusion of light, presented a residuum at all approaching to simple hydrogen gas; nor does he believe that such a gas can be generated under any circumstances of temperature, by which the decomposition of coal or of oil is capable of being effected.

Our author then proceeds to make some inferences, respecting the composition of that part of the gas from coal and oil, which is condensed by contact with chlorine. Here, however, he met with some unexpected anomalies; the same were also found by Mr. Dalton. The portion of gas condensed by the chlorine presented decided differences from olefiant gas. It considerably exceeds the olefiant gas obtained by the action of sulphuric acid on alcohol, both in specific gravity and combustibility. He conceives, that

“ It may be either a gas, *sui generis*, hitherto unknown, and constituted of hydrogen and charcoal, in different proportions from those composing any known compound of those elements: or it may be merely the vapour of a highly volatile oil, mingled in various proportions with olefiant gas, carburetted hydrogen, and the other combustible gases.”

He then gives several presumptions in favour of each supposition, but rather inclines himself to the latter. The paper is concluded by a brief recapitulation of the principal inferences.

No. 15. (Part 2.) Some observations and experiments on the papyri, found in the ruins of Herculaneum. By Sir Humphry Davy, Bart. P.R.S.

This paper contains various remarks relative to the papyri; the experiments were chiefly performed by subjecting the MSS. to the action of chlorine which has properties tending to destroy the matter which caused the adhesion of the leaves, without injuring the MS. itself. The application of this method required extreme precaution. Sir H.

Davy considers the operation of fire to be by no means necessary to account for the state of these MSS. which is to be attributed to gradual decomposition from limited exposure to the operation of water and air.

No. 16. Observations on Raphaline, a peculiar substance resembling a concrete essential oil, which is apparently produced during the decomposition of coal tar by exposure to a red heat. By J. Kidd, M.D. Professor of Chemistry at Oxford.

This paper consists of minute details of the nature and properties of a newly discovered substance; important as extending chemical knowledge, but of little interest to the general reader.

No. 20. On the separation of iron from other metals. By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. F.R.S.

This is a very profound and ingenious paper on a mode of performing an important operation in analysis, in which chemists have hitherto had but very limited success, the modes proposed being inadequate, tedious, and confined in their application. The indefatigable industry and profound sagacity however of Mr. Herschel, have succeeded in discovering a method of separating iron from all compounds, with the utmost precision, and with great facility.

The method is briefly this: to bring the solution to the maximum of oxidation which can be given it by boiling with nitric acid: then just to neutralize it, while in a state of ebullition, by carbonate of ammonia; and the whole of the iron is precipitated.

The author then details the various precautions necessary to be observed in performing the operation. He next proceeds to explain it: and considers the phenomenon as turning on a peculiar property of the peroxide of iron, viz. that it cannot exist in a neutral solution at the boiling temperature. This property is proved by several experiments. Examples are added of the analysis of some specimens of meteoric iron; and a peculiarly elegant process is described, in the application of the principle laid down, to the separation of iron from uranium: this is done by as it were inverting the process. The solution being de-oxidized; and then treated with an earthy carbonate; the iron passes in solution, and the uranium is separated. The whole paper deserves the close attention of every chemical student.

ART. XII. *Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc, August 18th, 1822. With an Appendix, upon the Sensations experienced at great Elevations. By Frederick Clissold, Esq.* 8vo. pp. 56. Rivingtons and Cochran, 1823.

THE commencement of this narrative is rather alarming. It informs us that the imagination of the tourist was often directed to the sublimities of Mont Blanc "by a small lithograph which graced his mantel-piece," and that "he appreciated the opportunities afforded by mountain scenery of *investigating the mind*, when called into energies of a nature as new as they are noble." Now of all the investigations which may be carried on upon a glacier, the very last which it would have occurred to us to institute, is an investigation of the mind. A new metaphysical system, suggested by a graceful lithograph, and matured by a night's sleep upon snow, would be a curiosity worth travelling to Chamouni to see. And a reader of Mr. Clissold's narrative, who has not enjoyed the previous benefit of these remarks, will gather up his reasoning faculties into that capacity for the profound, with which we endeavour to approach a new quarto from Edinburgh. But no such preparation is required. Mr. Clissold, upon further acquaintance, turns out a good humoured intelligible climber, and goes into a more detailed investigation of his feet, lips and face, than of the nobler but more abstract portion of his composition.

He arrived at Geneva towards the end of July, 1822, and having communicated his intention to Professor Saussure, was favoured with a sight of the shoes which the Professor's father had worn in crossing the snows and glaciers, and the traveller immediately procured a similar pair. Proceeding to Chamouni; proper guides to the number of six were engaged and held in readiness, and while waiting for fine weather, and a philosophical French gentleman, Mr. Clissold made a successful trial of his strength. His preparations for the ascent consisted of a wide-brimmed straw hat, two veils, the one black, the other green; and a preparation of Burgundy pitch to be placed upon his chest and between his shoulders. M. Gourdon, an artist of Geneva, was kind enough to lend him a Fahrenheit's thermometer, which he kept to correct those he made; but a barometer, *suitable to the elevation of Mont Blanc*, was not to be procured either at Geneva or Chamouni. Philosophical instruments were

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obligingly offered, but from an apprehension that they would retard the traveller's progress, they were, with equal civility, rejected.

The *Philosophe* was detained in France, and Mr. Clissold was compelled to start without any companion but his guides. These he persuaded to consent to a new division of the hours which they were about to employ in the attempt. The usual arrangement is to sleep about half way up the mountain upon the rocks of the *Grands Mûlets*, and gain the summit the day after. By starting in the beginning of the night, Mr. Clissold proposed to reach the summit the next day; to sleep as near to it as safety would permit, and descend the following morning. He shall give his own account of the commencement of his labours.

"On the night of the 18th of August, at half past ten, I started on foot with six guides*. None of us had taken previous rest; the air continued perfectly clear, and was not unpleasantly cold; but there was no moon, so that we provided ourselves with a lantern. The guides, who had so reluctantly agreed to ascend, now merrily joked upon our novel situation; and for myself, I felt so strong and so delighted, that I wished it were Chimborazo I had to climb. As the night was dark, and our path wandered over rugged ground, and through a pine-forest, we proceeded but slowly. After an hour's march along the valley, we commenced our ascent, to the east of the glacier de Bossons. About midnight we reached the cottage of old Favret—one of the guides of Saussure, and father of Pierre Favret, by whom I was accompanied. The old man, as soon as he saw us, burst into a hearty laugh, excited, as he said, by the drollness of the scene. We procured of him a few thin pieces of wood to serve as the bed on which we were to repose at night, and then departed; but as old Favret continued his laughter, we could not refrain from joining in the merriment, till his jovial notes gradually died away in the distance. When we arrived half-way to the place where we had to enter upon the glaciers, I obtained possession of the sack of Pierre Favret, whose lot it was to carry the lantern, so that I enabled him to proceed more speedily, and inspired my guides with a confidence in my strength, which encouraged them to their greatest exertions." P. 9.

The passage of a glacier has been so frequently described,

* Viz. Joseph Marie Coutet (Captain) had made the ascent to the summit
 David Coutet (brother to Marie) 5 times
 Pierre Marie Favret 2 times
 Jacques Coutet (brother to Marie Coutet) 1 time
 Simon Jean Baptiste } had never ascended to the summit.
 Matthew Bosonuet

that nothing more can be told upon that part of the subject. The *Grands Mûlets* were reached at half past seven, a hearty breakfast partaken of, and several distant avalanches seen and heard. The thermometer in the sun was at 70°, the party were secured in pairs by ropes, and the most dangerous part of the enterprize undertaken in high spirits.

"As the day advanced, we heard many avalanches fall from the rocks; the heat was oppressive; our thirst rapidly increased; and our stock of water was exhausted. I therefore proposed bottling the snow; expecting it to thaw by the sun or the heat of the body, an expedient which afforded us many an hearty draught. Some of the guides mixed wine, and some vinegar, with snow; the latter being a cooling and agreeable beverage; others found great relief from dissolving loaf sugar in their mouths: but, with regard to myself, I generally used lemons, and partook abundantly of raisins, which proved a good substitute for other food. Sometimes I satisfied my thirst with snow: for, having upon other occasions tried the experiment, even during the highest state of perspiration, I found, by first dissolving the snow in small quantities, and moderately warming it in the mouth, that although it has sometimes been followed by a slight inflammation of the mouth and throat, yet it has never produced serious injury. Our thirst now became excessive; and if we had not satisfied it, effects might have been experienced worse than those occasioned by taking the snow. Our faces suffered from the heat of the sun, as well as the powerful reflection of light; but to relieve us from these unpleasant effects, I had provided myself with a preparation of cold cream, of which the guides gladly partook. Soon after we left the *Grand Mûlets*, my fellow guide detached himself from me, on account of his great exhaustion. I was, therefore, secured between two others, and was surprized that I felt so little fatigue; but the cold surface we trod prevented those inflammatory effects in the legs, which are experienced when walking upon common ground. Another guide, from exhaustion, soon fell into the rear; and as we approached the *Grand Plateau*, all, except Favret and myself, were severely affected with lassitude and difficulty of breathing, which they ascribed to the rarity of the air. Rest was their only means of relief; and this soon restored them. We reached the *Grand Plateau* at two o'clock. Marie Coutet suffered considerably in his respiration; and looking me in the face, '*Diable,*' cried he, '*vous n'êtes pas fatigué du tout.*'" P. 18.

The next resting place was the *Rocher Rouge*, 800 feet below the summit. It was not reached until half-past six, three hours later than had been expected. A long delay had been produced by the exhaustion of some of the guides. The party resolved to pass the night in this situation, and

the description of their sleeping chamber is worth transcribing.

"We now retraced our steps to the Rocher Rouge, which, I was soon convinced, had, only by necessity, been selected as our place of abode for the night. This rock is seated upon the verge of a precipitous eminence, and runs back into an embankment of drifted snow, so as to have a small area adjacent to its western side. This area is so detached from the rock, as to leave a crevasse running along its base; the lower part of the embankment is also detached, as to form a covered passage, winding over this end of the crevasse, and under the embankment. We found a semicircular cavity, which, opening into the crevasse, upon its near side and close to its brink, appeared to have been occasioned by the sinking of the snows underneath. Into this cavity the poles were thrust down, to ascertain whether it was undermined by a continuation of the chasm, and we judged it was not. The cavity was only about twenty feet from the verge of the eminence, which consisted chiefly of indurated snow, that frequently rolled down in avalanches; but we all contented ourselves with this situation, being too much in need of rest to be troubled with any idea of danger.

"Every guide had by this time arrived, so that we immediately set about guarding the cavity, upon that side which opened into the crevasse, by means of cross poles fastened into the snows; we then strewed its floor with the few pieces of wood brought from old Favret, and spreading over them a blanket, we all crowded together into this little cell. The guides now partook of a moderate supper; but I had no appetite, and my mouth and throat suffered from the snow and lemons I had eaten. Wine was too strong for me, and our expedient of thawing the snow had failed, since our departure from the Grand Plateau; so that I neither ate nor drank. I now changed my shoes; putting on the pair with which I had ascended to the glaciers. I changed also my stockings, and dressed in an extra pair of hose, and a spencer, which had been put up, by the kind attention of Monsieur Charlet, *le maître d'hôtel*. Before we started, I understood that charcoal would be provided; but none now appeared, and I was resolved not to complain. The guides used for pillows, and for enclosing their feet, the sacks which had contained our provisions,—an accommodation they offered to me, which I declined; as I had brought extra clothing, and was resolved to share in their hardships. A travelling fur cap, defended my head, which being reclined on the snow, I had only to open my eyes to behold above me a firmament of stars.

"The thermometer was at 26°; and we were extremely cold, being sheltered only with a thin linen cloth. It was eight o'clock before we became settled. In the night arose light gusts of wind, drifting the snow upon us; and as they generally occasion ava-

lanches, my thoughts were naturally directed to the possible instant precipitation of us all 2000 feet down the steep of the mountain. I had but little sleep through the night, and with our thin cloth we were but half covered; so that I was in frequent watch for day. At length I perceived a lambent light, which had stolen from the eastern horizon, feebly illumining the summit, till it glowed softly with a planetary lustre, and seemed insphered, as it were, in the dark blue firmament; when, as twilight brightened into a cloudless morning, it blushed like a rising harvest-moon. Now, therefore, I roused the guides; but cold and dangerous as was our resting place, half of them were loath to leave it; neither were they required, as we had now no dangers to encounter. I omitted to look at the thermometer; but Marie Coutet, who had been in the habit of attending to it upon great elevations, afterwards told me that he considered it had not descended lower than 18° ; our lemons, however, and a bottle of the best hermitage, were frozen." P. 23.

The summit was gained without any material difficulty, and here we expected a metaphysical repast. But "coldness; fatigue, little rest for two nights, an incessant attention to their footsteps, and that state of equanimity which had been requisite in surmounting so many dangers, rendered the travellers incapable of fully enjoying the grandeur which was displayed around them." One, and only one, moral observation occurs.

"The air was perfectly still; the sky of a deep cerulean tint; and the contrast of this richness and solemnity of shade magnificently increased the splendour of the sun. We descried only two or three small travelling clouds; but these foreboded a gradual termination of our fine weather. A thin hazy circle skirted the horizon, dimming all objects in the extreme distance, or, it was thought, the Mediterranean might have been discerned. All distant low land, as well as the waters of the Genevan lake, were slightly obscured; but the extreme range of the Alps rose clearly in view, from which Mont Rosa 'upheaved its vastness,' pre-eminent in majesty and splendour. Amid this wildly varied immensity, the distant Shreckhorn dwindled into a diminutive peak; while, of all the magnificence which was stretched around us, the sublimest spectacle was presented by the monarch upon whose crown we trod; for over a tract of seven miles in breadth, and five and twenty in length, were seen, crowded together in confused perspective, hundreds of rifted pyramids, boldly towering over tremendous and most resplendent glaciers: but a range of aiguilles upon

* In this respect, I was misunderstood by the editor of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, (in his Number for September, 1822,) Coutet's remark being confined to this particular night.

the southern side of the mountain rose with a still more subduing sublimity—some of them soaring seven thousand feet almost perpendicularly above the vale, and refulgent with vast accumulations of ice and snow.—Here, I felt a silent regret, that I stood ~~not~~ alone, and undisturbed. Without their natural associations, even scenes like these are but useless display. The extraordinary effect produced upon the mind, by the immensity and strangeness of this spectacle, was to me a subject of the deepest attention. In this voiceless solitude, and on so vast an elevation, above our common ~~sp~~ modes and concerns, the mind acquires enlarged views of its existence, and naturally connects sternity with time. Hence we perceive the true value of life, and the equality of all mankind in their relation to a future state; the pure and exalted affections of humility, and universal charity, are excited; and ‘we feel, as it were, the Spirit of the universe upon us *.’”

All this may be very true, but if nothing better is to be gained by ascending Mont Blanc, we shall be tempted to class Alpine investigations of the mind with the other divisions of that science. The descent was happily and speedily accomplished. Mr. Clissold rose on the following morning, with a blistered face, and in a few days lost the skin of his fingers and toes. He left Chamouni on the 28th of August, and returned without delay to the contemplation of his lithograph, and the composition of his pamphlet.

ART. XIII. *A Letter to his Grace, The Lord Primate of Ireland, on the Manner in which Christianity was taught by Our Saviour and His Apostles. By George Miller, D.D. M.R.I.A. Rector of Derryvoylean, and Master of the Royal School of Armagh. 8vo. 72 pp. 2s. Rivingtons, 1822.*

THE author of the important observations contained in this Letter, addressed them to the late Primate of Ireland, with the view, as he modestly states, of seeking “under the protection of the name of that venerated Prelate, that attention from the public which his own might fail to procure.” But

* “The Album of the London hotel contains the following sentence, written by a Parisian lady, and bearing a striking resemblance to a passage in Rousseau :

“*Si j'étois reine, je déposerois ma couronne au pied de ce mont ; tant je trouve les vanités et les grandeurs du monde, petites et périssables auprès de ce monument de la puissance éternelle.*”

we are confident that every one who is acquainted with the high character of Dr. Miller, will readily admit that he is, under no necessity for claiming from any other considerations, that public respect and attention which are due to the unaided influence of his own distinguished reputation.

They who have read the already published volumes of the *Philosophy of Modern History*, will find in the recollection of the superior merit of that excellent work, a sufficient inducement to peruse with interest any production from so masterly a pen as that of Dr. Miller. We have carefully considered the interesting publication now before us, and we feel it due to our readers to invite their earnest attention to the observations which it contains. The learned writer makes a few introductory remarks on the general subject of proselytism, from which we extract the following :

“If the original preachers of a religion, disclaiming the aid of human power, endeavour to propagate their doctrine only by persuasion, two ways lie open to them. They may choose either to address themselves separately to individuals, and thus gradually to collect a body of converts sufficiently considerable to possess political importance and security ; or, they may explain their tenets to assembled crowds, trusting that from these collective exhortations some good result would spring, though without any anticipation of the particular instances in which this might occur.

“If a politician acting merely according to the principles of human wisdom, should design to form a party, he would naturally address himself to individuals; and, in the representations separately employed for gaining the acquiescence of each person, he would endeavour to avail himself of the facility afforded by the peculiar sentiments, the personal views, the weaknesses, and the passions of the individual whom he solicited. It could never be the policy of such a man to propose his plans to a crowd, which had not been prepared for his purpose by much previous management.—.....

“If such be the mode in which measures of human policy are carried into operation, it must be evident that mischief is done in the process. If the prejudices of an individual are flattered for the purpose of conciliating his assent, those prejudices are strengthened ; if his vanity is gratified by the deference apparently shown for his opinion, he becomes vainer than before ; if his selfishness is bribed by some advantage presented to him as the reward of his corruption, he is rendered more corrupt. So far as any arts are employed in preparing the minds of individuals distinct from the influence of fair and general reasoning, in the same proportion are those individuals perverted.—.....

“But, however such expedients may be deemed admissible in political arrangements, they must be wholly incompatible with the

character of genuine religion. Genuine religion belongs to the heart; and, where that is perverted, religion must be debased. If then any arts are employed in gaining proselytes which conciliate them by acting on their private weaknesses, the true purpose of proselytism is defeated, for the new converts are rendered worse in their very accession to the religion which should render them better. Exterior co-operation is not in this case sufficient as in that of a political party, and if the heart is not reformed in the very act by which it is gained to a religious association, that association is but a political party in disguise."

We think that this reasoning on the nature of the case is just and satisfactory. However, the main proof of the learned writer's position is to be derived from historical testimony. The induction of Scriptural evidence is copious and complete; were we to do justice to it, we should be obliged to transcribe the greater part of this Tract; but as our limits will not permit us to give the full force of the evidence, we shall confine ourselves to some of the more important particulars, referring our readers, for their further satisfaction, to the work itself.

After noticing the mischievous tendency of private proselytism, as exemplified in the conduct of Mahomet at the commencement of his imposture, Dr. Miller thus proceeds:

"If we now turn our attention to the religion of Jesus, we shall perceive, that in its first establishment, it was not less carefully guarded against the mischievous influences of individual proselytism, than against that of forcible conversion. The manner in which his religion was to be communicated to the world has been twice illustrated by Jesus, in comparing it to the operation of committing seed to the earth, and these illustrations concur in excluding at least from the original method of promulgating the gospel, all applications to the peculiarities of individual character. One of these is the parable in which the seed of the word is described as sown indifferently on various soils, some of which are fitted for receiving and cherishing it, and others are not less unfavourably circumstanced for yielding any produce. The sower in this parable is represented as casting the seed indiscriminately in all places, without any anxious selection of the soils and situations from which he might best expect an abundant remuneration. The other parable which has been given by the evangelist Mark as a sequel of the former, bears perhaps yet more directly on the subject which I am now considering. 'So is' says the evangelist, '*the kingdom of God as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up he knoweth not how.*' This parable, which must relate solely to the seed received in good and productive ground, ascribes the growth

of the word, to an arrangement wholly distinct from the care and superintendence of the husbandman. He has sown the word in a good situation, among others of a very different description. And the seed springs and grows up he *knoweth not how*, in some manner and by the agency of causes to which his knowledge does not extend.

"The actual conduct of Jesus in his ministry corresponded to the representations contained in these parables: when the high-priest questioned him concerning his doctrine, what was his reply? '*I spake openly to the world: I ever taught in the synagogues and in the temple whither the Jews always resort, and in secret have I said nothing.*' He had not gone about from one individual to another, that he might collect a party of devoted followers; but, he had addressed his assembled countrymen in places of public resort, committing to the good providence of God, the issue of his exhortations. This answer, publicly given at his trial, must be considered as conclusive in establishing the systematic publicity of his ministry."

Our author having noticed, and we think successfully answered some objections to the principle which he is endeavouring to maintain, proceeds to support it by examples and inferences collected from the conduct of the Apostle Paul, whose ministry, being especially directed to the conversion of the Gentiles, would seem to demand that private and individual solicitation which was declined by our Lord. The learned writer particularly insists on the two visits made by the Apostle to Athens and to Rome; and endeavours to shew that notwithstanding the diversity of circumstances in which he was placed in both of those cities, the whole history directly negatives the supposition that he employed in any one instance the mode of private application; though in Athens, that alone seemed to afford him any hopes of success. But—

"He had come to preach the gospel, not to *form a party*; and, when he perceived that his public ministry did not promise him success, he abandoned the Athenians to their vain philosophy, and sought in other regions, hearers who could be persuaded without the aid of private solicitation. It cannot then be said, that the apostle, though relying principally on the effect of his public exhortations, was willing also to avail himself of the opportunities of private intercourse; for he was not in this case induced to do so, though this method alone seemed to promise him any success. Nor should it be argued, that the promise of success was not sufficiently encouraging to prompt this other effort; for it should be remembered, that if the propagation of Christianity were merely a plan of human imposture, to have formed any party among the inge-

nious and learned Athenians, would have been deemed a very important object ; and, the disgrace of having been rejected by such a people would have been anxiously shunned as injurious to the cause."

A recapitulation of the preceding direct evidence of Dr. Miller's opinion, is followed by a subsidiary testimony in its favour, of a negative nature derived from the condemnation of the practice of seeking individual proselytes, as employed by the Scribes and Pharisees, whom the Divine Author of our Religion has described as men who *compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, and then rendered him two-fold more the child of Hell than themselves*. Upon this our author observes :

" Since the Scribes and Pharisees are thus described as the agents of this aggravated corruption, we should suppose that it must have arisen from the method of conversion which these had employed. It may accordingly be explained, in correspondence to the principle which I have been endeavouring to establish. These proselytes had been gained, not by propounding in open and general exhortations the opinions of the sect, but by artful applications addressed to the weaknesses and vices of individuals ; their wickednesses and vices were therefore at once increased by a treatment which afforded them indulgence and encouragement, and blended with that conversion which had been effected with such instruments ; and thus bringing into their new profession all that impure disposition of mind which had been flattered for their conversion, they would naturally prove more determined enemies of the gospel than the very persons by whom they had been so improperly conciliated."

Here we close the evidence which our limits will permit us to extract, in support of Dr. Miller's opinion. The proof is of that nature which must materially suffer by abridgement ; but we are sure that all who feel interested by examples of cautious and patient investigation, of clear and compact reasoning, of neatness and perspicuity of style, of that candour and manliness of conduct which boldly looks its difficulties in the face, and successfully removes them, above all, of well directed and pious efforts, to increase the evidence and preserve the purity of our most holy religion, would be highly gratified by examining for themselves this excellent publication, of which we have endeavoured to give a brief but we hope a correct analysis.

The force of this reasoning of Dr. Miller, is not to be diminished or eluded by the general remark, that all profitable measures and institutions are liable to abuse, and that it

would be wild and desperate to reject them on account of accidental corruptions: for this would be doubly to beg the question; since first, it would imply that the corruptions of the mode of private proselytism, are only accidental; and secondly, that it was practised by our Lord and his Disciples; whereas the Doctor is proving that these corruptions are *not accidental* but *necessary* to private proselytism; and that our Lord and his Disciples did *not* practise it, but expressly and by example condemned it.

Before we take leave of Dr. Miller's interesting publication, we wish to point the attention of our readers to the following extract, which serves to shew the Christian spirit in which it was written.

"If our Saviour deemed it fitting, that himself and his immediate followers should decline a private and personal communication, which might indeed have procured more numerous proselytes, but would have rendered them partisans rather than Christians, is it not obligatory on all his followers to observe a similar conduct, and to labour for the dissemination of just sentiments of religion, only in that manner which has been sanctioned by His wisdom? And are we not authorized to regard, at least as unsafe friends to religion, all those who engage in practices which appear to have been providently shunned by our Divine Master? It is indeed our bounden duty to endeavour to spread around us the knowledge and the influence of divine truth; but, if we attempt to discharge this duty by intriguing with the vanities and fears, and hopes of individuals, we shall assuredly fail: we may form a great and powerful party, but we shall not aid the cause of true Christianity. There is, however, a method of doing this which is clear from all danger of abuse. *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.* Let us endeavour to regulate our own lives, strictly, by the precepts of the gospel, and there will be no difficulty in persuading others to embrace a religion, which they behold so realized to their observation. No intrigue shall then be necessary for captivating assent, no stratagem of party shall then be required, for adding to the profession of Christianity the importance of numbers. The moral influence of a truly religious example shall, under the Divine Providence, be fully adequate to the accomplishment of the gracious mission of the Saviour of mankind, for He will sanctify with his favour the efforts which are exerted in a conformity to his own example, and will bless them with a powerful operation on the minds of those, who have unhappily been ignorant of the faith or inattentive to its dictates."

Certainly, we may humbly trust that the HOLY SPIRIT of our approving GOD will give efficacy to such Christian efforts as are here described by Dr. Miller: and we may not

assured, that they who under the Divine Grace, shall steadfastly persevere in such conduct, will in no wise lose their high and infinite reward.

We thank Dr. Miller for his interesting Letter to the late Primate of Ireland; and we recommend to the attention of the public, this short but valuable production.

The conclusion of the review of PALÆOROMAICA will appear in our next Number.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR APRIL, 1823,

ART. I. *Palæoromaica, or Historical and Philological Disquisitions, &c.*

(*Concluded.*)

AFTER the treatment which the Greek text of the New Testament had experienced at the hands of this adventurous critic, it could hardly be expected that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament should escape untouched. Accordingly we have a conjecture in p. 305, "That *several* of the Books of what we term the *Septuagint*, are really a version from the Latin." He had not the courage to say *all*; yet it is a pity that he had not; for unless *all* of them are versions from the Latin, the whole of his argument drawn from the Septuagint, to prove that the Hellenistic Greek is Latin Greek, falls to the ground. Even if we give up the book of Daniel, the Psalms, the Chronicles, and Ecclesiastes, we have sufficient left of the older Greek versions for our purpose. But we see no reason for any such concession. It is acknowledged that there were three editions of the Septuagint version, current in the time of Origen: and that these three, together with the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion may have contributed to form the text which is now called the Septuagint version, is very probable: but that the old Alexandrian version is the basis, cannot be doubted. The passages which Philo quotes from the Old Testament he quotes according to the text of our present Greek version, with such differences only, as we may conceive to have arisen from different recensions of the same text; and Philo, we know, must have used the Alexandrian version. The quotations of Philo which we have compared with the text of the Septuagint, are from the Pentateuch, the Book of Judges, and the Proverbs. The quotations made by Clemens Romanus also agree with our text of the Septuagint. It is needless to accumulate arguments in opposition to an hypothesis, which

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is almost too absurd to deserve a formal refutation. How is it, that the undoubted peculiarities of the Alexandrian dialect are frequent in the Greek version of the Old Testament? Why do we continually meet with the forms of the third plural in *-αν* and *-οσαν*, as *πέποιθαν*, *ἐκρίνοσαν*, &c. for *πεποιθασι* and *ἐκρινον*? These are not the peculiarities which would have marked a version made by a Greek in the second or third century. That they were not introduced from the Latin, as the Disquisitor absurdly supposes, appears, amongst other reasons, from the circumstance of their being used by Lycophron. Again, we have the second aorist third plural in *-αν*, both in the Old and New Testament, as *ἔλαβαν*, *ἔφυγαν*. "*Istius modi formæ in αν, quæ vix reperiuntur in scriptis Græcorum, sunt ex dialecto Alexandrina*," Valckenaer, in Luc. xix. 14. One might as well dispute the existence of a Doric dialect, as of an Alexandrian, or the traces of it in the writings of the Græcising Jews. See how the case stands: the Greek literature of the Jews came from Alexandria: the people of Alexandria used a dialect in many respects different from that of the European and Asiatic Greeks; it was natural that they should do so; and they did: consequently the Greek usually spoken by Jews would be in the Alexandrian *dialect*, but probably to a certain degree in the Hebrew *idiom*. We have, in the first place, a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, formed in great part from an ancient Greek version made by Jews residing at Alexandria. We have other Greek writings by Jews who possessed little or no literature. We find, in both instances, many traces of that dialect, which, we know from other sources, was spoken at Alexandria; and we find also many idiomatic phrases, which correspond with the Hebrew, rather than with the Greek language; what, then, can be more certain, than that the Greek, usually spoken and written by Jews, was Alexandrian Greek, and that the Alexandrian Greek, or as some have thought fit to call it, the Hellenistic Greek, was, as to its verbal peculiarities, Alexandrian, and as to its idiomatic, Hebrew? It is really quite idle to argue with our author on this subject; although we have abundance of arguments to urge; *πολλά μοι ὠκεία βέλη=ἐνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτραις*.

Now if it be conceded, as we are confident it must, that the Septuagint version is *not* a translation from the Latin, but from the Hebrew; two consequences unavoidably follow; 1. that the version which we possess, is, in the main, more ancient than the time of the Apostles; and secondly, that the Apostles wrote in Greek; since they *generally* but not *uniformly* quote the Septuagint version.

Our author's objection, that the Evangelists and Apostles

were not Alexandrians is quite childish. They "caught the Alexandrian dialect" not only by perusing the Septuagint, but by finding it the common language of those Jews who spoke Greek. Philo was an Alexandrian, yet wrote in a purer style; and why? Because he had diligently studied the best Greek writers, as Aristobulus and Josephus did, and as the Jews in general did not. The very exceptions prove the rule. Our author confounds the *coinage* of new words by the translators, which in many *compound* words may have been the case, with the peculiarities of *dialect*. Will the reader believe us, when we tell him that our modern Hardouin suspects the word ἐνωρίζεσθαι (for εἰς τὰ ἅτα δέχεσθαι) of the LXX. to have been formed from the Latin *annotare*? and ἀκουτίσθητι (for ἀκούσαι ποίει) from *excute*? although the sense of *annotare* is widely different from that in which the LXX use ἐνωρίζεσθαι (the author seems to think *annotare* synonymous with *notare*), and *excute* means precisely the reverse of ἀκουτίσθητι. This gentleman's knowledge of Latin seems to be upon a par with his proficiency in Greek. His misconception and misconstruction of a line in Ovid (p. 140.) is quite laughable. We recommend the whole of his speculations upon Greek words corrupted from the Latin, as matter for amusement; and will content ourselves with giving an instance or two as a sample of the cargo. In 1 Cor. viii. 10. we read εἰν γὰρ τίς σε ἰδὼν τὸν ἔχοντα γινώσκῃ, ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατακείμενον, οὐχὶ ἡ συνείδησις αὐτοῦ, ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος, οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλῶδητα ἐοδῆεν; For οἰκοδομηθήσεται some critics would read ὁδοποιηθήσεται, and others οἰκονομοθήσεται. But says the Author, "I shall now apply *my canon*." He proceeds thus: "the translator of the Epistles, is not merely a literal, but an "etymological translator—finding *domabitur* in the Latin text "of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and *looking out* for a Greek "word beginning with οἶκος *a house*, as *domabitur* seems to "begin with *domus* *a house*, he fixed on οἰκοδομηθήσεται as an "equivalent to *domabitur*." And so we have a person undertaking to translate the Latin of the New Testament into Greek, who did not know enough of the former language to recognize one of the most common of its verbs. Upon this supposition he had never seen the word before; and in that case it is reasonable to imagine that he would have made some little inquiry into its meaning before he rendered it conjecturally by οἰκοδομηθήσεται. In the first verse of the same chapter we have ἡ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ, which, we suppose, was in the Latin original *domat*. It is astonishing that a person who has read so much, as our author seems to have done, should have committed such nonsense to paper. "1 Cor.

xi. 10. ὁφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. The Latin original of our present text had been HABITUM, a dress; and this was *etymologically* translated ἐξουσίαν."!!!— Now if the translator knew *habitum* to signify a *head-dress*, he would have translated literally and intelligibly, not "etymologically" and nonsensically: but if he did not know it, he would have rendered it by ἔξιν or σχῆμα, not by ἐξουσίαν.— I Cor. v. 1. καὶ τοιαύτη πόρνεα, ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ΟΝΟΜΑΖΕΤΑΙ, ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν. Our author objects to this assertion, that worse things were not only *named*, but *practised*, amongst the Gentiles. Therefore, says he, οὐδὲ ὀνομάζεται is a translation from *nefandum* or *nefas*. Here we have our friend the translator, who did not know so common a word as *domabitur*, dividing *nefandum* into its constituent parts and giving a critical version of it. And how is the passage mended? The expression of St. Paul as it stands, is equivalent to *quod vel Gentiles nefandum putant*; Sophocles calls an atrocious crime ἄρρητ' ἄρρητον. (Oed. T. 470.) and Euripides, ἄρρητ', ἀνώνμαστα. (Hec. 711.)

We are gravely told that *nummos caducos* being "a phrase not familiar to the translator, he converted it, *by a kind of chime*, into *μαμμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας*." So γέενα is formed from *ignis*, which was so very uncommon a word, that the translator, not knowing what to make of it, metamorphosed it into γέενα. But as γέενα is not a Greek word, why did he not put ἔγνις at once? it was mighty squeamish, surely, to scruple at taking a good Latin word in a Greek dress, and to employ a word which is neither Latin nor Greek. "Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ is *Ave! Pater*. "Ἀμην ἄμην is *Tamen tamen*, (pretty Latin.) ἀνάθημα μαράναθα is *Anathema Mariæ nati!* "Ὁσαννα, *Occane*. ἁμαρτία from *a* and *merita*, and thus it corresponds with the Latin *immerita!* Ἰλαστήριον is a hybridous Greek word from the Latin *LUSTRO* to *purify!* We remember somewhere to have seen *βαῖδς*, *small*, derived from *bay horse*, because bay horses are usually *large*; but we know of no etymology which *quite* equals those of our author, in ingenuity, except Dean Swift's, of, *All eggs under the grate*, (Alexander the Great.)

At p. 229 is given a list of "words apparently formed from the Latin" which displays an incredible ignorance of the Greek language on the part of its compiler. But one conjecture is so exceedingly elegant and probable, that we cannot withhold it from our readers. Cicero says, *Ad Attic.* l. 11. "Ego autem ipse, Dii boni, quomodo ἐνεπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio!" Our author suspects that Cicero wrote ἐνεπερευσάμην, from *πεπίρι* or *piper*:—"Good God! how I *pepper'd* Pompey!" Considering that Cicero was

then particularly studious of Pompey's friendship, *peppering* him seems to have been rather a whimsical operation. Πτερύγιον (Luke iv. 5.) is, we are told, merely a corruption of *porticus*. Did our author never hear of the *πτερά*, of Grecian edifices; the *alæ* of Latin architecture, or the *aisles* of a church? We recommend him to look at the notes on Hesychius, v. *πτερά*.

Absurdity is carried still further in a list of words "formed from the Latin by transposition." It is impossible to believe any person in earnest, who tells us that *διχοτομέω* is formed from *dimitto*, *ἐγείρω* from *erigo*, *εὐδοκέω* from *gaudeo*, *ἄδικος* from *caducus*, &c. &c. and that *ἐπιούσιον* in the Lord's Prayer is nothing else than *effuse*, which would make the petition run thus, "Give thus day our bread in immoderate quantities."

"Claudite jam rivos pueri, sat prata biberunt."

We make it a rule never to say any thing harsh of an author under review; but this we do say, with all gentleness, and under correction, that the greater part of the 4th Disquisition is a monstrous farrago of inconsistent and unintelligible nonsense. We have a good specimen of our author's knowledge of Greek, in his rendering *προκέτω* *pro-cædo*, and supposing that this was a mistake for *procedo*, in which sense he "strongly suspects that it was modelled on the Latin *procedo*," i. e. by Æschylus and Euripides, who used the word in that sense. We have another specimen in what he terms his list of *solecisms*, almost every one of which are of common occurrence in the best authors. In the 3d Disquisition it is maintained, that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians in Latin, because they all spoke Latin; if so, it is odd that he should have quoted to them a Greek trimeter, *φθείρουσιν ἡδὴ χρεὸς' ὁμιλίας κακὰι*. With respect to this quotation, our author has furnished us with an argument against himself; he shall die by a feather from his own wing. He has shewn what strange work William de Moorbeka made, when he retranslated into Greek the quotations from Empedocles, which were in the Latin version of Simplicius. How then did it happen, that a translator, who, according to our author's hypothesis, must have been marvellously ignorant, and a wretched writer of Greek, should have hit upon the actual words of Menander, an author, whose comedies were not likely to have been read by the translator. Nor was the same imaginary gentleman likely to have known, that *malæ consuetudines corrumpunt bonos mores* was a version of a Greek senarius, inasmuch as it is used by St. Paul without any mark to indicate a quotation. The same observation applies to the

verse of Aratus. Acts xvii. 28. Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμεν, and to that of Epimenides, Tit. i. 12. Κρήτες αἱ ψευτταὶ, κατὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. The quotation from Aratus proves, at least, that St. Paul addressed the Athenians in Greek. To all our author's speculations about the use of Latin at Corinth we oppose the testimony of Dio Chrysostom, who says expressly, (Or. xxxvii. p. 461), that "Corinth, although a Roman colony, had become Greek, (ἀφ' ἑλληνίσθη) just as he, being a Roman, was perfect master of the Grecian eloquence." St. Paul, however, would write in Greek, not merely because the Corinthians spoke Greek, but because he himself understood it better than Latin, as our author acknowledges. We must recall our reader's attention to a remark which we made in a former Number, that the first persons to whom the Gospel was preached in every city were *the Jews*, who spoke Greek. Apollos was a Greek Jew, and he preached at Corinth. It is certain that St. Paul wrote to converted Jews, (see ch. v. 7, 8. x. 1.) Furthermore, he talks continually of Jews and Greeks, but never of Jews and Romans.

We take this occasion of noticing an allusion of St. Paul's, which we do not remember to have seen remarked elsewhere, 2 Cor. iv. 7, ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν. It appears to us very probable, that the apostle alludes to the celebrated Necrocorinthian vases, which about that time were greatly in request. Strabo viii. p. 585, Almelov. says, that the colonists who were sent to Corinth by Cæsar, upon removing the ruins of the houses, broke into the tombs, where they found ὀστρακίων τορευμάτων πλήθη—καὶ—Νεκροκορινθίων ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν Πάμην. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ ἐκ τῶν τάφων ληφθέντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ὀστράκινα.

All the proofs which are adduced in the 3d Disquisition, of the harshness and obscurity of St. Paul's style, its barbarisms and irregularities, are so many arguments for his having written in Greek; for we may be sure that a Greek translator, who, as our author observes, was one of a people that "possessed an indigenous and exalted literature" would not, even in the middle ages, have written such Greek as occurs in St. Paul's epistles. If he suppose, that the translation was made by a Latin, like the version of Empedocles, then all his hypothesis of Latin words, not understood by the translator, falls to the ground. But if he conjecture that it was made by a Jew, and so account for the peculiarities of style, then it might just as well have been written by the Jew St. Paul.

The argument which is taken from the Roman names, in the epistles to the Corinthians, Justus, Crispus, and Caius, *is of no weight*; for, on the other hand, we have Chloe and

Stephanas, and the names Caius, Crispus, &c. might have been borne by Corinthians, who spoke Greek, being descended from Roman families. We very commonly find Greek inscriptions by persons with Roman names. Libanius speaks of more than one person of that description, for instance, Crispinus of Herculaneum, where we know that Greek was spoken. (Tom. i. p. 21. ed. Reiske.) (We may here remark, that the prevalence of the Greek language in Asia, appears from an expression of Libanius, who says that Festus was not induced, *even by his ignorance of Greek*, to decline the government of Syria, p. 104.) We have in inscriptions, apparently written where Greek was the prevailing language, the very names of Crispus, Gaius, and Titus, which occur in these epistles; and as to Corinth, there is a curious Greek inscription given by Muratori, NO. DCLI. I., recording a theatrical contest, under Flavius Paulinus as Agonotheta, where Aemilius Epictetus, a Corinthian, is said to have recited *ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας*, and Clodius Achilles, a Corinthian, is styled *Σατυρογράφος*, and the *Σάτυροι*, we know, were a species of composition peculiar to the Greek language. But the matter seems to us to be put out of all doubt by Acts xviii. 4. where Paul is said to have “reasoned in the Synagogue (at Corinth) every sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks,”—and when the Jews opposed him, he said, “from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles. And he departed thence, and entered into a certain man’s house named Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue believed in the Lord with all his house.” Here we have two facts; the Gentiles, who heard Paul at Corinth, were Greeks; and the archisynagogus, who was certainly not a Roman, yet bore a Roman name. In fact it was the city only, and not the district round Corinth which was colonized by Julius Cæsar; and, from the situation of that town, it would unavoidably happen that the next generation after the first colonists would use the Greek language.

These considerations, and the quotation from Menander, prove that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians in Greek. The arguments, which we have before urged, for a Greek original of St. Mark’s Gospel, apply still more forcibly to St. Paul’s epistle to the Romans. That Greek was the language of Thessalonica, Colossæ and Laodicea, and the chief towns of Galatia, hardly admits of a doubt; that St. Paul was conversant with Greek, even our author admits: how absurd then, to suppose that he should have written his epistles in Latin, with which he was not familiar, to people who were as little familiar with it as himself! We never saw a more striking instance of the

unreasonable shifts to which a person is necessarily driven, who is resolved at all events to maintain his supposition, or, as the Greeks said, δουλεύει τῇ ὑποθέσει.

If there be any writings in the world, which bear internal marks of originality *as to language*, they are those of St. Paul; the very peculiarities which the Disquisitor fixes upon, as grounds of suspicion, are to, a mind exercised in sound criticism, proofs of authenticity, and "confirmation, strong as holy writ." But we discover, throughout the whole of the work before us, strong and palpable traces of an understanding perplexed and confused by multifarious reading, but undisciplined by exact study. The author seems to labour under a plethora of learning; his digestion is impaired; there is a determination of spirits to the head; and we have the consequences before us, in the wild and extravagant day-dreams of the Palæoromaica,

"Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire."

In the fifth disquisition it is attempted to be proved, that the Gospels and Epistles remained in Latin till the compilation of the canon, which our author supposes not to have taken place till the latter part of the second century. Now as to the Gospels, Papias, as quoted by Eusebius, mentions those of Mark and Matthew; and as we have only a short extract from that father, it is not certain that he did not allude to the other Gospels. On the contrary, it is reasonable to conclude that he did: or probably Eusebius would have noticed the omission. He cites the words of Papias concerning Matthew and Mark, because they state some facts which were not commonly known. Eusebius, (iii. 37.) speaking of the succession of the Apostles in the beginning of the second century, says, that they quitted their own country in order to preach the Gospel to those who had not heard the word of faith, and "to deliver to them the scripture of the divine Gospels;" by which expression, Eusebius means the four canonical Gospels. Now although there was no regular ecclesiastical historian before him, yet he professes to have consulted the memoirs which various Christian writers had left, of the transactions of their own times. Irenæus, in the latter part of the second century, speaks of the four canonical Gospels as well known and received in his time. The terms in which he speaks of them, plainly show that the canon was not then formed for the first time. If we have but very few allusions to the Gospels in earlier Christian writers, the plain reason is, that we have scarcely any earlier Christian writers surviving: and, in defect of them, we may surely rely upon the testimony of Ignatius and Clemens

Alexandrinus, who, says Eusebius, "in his Hypotyposes, lays down the tradition of the earlier fathers from the beginning, (παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνεκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων,) concerning the order of gospels; viz. that those which contain the genealogies were written first, &c." The circumstance, upon which so much stress is laid, of Justin Martyr's having so frequently quoted the Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, without mentioning the names of the writers, and the difference between his quotations and the actual text of the Gospels, seem to deserve some remark. Mr. Stroth supposes that Justin quoted the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It appears to us not likely that Justin should have quoted a Hebrew Gospel. His mode of citation may be accounted for, by his desire to clothe the doctrines of Christianity in the elegant garb of Greek philosophy, ἐν φιλοσόφῃ σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, (Euseb. iv. 10.) Aristides had pursued the same course before him. Hieron. Epist. ad Magn. T. ii. p. 332. "Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi Apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit, contextum philosophorum sententiis, quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus." Our author lays some stress upon the circumstance of Justin's having quoted only the Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων: did he not know, or has he suppressed, the actual expression of Justin, ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, Α ΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ? Justin then possessed more than one Gospel; and no reasonable person can doubt whether they were the same Gospels which Irenæus possessed a few years afterwards. With this express reference to the Gospels, it is grossly unfair, or very careless, to assert that, "with the exception of the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and the *Apocalypse*, Justin cites or refers to no other book of the New Testament." p. 312. The following words of Justin clearly show that he referred to the Gospel of St. Luke, as well as to those written by Apostles; ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρηκολυθηκότων συντετάχθαι, ὅτι ἴδρως κ. τ. λ. p. 331. C. (he refers to Luke xxii. 42. Matt. xxvi. 39.) One is almost led to suspect from this expression, that Justin understood St. Luke's words, παρηκολυθηκότι ἀνωθεν πάντων, to mean, "having followed them all, (i. e. the αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου,) from the beginning of their ministry."

Justin relates, that the Gospels were read in the congregation every Lord's day; a sufficient proof of their having been received into the Church. Tatian, who lived only thirty years after Justin, composed a Diatessaron; and the use of the expression, *the four*, proves that the canonical

Gospels were not then *recently* acknowledged by the faithful. As to the objection, that Justin does not quote the *names* of the Evangelists, Tatian distinctly refers to John i. 5.; and Athenagoras to Matthew, v. 44. 45.; and to 1 Cor. xv. 54. (κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον,) without specifying the author's name. So in the epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, (ap. Euseb. v. 1.) written about the year 177., we have quotations from Luke i. 6. John xv. 13. iv. 14. and other passages both of the Gospels and Epistles, but without any mention of the writers.

The question concerning the formation of the canon, and that which relates to the different families of MSS. of the Greek Testament, we shall be glad to see taken up by Mr. Nolan: we do not feel ourselves called upon to discuss it; the simple points which we wish to establish being these, that the books of the New Testament were not written in Latin; and that our present Greek text is not a version from the Latin. We have, perhaps, said more than was necessary on the subject. One single argument seems to us to be sufficient. This supposed version from the Latin must have been made, if at all, before the formation of the canon; i. e. before the middle of the second century; that it has not been made since, appears from the very great diversity of *language* in the different books of the New Testament. No scholar will believe that the writings of St. Luke and those of St. John were translated into Greek by the same person; nor that St. Paul's epistles were translated by the same hand which was employed on St. Luke or St. John. In any of the *acknowledged* translations, a uniformity of language pervades the whole, as one would naturally expect. But our present Greek text, if it be translated from the Latin, must be a collection of translations made by different persons at different times, and all before the middle of the second century. And how utterly improbable it is, that all traces, and even tradition, of the original Latin, should in that case have been lost within a few years afterwards. Origen, who, for the age in which he lived, was unquestionably a great critic, complains that there was a great variety of reading in the different MSS. of the New Testament in his time, "whether from the carelessness of the copyists, or from the boldness of some injudicious correctors of the text, or from the additions or mutilations which different editors had made to suit their own opinions." It is quite obvious, that Origen had not the slightest suspicion of the Greek texts being a translation; and really it is too much, to call upon us in these days to receive an hypothesis, for which there is no *historical* foundation whatever,

and of which a great biblical critic, in the early part of the third century, had not the least notion ; although he had paid great attention to the authenticity and integrity of the Christian scriptures.

As to his principal hypothesis, that the received text of the Greek Testament is a translation from the Latin, we think that the disquisitor has utterly failed in his attempts to give it even a colour of probability. The work before us contains many detached observations, which are both curious and valuable: but the whole forms a strange chaotic mass of quotation ; and there is scarcely a single opinion received by biblical critics which is not called in question. We have reason to complain of the manner in which this is done ; a manner quite remote from that modesty and candour with which the author professes to conduct his inquiries, and savouring more of universal scepticism, and a thorough contempt for sacred literature. The *Palæoromica* is calculated to unsettle all the historical notions of the young student in theology : a profusion of learned quotations is laid thickly over a very slender and absurd hypothesis ; and many will be apt to take for granted, that a speculation, backed by so much erudition, must be true. Take the arguments one by one, and their insufficiency will appear. The absurdity of the disquisitor's lucubrations, upon the interchange of Greek and Latin words, is beyond all belief. The notion seems to have taken possession of his head, and he absolutely runs riot through the vocabulary. The language in which he speaks of such men as Bishop Pearson, Dr. Lardner, Bishop Middleton and Paley, do no credit to his judgment or his feelings. We conclude with a master-piece of Greek criticism, which occurs in p. 399., and which has been noticed as it deserves by the Bishop of St. David's ; we are not at all surprised that so exquisite an emendation should, as our author says, " have hitherto escaped observation." Our classical readers will remember the opening lines of the *Hecuba* :—

Ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότυ πύλας
Λιπῶν, ἵν' Αἰδῆς χάρις ᾤκηται θεῶν,
Πολύδωρος, Ἐκάβης παῖς.

Our author's emendation of the second verse is this,

Λιπῶν, ἵν' Ἀχέρων ἔσιν, ᾤκησά τ' θεῶν, [or θεῶ]

which contains more than one beauty, viz. a false quantity ; the elision of a vowel before a consonant, and the striking image of a ghost *running* full speed. We recommend his speedy retreat to Acheron, with the *Palæoromaic* speculations at his back.

ART. II. *Julian the Apostate, a Dramatic Poem.* By
Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, Bart. Warren.

OF alarms, there are some which justify themselves, by producing the very state of things which they anticipate. Others, which induce a general propension to the opposite extreme. Of the latter kind, is the complaint so widely sounded, of the decay of British dramatic talent. Young authors, giving credit to the daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly assertions of periodical critics, have entered boldly upon tragedy as an open field; and writers of established popularity have listened to the flattering exhortations of their admirers, who fail not to commend to their compassion the prostrate drama of their country. Thus, like those mendicant monks who acquired boundless riches by the reputation of their poverty, English literature has been enlarged with copious dramatic acquisitions, through the common belief that the vein from which it derived them was altogether exhausted.

Nevertheless, we can scarcely congratulate our contemporaries on the production of a genuine dramatic work, fitted alike to the stage and the closet. Modern writers seem aware, that in England the reading public is not identified with the seeing and hearing public, and have generally adapted their labours exclusively to the one or the other. We are even afraid that the few attempts that have been made to accommodate both at once put us rather unpleasantly in mind of the coarse, but venerable adage, respecting two stools. Authors, of late, have fallen under a desperate apprehension of being too good for the public. If they would but take as much pains to arrive at excellence, as they are at to avoid it, they might do something. The unfortunate public is burdened with all the literary sins of successive generations. The quibbles and clownery of the Elizabethan writers, the rant and bombast of Dryden and Lee, the obscenity of Wycherly and Congreve, the personalities of some current publications, yea, the very blackguardism of Tom and Jerry, are all, forsooth, so many compliments to the taste of the public! The pretence is not confined to the stage—politicians, philosophers, paragraph writers, and fiddlers, all are ready to impute their mob-sycophancy, their superficiality, their malice, their ear-tickling farrago of odds and ends, to the bad taste of the public. Never was Popish Father-confessor at Lent more oppressed with the misdeeds of others, surely not so unprofitably, oppressed, as that anomalous per-

sonification—every body and nobody—that every thing composed of heterogeneous nothings, the public. To borrow a phrase from one of its greatest favourites, “whose name is hidden, but his fame divulged,” it seems indeed to hold the same place in the world as that equally unsubstantial personage Nobody, occupies in a large family. But even supposing that this wonder-working abstraction possessed a tangible substance, a “local habitation” as well as a name, we fear that the excuse of public taste will avail our authors but little. If any individual among them have a right to complain, it must be of the injudicious catering of the few, his rivals, rather than of the vitiated appetite of the many, whom he desires for readers. The nurse or parent, who for years had pampered a child with deleterious dainties, could hardly complain with a good grace if that child should at length prefer them to more wholesome food; and a sensible physician would not be liberal of reproaches to the unfortunate founding, who had been corrupted, either against its will, or before it had a will at all. But the truth is, that mankind in general, on all points that concern the heart of the man—not the passions or interests of the individual, prefer the better to the worse, and generally select, if not the absolute best, the best within their reach. If at any time they discover a partiality for what is evil, it is because they connect it by association with what is good. We doubt not that our ancestors, who received with approbation the licentious dramas of Charles and William’s days, were possessed by nature of hearts and imaginations as pure as the most fastidious of modern times; but the conduct and writings of the wits their contemporaries caused them to infer a constant association of genius with licence and obscenity. To separate co-instantaneous impressions requires more education than many obtain, and more reflection than all are capable of. But the case of some authors coming before the world is not dissimilar to that of a man of recluse and coelibate habits, on entering female society. So far from astounding the ladies with hard words and learning, the student is apt, by a style of conversation elaborately trifling, and by manners ungainly coxcombical, to display a glaring contempt for their understanding. But it is better (of the two) to be pedantically natural, than pedantically affected. Good Greek, even in ladies company, is more creditable than bad French. It is a dangerous experiment for any not possessed of more suppleness than is consistent with strength, *to stoop to conquer*. Men and writers if they please at all, must please by doing their best in their own way. Our modern stage dramatists

(not without exception) almost professedly lower their efforts to the supposed level of the general capacity: their *ars poetica* is literally an *art of sinking*. Such being the case, can it be wondered that those who dive deepest into the mud should carry the prize? It is with poets as with politicians, when either have once made up their minds to succeed by appealing to the mob as the mob—by appealing to their actual vulgarity and debasement, not to their latent and possible nobleness, every relic of generosity, every spark of the diviner flame that abides with them, is an absolute impediment to their popularity. But beneath the lowest depth to which genius can degrade itself, there is yet a lower deep, the fee-simple and unalienable property whereof is vested in sincere native dullness. Let the *gentlemen* of the Fancy sound the base string of humility as strongly as they will, they are but *Imitatorum servum pecus*. They want the true racy vulgarity of the butchers and draymen, their brawny protégés. Our dramatists may make the application for themselves.

Be the cause however what it may, few of our modern tragedies have met with distinguished success; still fewer have survived their first run, and of those the principal have been indebted to the extraordinary powers of an actor, who many times does not merely represent the conception of his author, but rather creates, out of his own voice, look and gesture, a new and superior character. But, though an actor can supply passion, humour, form, and dignity, he cannot supply thought, without which no composition can last long. Thus, the recent ludicrous stage-pieces (few, if any, of late years, have assumed the title of comedy,) though they have stood better than the more serious performances, (for we are sooner tired of wondering than of laughing,) have never strayed from the theatre to the fire-side; for the grimace, the tone, the costume, the incomparable oddities of visage, which carried them off so triumphantly, do not *explain*, but *constitute* their humour. And the tragedies which appear to have been written with a special reference to scenic representation, are too often constructed with such a cautious exclusion of thought, poetry, and common sense, both in the plot and dialogue, as plainly to discover the low estimation in which the authors hold their expecting audience. A few flowers, a metaphor, a description, often pretty enough, but seldom appropriate, seem to be admitted on purpose to shew what might have been produced, had the world been worthy of a higher strain. Fights, processions, storms, gun, drum, trumpet, blunderbuss, and thunder, raving mothers and their

children, **raw-head** and **bloody-bone** villains, starts, swoonings, **crim-con**, delirium, and blasphemy, are served up with **all due** deference to the low state of public taste, whereby **good sense** and judgment are as effectually banished from the theatre at present, as modesty and decorum in the time of Jeremy Collier.

Exceptions, honourable alike to the writers and to the town, might doubtless be cited; nor do we recollect a single instance of real dramatic merit failing of success, at least in the higher walks of the drama. It may sometimes have been withheld from the public by the fears and scruples of managers (who we suspect are by no means free from the apprehensions so common among authors, of cloying by superfluous excellence); but what dramatist can fairly complain, that in a weighty matter he has had harsh judgment, when his cause was fairly brought into court? We say in a weighty matter, for it is possible that a humorous absurdity may not always meet with an audience in a good humour. But against the condemnation of the best of these, it can only be alleged, that worse have had the luck to succeed.

But besides the authors who by their own confession write badly in compliment to the general palate, there are others who write, and profess to write, without any regard to the public at all. A restless anticipation of neglect, a spontaneous defiance of censure, a carelessness of pleasing any but themselves, and such as themselves, indicate as strong a disposition to undervalue the sense of mankind as to over value their own. They, as well as the self-abused worshippers of popularity, are haunted with the fear of their own too great excellence; the only difference is, that they pride themselves on despising this fear, while the others use it as a pretext for assuming credit both for the bad things which they do, and for the good ones which they do not write. The one, therefore, allow themselves to be out of sympathy with the world, and the others, that they are only in sympathy with its weakness and its follies, a state of mind on both parts somewhat unpromising, if, according to Aristotle, poetry is the most catholic, the most universal, and therefore the most philosophical and prominent of all concrete compositions. If it be more than science, more than even history, the common offspring of the heart and head in their highest state of improvement, emanating from the whole and common human nature, and addressed to the same, can that be poetry which confessedly has no other direction than to the temporary passions of the many, or to the peculiarities of a few? Yet such will ever be the productions of those who write for a multi-

tude whom they despise, or for a sect from whom they look for flattery, and neither the one nor the other will ever achieve the fame of classic poets, unless genius, the expositor of universal truth, oblige them to write better than they intend. The first duty of a poet, who aims at immortality, is to compose for men, as they are men, not as they chance to be philosophers by trade, or shopkeepers by trade; not as hypochondriacs or day-dreamers; not as possessed with certain fancies, humours, or diseases, arising out of individual temperaments, circumstances, and accidents, or which is almost as frequent, from caprice, wilfulness, and vanity, but as they are endued with common feelings, common faculties, a common sense of beauty and fitness, and a common susceptibility of certain impressions under certain conditions. But this duty will almost always be neglected by him who sets out with a despair or a contempt of general sympathy. He feels that his own mind is not in accord with that of his fellow-creatures; he therefore is afraid, not without cause, of being unintelligible, for sympathy is the ground of all mutual understanding. But, unwilling to condemn that in himself which seems to be more exclusively his own, he attributes his difference to superiority. He would have the tone of his peculiar feelings to serve as the key-note of the world, and failing of this, he modestly concludes that the world is out of tune. A presumptuous selfishness of intellect is the inevitable consequence of this conviction; the man becomes his own ideal excellence; he seeks for all things in himself; and in himself too, not as a partaker of the discourse and communion of reason, but as he is A. B. or C. a gentleman possessed of such and such sensibilities and humours, quite as likely to proceed from bile as from inspiration.

But if this contempt of the common feelings of mankind be fatal to poetry in general, much more so to dramatic poetry, which demands an absolute exclusion of self, as the previous condition for the forming of other and universally intelligible selves out of our common and communicable nature. For it is the paramount privilege and function of a real dramatist, to create characters possessing a self independent of his own; his personages are not fragments of the circumference of his own being, but have each a separate centre, a principle within them acting upon each other, subject to reaction from each other as much as actual living men. The ground of their actions and passions is in themselves; they act mutually upon each other, and are acted upon by the incidents of the plot, without any apparent design, or obtrusive interference of the author. In short, they are persons, and

neither puppets nor abstractions; they vouch for their own truth and reality. Such were the characters of Homer, whom Aristotle pronounced to be the most dramatic of all poets, notwithstanding that he adopted the epic form. Such are the creations of Shakspeare, and such, as far as they go, the fainter delineations of Massinger, and of other writers of the same period, whose *dramatis personæ* are persons scarce less than those of Shakspeare, but then they are often persons of very little or of very disagreeable character.

On the other hand, Ben Jonson, the best of playwrights, and Fletcher, the first of dramatic poets after Shakspeare, both fail in this essential qualification of the dramatist. In the strength and vividness of their diction, in the clearness, fullness, and rapidity of their plots, in many smaller particulars, wherein their only likeness is excellence, they may jointly challenge the place immediately below their great master. But neither of them was divested of self; they were meddling writers, who departed in different ways from the truth of pure representation, fashioning their fancies rather by their own wayward wills, than by the immutable law of nature. Fletcher's characters have for the most part one temper—the hot blood of their author is in all their veins. They have passions and imaginations, but they have no personality. They are not born, not fairly separate from the matrix in which they were engendered. One of them might be called Fletcher's rage, another his pride, a third his wantonness, and the greater number his whims and jokes; but the best of them is not a separate and distinguishable being. They are not only caricatures, but caricatures of single features, and those features are all Fletcher's own. They possess indeed a life derived from the poet, but it is rather the life of wens and excrescences, than of a full-formed and healthy offspring.

Ben Jonson's characters are manufactured; they are a compilation of fashions and humours, put together with great strength and adroitness, but without that "Promethean heat" which should fuse and animate these happy parts into a perfect living whole. Like many others, he seems to have been ignorant or forgetful that an accumulation of disjointed facts cannot make one consistent truth. It is probable that every trait, every folly, almost every phrase in his chief works, was faithfully copied from observation; yet the aggregate is a stiff, lifeless monster, not unlike the manufactured mermaid lately exhibited, of which nature supplied all the component

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parts, while the connexion of the whole was merely artificial. Even where the different humours are happily blended and shaded off, still there wants a ground of common nature. The *character* is made the whole man, which is never the case in Shakspeare, whose most grotesque imaginations are flesh and blood; of the same material that we all are made of, however strange their "form and pressure." Hence Jonson, with all the laborious exactness of his manners, and notwithstanding the skilful construction of his fable, produces no illusion: we see him every where at work with the wires.

His personages act and speak for no intelligible purpose, except to develope the plot and their own characters; and of these intentions they appear as fully conscious as old Ben himself. They are not humourists, but humours, or sometimes a complication of humours. Some physicians, infected with that unrequited passion for the muses, which has been observed to accompany or presage excellence in their profession, instead of describing the symptoms of disease in the human body, have given us an allegorical description of disease, considered in the abstract. Jonson's representation of manners is much after the same fashion. In common with most writers and talkers who entertain an extraordinary opinion of their own understandings, he seems to have laboured under great apprehension from the supposed obtuseness of his auditors. Like the archer of Amphipolis, who dispatched an arrow with a written direction "to Philip's right eye," he carefully labels the shafts of his satire for their proper destination: and lest his actors should not sufficiently explain themselves, he occasionally deserts the dramatic form altogether, in order to expose them in his own person. And herein, as in most of his merits and defects, he is in sharp contrast with the gentle Willy, who, conscious that his heart was in-sympathy with the common heart of mankind, seldom troubled himself to estimate the comparative degrees of intellect.

If the inventions of Fletcher partake of their author's temperament, those of Jonson are stamped with the impress of his mind—strong, rich, heavy, laborious, and assuming. Thoughts, words, gestures, and habits (for he has frequently particularized the gestures and dress of his characters,) are alike splendid, elaborate, ostentatious, and ungraceful. He moves along the earth, through woods and morasses, with the stupendous and successful efforts of a giant refreshed with wine, and exulting in the power of his own muscles.

Shakspeare flashes from pole to pole, with the thought executing speed of electricity, or imitates the involved and mazy rapidity of a fairy dance. Homer is an eagle, that glides along without let or impediment through the pure and passive sky.

We ought perhaps to apologize for this inordinate digression; but the truth is, that whenever we fall in with Shakspeare and his contemporaries, we have not resolution to part company with them, till at least three pages are fairly travelled over. Our limits oblige us to cut short the remainder of these preliminaries, with the simple observation, that the excellence of our early dramatists, the low but lucky ambition of some of our modern playwrights, and the contempt for public taste inculcated and professed, by some who have deserved fame, and *might* have obtained popularity, have conjointly operated to deter many young aspirants from soliciting the favour of an audience; and produce a pretty large number of *dramatic poems*, intended exclusively for the closet. This pre-determination has had its effects, in a diffuse luxuriance of style, an overgrowth of the undramatic portions (the *αγρυ μισγη* of the Stagyrite,) a languor of action, and in some cases a scantiness of incident, which would never have befallen a writer, who with genius equal to the production of such works, had kept in mind the peculiar powers, privileges, and proprieties of the scene. Too much of self, too much of the poet, if not too much of the man, will unconsciously intrude, and the characters will often forget that they are speaking of present things to each other, and talk as of things absent, and merely imagined, in the style of an uninterested describer. A dramatic writer should infuse into his persons a personal and reciprocal, not merely a poetical interest in all that they see, do, and suffer.

Our readers (if they have patiently accompanied us thus far,) may begin to apprehend that we have either forgotten the author, whose name appears at the head of this article, or are determined to condemn him, by a formidable citation of old statutes and precedents, eked out with *ex post facto* laws of our own making. Nothing, however, can be more remote from our intention. Indeed, had Sir Aubrey written badly, had he been honestly dull, or innocently silly, we should not have mentioned him with any degree of harshness, nor indeed have mentioned him at all. So far are we from thinking that writing bad poetry is the worst employment for a gentleman of rank and fortune, that we consider it as one of the best. Writing well, to be sure, is better, but if he choose to write

nonsense in verse, it is in his situation the most innocuous mode of venting it. He can have

“ Left no calling for this idle trade,
No duty broke, no father disobey'd.”

Thus he can afford to dispose of a moderate edition (*printed but not published*,) in presentation copies, each of which will of course produce a note of *admiration* from the receiver. Thus encouraged, he may comply with the earnest requests of his friends, and prepare a small impression for the public use, in which, if fashion permitted, the notes aforesaid might occupy the room of the commendatory verses, so conspicuous in the bulky and forgotten folios of old time. His tenants and dependents will buy up a fair proportion of this impression with a reasonable hope that his honour's poems, well bound and fairly lettered, exhibited to view in their scanty libraries, will have a very favourable effect, whenever it may be needful to plead the badness of the times. So, with the assistance of the provincial newspapers, the happy author may within a reasonable period, display his third edition, on his study table, and in the bow-window of his bookseller.

Now, surely all this is vastly inoffensive, and the critic who should indulge his plebeian spleen, by mortifying the harmless vanity of a gentleman, would incur the suspicion of something worse than vanity or dullness. But Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt (who is happily distinguished by his title and his chivalric proenomen from certain namesakes, with whom he would not perhaps like to be confounded,) is not to be considered as belonging to the privileged class of patrician scribblers, of whom it can only be said, that they do no harm to themselves or others. He has shewn powers that entitle him to a high rank in that court where intellect alone confers dignity. He writes like a poet and a gentleman, but not like a gentleman poet. We shall therefore treat him as a common author, and speak of his faults with the less reluctance, as we think him so capable of amending them.

In a modest and manly introduction he states, that “*Julian the Apostate*” is a first effort, and may, he would hope, lead to better things. Thus considered, it is indeed a very promising performance. It is written with much vigour of imagination, with a general purity of style, and a perfect purity of sentiment. It is of no school—it aims at the excellencies of all; and if it does not escape the defects of all, it certainly affects the peculiarities of none. One thing, and one only, Sir Aubrey has contracted from a perusal of our

elder writers, which he would do well to follow the moderns in avoiding. We allude to the ungraceful use of the expletives *do* and *did*, which, like the flowing periwig, and the hoop petticoat, were always ugly, and are now ridiculous.

He sometimes likewise ends a line with a weak word, or one which could under no condition conclude any portion of a sentence. This, whether chance or choice, is not to be justified by authority. If ever tolerable, it can only be in the colloquial blank verse of the old comedy. It increases the tendency, always too great, in rhymeless measures, to break up into other divisions than those prescribed—the last clause of the foregoing, and the first of the ensuing line, compose a more marked and perfect verse, than either of those whereof they are parts. The reader is compelled to sacrifice either sense or metre. The verse of Shakspeare is much more fluent and continuous than that of any other dramatist, yet in his more finished productions we rarely find conjunction, adverb, or preposition at the close of a line. Sir Aubrey sometimes isolates a single word at the end or at the beginning of a verse without sufficient reason; and indeed his versification in toto admits of improvement.

It betrays no weakness, no affectation, no general lack of the power and spirit of melody; but it is sometimes rugged and overloaded—it wants rapidity. It has however no faults which diligence may not remedy, and it has merits which mere diligence can never attain. His diction (always excepting the *do's* and *did's*,) is almost faultless. It is purely modern, without being modish: not often prosaic, and not more poetical than is consistent with good sense. It has no foreign idioms, none of those gallicisms, which originating in the hasty translations of the newspapers, pass into the senate, and have infected almost every department of literature, none of the Scotticisms, which are unfortunately, though not unnaturally, sanctioned by far higher authorities. There are few forced inversions or elliptics, and not very much useless verbiage. It is the result of good education, good society, good books, and good taste. Sir Aubrey has, however, something to gain in point of force and compression. His language is rather descriptive than passionate—it is the language of a poet at leisure, not of a man hurried in action, or struggling with his own emotions. It is not, therefore, strictly dramatic.

The story of Julian is sufficiently known, and a sketch of its outlines is contained in the introduction. His escape from the proscription of his family, by the interference of Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, his Christian education, his stu-

dies at Athens, the jealousy of Constantine, the favour shewn him by the Empress Eusebia, his promotion to the rank of Cæsar in Gaul, the events which led to his assumption of independent sovereignty, his attachment to Paganism first concealed, and afterwards avowed, the opportune death of his rival Constantine, the reform which he introduced into the civil, and the revulsion which he endeavoured to produce in the religious state of the empire, his purposed restoration of the Jewish temple, his Persian expedition, his valour, victories, misfortunes, and death, are events which few can be ignorant of.

His character not good enough to justify his blind panegyrist, not sufficiently atrocious to please his bigoted revilers, is of the cast most fitted for philosophic tragedy. Whether it has ever been dramatized before the present essay, we know not; but it is certainly a tempting and an arduous field. Sir Aubrey has done so much, that we cannot but wish he had done more; that he had unfolded more of the mystery of the Apostate's mind; and given a somewhat deeper colouring to his thoughts and passions. Noble hints there are throughout the Drama, which excite the reader's curiosity, and vouch for the Author's powers; but this curiosity is balked, these powers are fettered, by a needless timidity, which strongly contrasts with the presumption of far inferior minds. We are, indeed, obliged to Sir Aubrey, not only for what he has done, but for what he has left undone. There are who would have dealt far otherwise with such a theme; making the dramatic liberty a cloak for slander and blasphemy. But we suspect, that the workings of Julian's mind might have been fully represented without the slightest offence to piety. He was no infidel of the modern school. He certainly had no objection to miracles or mysteries. Our Author insinuates, indeed, that he was at heart a Deist; making use of popular superstitions for the attainment of political objects. But for this opinion there seems to be no sufficient ground. Julian was probably as sincere in Heathenism, as James the second in Popery. "It is difficult," says Sir Aubrey, "to imagine a man surrendering his senses to the delusions of the Heathen Mythology;" but he should remember that the philosophy which educates the senses, was unknown, or disregarded, for many ages after Julian; that uneducated senses are at the mercy of imagination; that imagination is swayed by the ruling passions; and that the passions of Julian, the love of fame, and the desire of revenge, were far more Heathen than Christian. What arts the Priests of Eleusis might employ to impose on the senses

of the novice; by circumstances of terror, or by availing themselves of natural secrets, known only to themselves, cannot now be ascertained. That they worked on his passions, we may conclude without being told. We know that the Apostate was son of a murdered father: that his father was murdered, his family proscribed, himself persecuted and endangered by a Christian. That his spirit was checked, his doubts rebuked, not answered; his inquiries forbidden by his Christian preceptors, is very probable. And it is certain that Christianity, in the age of Constantius, the age of Arian intrigues and Donatist assassinations, presented no very favourable exterior. Much and admirable virtue was doubtless to be found in the Church, but Julian would neither look nor wish to find it. To a deep, searching, and excursive mind, the faith which is imposed as a duty, will ever be a yoke intolerable, if it be not first recommended to the heart, and confirmed by the conscience. In those days, it would have been hard to pursue any question into the purviews of controversy, without incurring ecclesiastical censures at least, if not the pains and penalties of heresy. Yet the dissensions which agitated the Christian world continually, led men into the very heart and mysteries of the Greek philosophy. They were invited to discuss what they were prohibited from doubting. To this tantalizing restraint the young Julian would naturally contrast the philosophic freedom of Athens. He would eagerly grasp at the licence of thought: for to licence of manners he seems to have been little inclined.

He was disposed to live as austere, and to believe as much, as the strictest Catholic could require, but he could not bear that either the acquiescence of his understanding, or the denial of his appetites, should wear the likeness of humility and submission. With such a spirit to work upon, it must have been an easy task for a Heathen sophist, employing those arts which proselyte-makers have not always deemed unjustifiable, to make him disbelieve a religion which he disliked already; which condemned the ambition he cherished, and forbade the revenge he thirsted for. Such a preceptor would cautiously conceal from him, that the ancient worship was but lately allied with philosophy; that it had no better foundation than vague and varying tradition; that it was sometimes a substitute for morals, but not often their auxiliary; and that whatever physical or metaphysical truths it might conceal, it concealed them most effectually from all who had not learned them from other sources. But he would industriously avail himself of the pliant and elastic

quality of Polytheism, which contracts or enlarges, according to the measure of each man's faith, wherein, as in a magic mirror, each may behold his own thought, the fair ideal of his heart's desire.

He would expatiate on that latitude of toleration, within which the Stoic and the Epicurean could dwell together; which allowed the Platonist his guardian demon, the Roman citizen his lares and penates, and the Egyptian his leeks, onions, and crocodiles: which permitted the devout Plebeian to bring the gods into his cottage, and the polished disciple of Epicurus to send them quietly out of the world; which demanding, in short, only a few outward shows and observances, or, at the most, a prudent silence in mixed companies, left the mind at liberty to choose its own religion, and its own morals. He would represent nature as pleading in favour of a system which gave a life, a soul, a sacred history, and a prophetic meaning, to all her works and all her changes. But chiefly would he call to his aid the past: the poets, the sages, the heroes, and the fame of antiquity. The glory of Rome was the best advocate for the Roman religion; and, were religions to be approved by their effects, and were glory and worldly empire indeed the crown of the true faith, the argument would be hard to answer. Under the auspices of that religion, the village of Romulus subdued the world. This was a marvel, indeed; so far beyond the calculations of human probability, that it might well appear to justify the many prodigies that were recorded, as attending and foreboding its accomplishment. Showers of blood, speaking oxen, voices in the air, Sybilline oracles, all seemed due to such a consummation. But Christianity had no earthly glories to boast of, it bred no Roman thoughts; it was not Roman, and that was itself enough to determine the mind of Julian. Its growth had been coeval and almost commensurate with Rome's decline. Might not a plausible enemy denounce it as a canker, a disease in her vitals, an eyesore, and an abomination to her patron Deities? "On its establishment," might he not say, "the old republican spirit (which Julian, though a Cæsar, seems to have imbibed,) long oppressed by military violence, was in danger of being lost under an organized despotism. The very imperial presence departed from the scene of ancient grandeur. Slavery, ashamed to dwell in the seat of freedom, inclined towards her native east, and there entrenched herself, amid eastern luxury, eastern politics, and an eastern religion." Coincidences of this sort, however trifling, would strongly influence a mind like Julian's, whose natural superstition was fostered by the

uncertainty and vicissitudes of misfortunes; and he might easily be persuaded, that the same faith, which he was disposed to think inimical to himself, was the bane of his country. He might be told, and he would easily believe, that he could not be at once a Roman and a Christian; and, that point gained, the artful sophist would timely appeal to the appalling shows of Eleusis, the voices and thunders, the dreadful secret so dreadfully revealed, to convert his senses and his fancy to their side, and compel him to devote his soul and his hopes to the all-comprehensive creed, and of the religion of Grecian wisdom, and of Roman victory.

Such, we think, was the probable course of Julian's apostacy; if, indeed, his rejection of the faith in which he had been educated deserve that name. But, however we may condemn the pride of his heart, or pity the blindness of his understanding, we are scarce entitled to call him an Apostate, merely because he was obliged to submit to Christian discipline, and listen to doctrines, which he perhaps never believed after he was old enough to ask himself, whether he believed them or not. We have not, therefore, presumed "to detail in language the progress of impiety, or to array the arguments that seduced a Christian from his God;" for we believe that Julian never was a Christian, if any consent of the heart, mind, or will, be necessary to earn that title. Had he ever truly deserved it, he would never have foregone it from arguments or motives such as we have stated. He wavered, perhaps, between two systems; he was proud, inquisitive, credulous, and ambitious, and therefore decided upon that which furnished most support to his pride, most licence to his enquiries, most wonders for his credulity, and most authority for his ambition. He seems, likewise, to have been of a stern nature, little capable of apprehending the Christian virtues of patience, meekness, charity, humility, and forgiveness: ambitious indeed of eternal life, but hoping to obtain it by his own strength. He never felt that self-abasement, which requires inward aid from higher powers; though, with the usual inconsistency of pride, he was for ever attempting to purchase, for his worldly projects, supernatural favour, and supernatural foresight. He was not, however, too proud to be vain. In all his acts there was much of display, and no little affectation. He was a curious imitator of ancient fashions. He sometimes chose to fancy that he was animated with the soul of Alexander, though he seemed to prefer the garb of Diogenes; boasting, in defiance of the squeamish citizens of Antioch, of his unkempt beard, and long nails. He lived with the frugality of the Curii and

Dentati, and in drawing up his forces he quoted the authority of Nestor. It seems as if the study of the poets and philosophers had affected his brain, as the chivalric romances deranged Don Quixote's. Whatever produced a strong impression on his fancy, he set himself to realize, with little regard to change of times or circumstances. He wished to be Alexander and Plato, and forgot that more than six centuries divided him from the objects of his admiration. With all his defects he was a wonderful man; the mind which was skilful alike in the academy and in the field, which presided over the rudest nations, Gauls and Goths; like a controuling spirit, infusing at once awe and confidence; which could change the fortune of war in the west and in the east, and lead troops to victory, who fled heartless and despondent when he was no more, was surely of no vulgar order. The austerity of his morals, when even princely devotees were sunk in sensuality, if it were pride, it was at least a noble pride, and was well rewarded by that elasticity of mind and body, which enabled him, amid the dangers of war and the toils of empire, to compose long, ingenious, and erudite works, and to indulge a vein of humour, such as is seldom to be found in an emperor. Like the learned King James, who counsels his son not to permit the characters of deceased princes to be roughly handled, lest subjects should be taught that kings may err, Julian sits himself in judgment on his predecessors, and passes in his Cæsars a very sharp censure, upon many who did, and some who did not deserve it. His toleration might be commended, were we certain it was sincere; but the vigour and justice of his administration, and his zeal for the public welfare, admit of no detraction.

On the whole, though his corn laws shew him to have been ignorant of political economy*, and though the expensiveness of his sacrifices, and the high price at which he purchased proselytes, approach to a profligate expenditure of the public money†, he seems to have deserved the encomium of Pru-

* "He acknowledged that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and, that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two modii, or measures, which were drawn, by his order, from the granaries of Hieropolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt." *Gibbon*, vol. iv.

† *Gibbon* informs us, that the sums which Julian expended to convert his legions, might have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia. His sacrifices were so numerous and bloody, that it was jocosely said, that if he returned successful from the Persian expedition, the breed of horned cattle would become extinct.

dentius, which surely no common merit of his could have drawn from a Christian writer, who did not live in an age of candour and liberality.

..... Ductor fortissimus armis
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manaque,
Consultor patriæ: sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis; amans tercentum millia Divum.
Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus orbi.

But Sir Aubrey's Julian is not the Julian of history: he is far too soft, too scrupulous, too variable, and too little superstitious; but he is a well-drawn, consistent, and amiable character, with much ardour, much fancy, some ambition, a tender heart, and a tender conscience. We cannot imagine him to have had beard enough to excite ridicule, or sarcasm enough to return it. His apostacy, throughout, is kept in the back ground. The Drama is written without a regard to the unities; so much so, as rather to resemble a dramatic history, than a regular tragedy. Its variations from historical fact are several. The two empresses, Eusebia and Helena, are both represented as alive at Julian's accession, and the former is made to survive him. But they were both deceased before he declared against Constantius. Sir Aubrey adopts the story of Julian's assenting to the death of his sovereign at Eleusis, which we hold to be an improbable calumny; for, if the fact were true, it is not likely it would have transpired. Whether Constantius perished by a natural or a violent death, he prudently leaves in the same mystery wherein he found it. But he attributes much more important effects to the machinations of the priest, Maximus, than history will vouch for. He not only introduces him at Eleusis, and in Gaul, but carries him along with the Persian expedition, (where he never was,) engages him in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and at last sacrifices him to the just vengeance of Julian, whom he survived in peace, compounding for his delinquencies by a trifling fine. Mark, of Arethusa, also, who is in this drama supposed to perish, by the false accusations of the same Maximus, outlived the ungrateful prince, whose life he is said to have preserved, and enjoyed the honours of a confessor for the persecution, to which the agents of Julian, more attentive to their master's wishes than to his words, had subjected him. Maximus, altogether, is made a more desperate villain than his recorded actions shew him to have been.

Sir Aubrey, in a short note at the conclusion, says, " In my general sketch only have I sought to adhere to history. I

have varied from it many details. For instance, the mode of attack by which Maojamalcha was reduced, I have applied to Perisabor: principally, I believe, because the former name is not of easy pronunciation." We have not the least objection to this last liberty. Had all our poets availed themselves of it, it would not only have contributed much to the smoothness of their verse, but would have saved many respectable persons from the degrading necessity of spelling. But when crimes, or motives, are attributed to historical characters, which are either doubtful, or entirely fictitious, the slightest reparation which an author can make them, is to mention the circumstance in a note or preface. We do not censure Sir Aubrey for drawing his hero in softer colours than history warrants; nor even for making a love match out of his politic union with the sister of Constantius; though we believe him to have been as incapable of love as of Christianity; but fairness demands that even the avaricious impostor, Maximus, should not be held up as a murderer and a traitor, without due notice of the fallacy or uncertainty of the representation.

But it is now high time to give our readers an opportunity of judging of this performance more accurately, and, we anticipate, more favourably, than they can do from any remarks of ours. We shall pass slightly over the first scenes which contain the introduction of Julian at Eleusis, his consent to the murder of Constantius, extorted by the arts of Maximus; his elevation to the rank of Augustus in Gaul, with the tumults of the soldiery, and the mission of Mark with Jovian and Aratolia, commanding the march of the legions to the east, only observing, that though far above mediocrity, we think that Sir Aubrey could have made them better. The departure of the good Genius from Julian, on his signing the fatal mandate for the Emperor's death, is too coldly mentioned; nor is the ridicule of Maximus strictly in character. Our first extracts shall be from the dialogue, supposed to take place, in the palace of Constantinople, between Constantius, the wife of Julian, and her attendant, Virgilia. She has not yet heard of the revolt of her husband, but yet she is agitated with sad foreboding. It is a scene of exquisite tenderness and beautiful fancies. Virgilia, to divert her melancholy, recalls the pursuits of their maidenhood, and the recollections of Athens.

" We were both girls:

You, like a vine, swelling your half ripe clusters
Beneath the mellowing sun; we like the leaves

Thick clustering round to shelter you : not wholly
Without appropriate beauty ; yet most noted
As setting you off freshly. What a pleasure
When morning open'd out his urn of light
On top of grey Hymettus ; or when evening
Pillowed her cheek upon the glossy wave,
With purple shadows curtained—how delicious
Was't then to mount that old Acropolis
And pace along the marble ramparts, viewing
Whate'er of nature, or sublimest art
Stands beautiful around : things, tho' of earth,
That have an intellectual language.

——— We had a sweet companion
(Alas ! now dead,) Tithona. She was fraught
As a full fountain with its sparkling waters,
From youth with exquisite thoughts, those graceful fables,
(For fables they are surely,) of old times,
When, as they said, the earth, and air, and sea,
Were peopled with divinities. You've not
Forgotten yet how prettily she told
Her little stories, still embellishing
(As she proceeded with her fond enthusiasm,)
And memory of youthful tutelage,
With eloquent mystery, and most pagan fancy :

* * * * *
What strange adventures she would tell of nymphs
Beloved of Satyrs ; and transformed maids
Wooed by the Tritons in the deep sea cave,
Or sporting in their innocent coquetry,
On dolphins backs, round shell-borne Amphitrite,
Along the heaving billows. There was not
A sun-beam, or a cloud, or a casual shadow,
But had a tale, wild, sweet, imaginative,
To account for it ; some illustration apt ;
Some link that bound inanimate nature with
Her breathing soul.

“ CONSTANTIA.

“ It was her custom—thus,
When clouds were swift careering through the sky,
And lights and shades shot o'er the mountain side,
Then would she say, the spirits of the air
Held their deft revels 'twixt the earth and sun,
Casting light shadows downward. Was't not so ?

“ VIRGILIA.

“ Ay, and the Nereids, when 'tis stormy.

" CONSTANTIA.

" True ;

She loved to tell, how, when the wind blows strong
Ashore, the Nereids then do love to gather
Their flocks from the green deep of troubled ocean,
Then might you see the fleecy flocks all hurrying
Crowding, and tumbling one a top the other,
Into some shelter'd cove, or sunny basin,
Rank after rank, still rushing up the shore
Leaving the white coats tufting every rock,
Then vanishing.

" VIRGILIA.

" I do remember too,

She told me of a Mermaid once, that lay
Along the scooped side of a hollow wave
Singing such dulcet music, that the ear,
Like a wooed damsel, trembled with delight." P. 52.

These are lines which none but a poet could have written ; and have, besides, a dramatic fitness, as spoken to the wife of Julian ; and when the old imaginative superstition was breathing " its sweetest last."

Fain would we quote the whole of this dialogue, which is rather disagreeably interrupted by the arrival of Maximus and others, to announce the death of Constantius, and the consequent elevation of Constantia, to the rank of Augusta. The ladies shew a decent sorrow, not unmixed with indignant suspicions: and Maximus, here, as elsewhere, is too insolent and ferocious, not half enough priestly and plausible. He speaks like a common-place traitor, not as the sophist and pretended magician. He should have been represented as a sort of pagan Jesuit. At the close of the scene, Julian enters, as emperor, in great agitation, and we suspect, not very like an emperor, enquires for his wife. Maximus informs him, that " the shedder of his household blood lies dead," and gives him a hint, that, being fully invested with the prerogatives of a monarch, he may have need to exercise those of a husband.

Some time, we know not how much, elapses between this and the next scene, which discloses Julian in the imperial chamber, before day break, tortured with remorse, apprehension, and ambition, and complaining, as tragedy princes often do, of want of sleep. Constantia follows, and expostulates with him for his restlessness.

" My Lord, forbear these thoughts.

We have been happy, and shall be again ;
You will redeem all yet.

" JULIAN.

" It cannot be.

My subjects in revolt, my crown at stake,
My glory question'd ; the bright world of fame,
For which my very soul was barter'd, all
Trembling like foam, upon the stormy waters ;
I have defied my God, and will not now
Strike my proud banner to audacious man." P. 67.

Surely these last lines are unjust. Julian would not have blasphemed a God whom he called his own. In the ensuing speeches, he plainly insinuates his hope of attaining to an apotheosis, by the glory of his achievements ; the hope held forth to him at his initiation, hints, which Constantia, with admirable dramatic propriety, does not understand ; but endeavours to win him to gentler thoughts, by reminding him of the good deeds which empire puts in his power, by observing the gradual progress of the morning, and by recalling their days of youth and courtship. But Julian turns all into motives and authorities for his own purpose.

" Know ye not

How monarchs are oppressed by stately burdens ?
They have not leisure for mere private good.
The lowly station can alone recall
The flying hour by its appropriate virtue,
And make for memory paths of pleasantness.
But see, through yonder casement, the young sun beam
Looks in with salutation ; beautiful type
Of those great aspirations that subdue,
Mould and exalt this mortal case of man
To that which makes him more than man ;
Which filling
His perishable veins with fire from heaven,
Clothes him with immortality of fame!

" CONSTANTIA.

" How cool and moist comes in this morning air :

Nature awakens with a sigh, and tears
Are in her beautiful countenance : a veil
Of tender mist hangs partially around her
As if to hide some sorrow ere she smile.

At length he softens, and regrets that he had not

" Only studied thy sweet looks,
Had sought divinity ; but on thy lips,
Had ask'd no other empire but thy beauty."

* * * *

He sinks into a slumber to the sounds of music, "the medicine of the breaking heart." Constantia, watching his repose, delivers some very warm and poetical lines.

His eyes are closed. Thou art indeed a ruin,
But grand and glorious in thy desolation
Like a decaying temple. I would be
The weed that gathers round thy broken pillars,
The bird that nestles in thy lonely chambers,
The pilgrim kneeling at thy shatter'd altar,
The faithful light that shines with equal warmth
On the deserted arch, and festal palace.
How pale he is—and yet how beautiful!
I'll kiss him as he dreams."

P. 74.

Then follows a song or chorus, prettily composed of inoffensive common places. After which Eusebia enters. From the countenance of Julian, as he sleeps, she concludes him innocent of the murder of Constantius. Maximus interrupts her reflections. This tempter is disliked by the ladies from the beginning, with much nature, for females certainly have a much finer tact for character than men; perhaps because their delicacy of frame renders them susceptible of more subtle impressions; perhaps because they rely more on their natural sense and feeling, and less on any artificial judgment, which, when best informed, can only lay hold of what is gross and palpable. He comes with a forged paper, containing the signatures of many considerable Christians, to a plot against the throne and life of Julian. Among other names, appears that of Mark. The Emperor having been tenderly awakened by Eusebia, peruses the list, and makes many apposite reflections on the ingratitude of mankind, and the insecurity of his own situation. The scene concludes with a soliloquy, which is good, but might have been stronger.

After a bustling dialogue between soldiers and citizens, in which one of the former talks poetically of the pleasures and hardships of his profession, we are again introduced along with courtiers, generals, the Persian ambassadors, the false informer Maximus, and the calumniated Mark, into the imperial presence. The Roman spirit of Julian here shews to advantage. He replies to the insolent demands of the envoys with becoming dignity; and curbs the barbarian impatience of his Gallic favourite Revitta, with much firmness and self-possession. The ambassadors being dismissed, Mark advances to petition for his Christian brethren. And here we cannot help remarking, that the petulance with which Maximus treats the venerable prelate, is not suitable

to a character enured to preserve the appearance of philosophic calmness. Envy and malice against the early friend of Julian, might induce the heathen Pontiff to treat a bishop with angry contempt; but that contempt should have been expressed, either more loftily, or with more courtesy. The remonstrance of Mark is answered by confronting him with the forged paper. He denies all knowledge of it, and charges Maximus with fabricating it. He is, of course, disbelieved. Julian retires, and Maximus, taking advantage of an ambiguous expression of the Emperor, takes upon himself to hurry the bishop to an immediate execution. Some scenes follow, of no importance to the plot, and then we are at once transported to the mines at Perisabor. Julian enters, having sent into the city his last summons, which is refused; and after a pretty long conversation, in which Jovian feelingly depicts the wretched state of the besieged; and Julian is strongly affected by the recital, the pillars which support the excavation are removed, and the city is stormed. There are some fine descriptive passages in this scene, but Jovian is hardly a soldier, and Julian betrays too much sensibility for a worshipper of Bellona.

We now advance to the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon. The Gaulish Nevitta, the Persian refugee Hormisdas, and Anatolius, are conversing on the distant prospect of the city.

“Tis a fair prospect;
Those temples standing out in light from groves,
With all their pediments and porticos
Glowing amid the sober cypresses,
Look from their hills into the glassy river,
Like beauty in her mirror. With what grace
Those accidental shadows from light clouds
Partially veil the distant mass of the city,
Breaking it to intelligible parts;
Each by its dome, column, or arch of triumph
Reveal'd to the discriminating sun
With an appropriate beauty.”

Hormisdas and Nevitta are on the eve of a quarrel respecting the valour of their countryman; but the latter discovering Hormisdas to be a man of honour, apologizes. They are joined by Maximus, “clothed in his natural shadows;” who, in brief hints, attempts to sound their dispositions. They quit him, and he discloses, (to the reader,) in a pretty long soliloquy, that he is dissatisfied with Julian,

B b

insecure in his favour, and exposed to envy; that he has been tampering with Sapor, and that he resolves to lead his patron "into the toils."

" So if he triumphs, I partake the glory
And may resume my sway; but if he fails,
Oh! if there's faith in plots, or zeal in men,
For their imaginèd interests, then Julian,
The laurel that now wreaths thy warrior brow,
Shall make pacific diadems for mine."

We wish that our limits allowed us to extract the ensuing scene entire. It represents the death-bed of the Empress Constantia, who has followed her husband to the walls of Ctesiphon, and there sinks overpowered with grief and fatigue. There is a heartfelt pathos in this scene, so finely embodied in images of beauty, so delicately kept aloof from whatever could shock or offend, that we scarcely remember a nearer approach to the dying scenes of Shakspeare's Queen Catherine. Death appears not as the destroyer of the body, but as the liberator of the weary spirit.

How wan she looks—how falteringly she moves,
Mark too her eye—there, where the buoyant spirit
Should glance his radiant banner, the drooped fringes
Hang like the scutcheons of a broken heart.

" ANATOLIUS.

" Then is she broken-hearted! The night star
Looks not more faded when the morning dawns,
Than she, thus at the gate of opening heaven.
The heaviness of doom is in her. Oh,
Fate hath a solemn language speaking thus!

" EUSEBIA.

" Oh, hear her, look on her! so sad, so earnest.
How grand, yet awful, is decaying nature!
Conscious of fate, yet fearless, casting on all
A light like that of evening, when the shades
Lie deepest. Sweet Constantia, sit you down:
So—they have smoothed your mantle on this bank
Here in the sun, for you. Are you not tired?
This rest is sweet.

" CONSTANTIA.

" Oh! I am sick!

My spirit, like its feeble frame—Yes—Yes,
The bed of rest is smooth'd for me. I never
Shall taste of trouble more.....

Look on me as a prophetess, Cassandra,
Unheeded in her wilderness of mind ;
In her extreme despair cut off ; yet truly
Telling of woe and ruin. Oh ! I shall be
Deep in the earth, and feel it not."

She is removed into the imperial tent—Julian enters.

" JULIAN—EUSEBIA.

" I quit her not, while there is breath, pulse, heat.
I like not the look of her eye, beneath the lid.
Is your hand cool, Eusebia? Lay it here
Upon my brow, that burns. My brain is sear'd,
My mind is numb'd, is numb'd. Yet in my heart,
There is a recklessness. Why, I could laugh now !
Is it not strange ?

" EUSEBIA.

" For mercy's sake, be calm !

" JULIAN.

" Why, so I am—Do you not see me calm ?
As cold and passionless as any statue—
Still as the breathless pause before an earthquake.
* * * *

" CONSTANTIA.

" Julian ! my husband Julian !

Oh, Julian—Julian—come to me——

Let me look once more on him :

A film is on my sight. Oh, my best love,
Thy lineaments are in my heart, or scarcely
Could I now trace them.

——— Oh—thou wert strong in virtue,
And shalt be yet. As thou hast fallen, repent ;
Repent—and God is merciful !
One moment more, sweet Heaven ! I cannot see—
I cannot hear thee—give me a sign—a kiss—
In token of——

" JULIAN.

" Upon thy dying lips,
Thou blessed saint, I pledge my prostrate soul.

" CONSTANTIA.

" Now I die happy—remember——"

Then follows a hymn, very pretty and innocent, but not such, we suspect, as a chorus of virgins would have sung at that time. It is too Christian for the Emperor, and not enough so for the Empress.

Next enters, by moonlight, the Traitor Maximus. We can scarce believe that a man bent on a treasonable assignation, would either feel or describe the calm and loveliness of nature in such poetry as the following.

“The moon has passed the midnight; the hour is past
That Nohordates pledged: would it were over!
How calm it is. No sounds come through the air,
Though they might pass the impalpable element
Like light through the clear deep of waters. I
Would rather front the whirlwind of the desert,
Or voice of thunder with its wild concomitants,
Lightning and swelling winds, and sheeted rains,
Than this placidity of nature. Gazing,
Thus on yon stedfast star I could half fancy
That supernatural eyes looked down on me
From the calm depth of Heaven: and this breathless
Pause in the world's life, seems as if all the earth
Was hush'd, that not a sound might interrupt
The ear of omnipresent Deity.”

It is a great deviation from dramatic propriety, when villains are made thus fancifully tender. Such imaginations might occur to a virgin who had imprudently agreed to meet a lover, but could have no place in the thoughts of a veteran sinner like Maximus. Nohordates, the emissary of Sapor, arrives to break off his reflections. The fiery meanness of the Persian is well contrasted with the cool, haughty, self-complacent villainy of the Pontiff, who appears with more dignity than usual. The plot is laid—

“We raise our leaguer of Proud Ctesiphon,
And plunge into the desert after you:
Be wary, and we scape not the decoy.

NOHORDATES.

Oh! fear not—we shall fly you like the sand
Swept by the breeze: till with its mighty arm
The storm collects its pillars—Then we crush you.”

We do not recollect many similes more exact, more appropriate, more suited to the character and country of the speaker, than this of the sandy pillars.

The mutiny of the troops, the burning of the vessels, and the firmness of Julian, occupy the next scene; which, though far from bad, is not in Sir Aubrey's best vein. His soldiers are too poetical.

After the death of Constantia, (for the two scenes which furnish our extracts, are, we think, unskillily severed,) we

are carried, according to the agreement of Maximus, into the sandy desert. The ensuing portion of the Drama is not sufficiently rapid. The catastrophe is so clearly foreseen, that its delay is rather painful than agreeable. Lines and speeches of great beauty might be selected; but they are not such as belong rightly to a hard march, or a field of battle. Our dramatists are apt to forget, that men seldom describe what is before their eyes. The scene in the Persian camp is the best. Sapor is an excellent despot, most royally lavish of his subjects blood.

“Slave, I ask not
The Gods to spare men’s lives: ’tis victory
That I command. Forward, I say.”

Poetical justice is done upon Maximus, who, discovered in treason, dies by the hand of Julian; who is shortly after wounded, and dies with the memorable exclamation—

“Oh! Galilean thou hast conquered me!”

which concludes the play.

From this rapid sketch, and still more from our extracts, it will appear that Sir Aubrey’s forte is the lovely, the tender, the beautiful. The gloom of the metaphysics, and the dark workings of villainy, he seems to shrink from; and the exquisite repose of his style is unfitted to depict the violence of passion, or the bustle of active life. He is rather a poet than a dramatist. He invests all things in the light of his own mind, and presents them to the imagination at a softening distance; but he is evidently possessed of greater powers than he has yet fully displayed. He has not “screwed up his courage to the sticking place.” But we thank him for what he has done, and hope to see him again ere long.

ART. III. *Essays on Petrarch.* By Ugo Foscolo. Murray.
1828.

THERE is an interest excited by the name of Petrarch which is quite unaccountable. It is universal and apparently genuine: it is professed equally by the old and the young; it is partaken by either sex; it seems congenial with every age and with every clime. Italians, Spaniards, French, English, Scotch, write, and talk, and quarrel about Petrarch; the Germans also weave annotations upon him, the Dutch paraphrase him, the Russians translate him. The lover

quotes him, the metaphysician quotes him, the divine quotes him. He reclines together with many a youthful boarding-school scholar on the inclined plane; he sleeps in sweet vicinage with the Irish melodies, and Don Juan, under many a snow-white pillow. He reigns despotically in the theoretical limbo of lovers; he inspires fortune-hunters with generosity and elderly young women with amatory babblings; he hath laid Tibullus under a perpetual injunction, and shoved Ovidius Naso from his ancient throne! Yet Petrarch is not read through by many; he is thoroughly understood by few; amongst the few, fewer still feel with him and can speak with him; whence is his reputation and his influence? We scarcely know; perhaps from the *prestige* of a mighty name!

It is not that we mean to deny or underrate the claims of Petrarch; no such thing. We intended to hint at the foundation on which they now actually rest, namely, the remembrance and the shadow of fame. There is nothing singular or surprising in this; the reputation and influence of greater men than Petrarch rely upon similar grounds. Every one admires Spenser and Milton; ten in the hundred is too large an average of those who have perused either. Shakspeare is known but a trifle better, and *that* chiefly by means of theatrical mutilation; and Lord Bacon shall be loaded with deserved honours by a round dozen of excellent *literati*, twelve of whom we will warrant guiltless of any more intimate conversation with him than the neat frontispiece of the duodecimo British Essayists may have procured for them. Now if Spenser, Shakspeare, Bacon, and Milton, are admired by scores, who know next to nothing about them, why should not Petrarch (for his book is written in very choice Italian, and therefore a good primer for young ladies) receive a portion of similar incense from similar worshippers? It is a fair analogy.

Ugo Foscolo's book consists of three essays on the Love, the Poetry, and the Character, of Petrarch, to which is added a parallel between him and Dante. The volume is magnified to a royal octavo, by reprinting divers of Mr. Moore's facetious imitations of Anacreon, intermingled with sundry less facetious imitations of other Greek amatory writers by other hands. This part of his work shows how clever and observant of manners Ugo Foscolo is; we know not if there be any compound in modern Italian for the thing; it is called in English *par excellence* book-making. Some translations, by Lady Dacre and Miss ***, are published, with their originals, by way of conclusion to the appendix.

We have no wish to speak slightly of this work, though

in point of fact it is but a slight performance. There is little new matter in it, and no very masterly comprehension of the metaphysical portion of the subject; but then there is a freedom from extravagance, an abstinence from rant, which, under all the circumstances, is remarkable, and a general coolness and good sense pervades the criticism, which cannot fail to impart some value to its decisions. Of Lady Dacres' translations we think very highly, as we shall show hereafter; of Lord Byron's we think as ill. *That* translation from the *Afriad* we will engage shall be beaten in every quality by more than one of our young friends at Eton, within twelve hours notice. Is Ugo Foscolo gulled also by a name? The text is written in good English; but this must belong to some of his English friends. This gentleman may probably write English better than he speaks it, but we are certain he could not himself have written his book as we have it now before us.

We remember few occurrences in the annals of literature, except the recent extermination of Barry O'Meara, more amusing than the Abbé de Sade's famous discovery at Avignon. The story of the enthusiast who went to pay his respects at the tomb of Collins, and, upon its being shown to him, kneeled down and looked and sighed, and sighed and looked, till the sexton tapped him on the shoulder and said, "I beg your honour's pardon; *that's* where old Collins, the tailor, lies, rest his soul! Collins, the scholar, is buried on the other side of the church,"—is nothing to it. That the inspirer of such ardent poetry, the idol of such unparalleled fidelity, the cynosure of all true lovers' eyes for full four hundred years, that Petrarch's Laura should turn out to have been—a married coquet, with a large family;—Oh! in most serious soberness, it was well fitted to be "an argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever!" The spleen, the rage, the despatch that was excited: the quarrellings, the bickerings, and the disputings; the pamphlets and the books, are enough to make any man, not suffering under rheumatism or the gout, laugh "till his face be like a wet cloak ill laid up." We have before us at present as much letter-press as would fill a gigantic folio intorno, as the Italians well phrase it, a Madonna Laura. One noble contributor to this precious mass of deliberate inanity, actually lays down seven grave canons of criticism, by the light of which he means to decide the question at once. The fourth of these profound rules shows how well its author was fitted even to have edited a Greek play, we quote from an Italian translation, as we have not the Scotch original before us.

" 4. Quando si dà il caso, che piu testi concorrono a fissare la credenza di incerto fatto, e che appaia un testo o due contraddire apparentemente a quella credenza, vi è luogo di sospettare (to be sure there is; or else what is the use of criticism?) o un errore di copia, o di stampa; oppure, se tal supposizione non è ammissibile, si può credere esser ciò uno *interpolazione*, o una *falsificazione*."

Excellent i'faith! Why did not his Lordship turn editor at once? He might have written a better Greek play than Mr. Burges, and what is more, have proved it to be Euripides' own, which the latter gentleman did not think even worth his while to attempt.

Far be it from us to think for one moment of plunging ourselves and our gentle readers into the midst of

" that Serbonian bog
Between Damiat and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk ;"

And here we cannot but be glad to find our inclinations strengthened and justified by the authority of so learned an Italian as Ugo Foscolo. Loth are we to crush the airy creations of fancy, or do despite unto the gentle spirit of enthusiasm! Why need we question the accuracy of an antagonist Abbé?—

" Une grotte écartée avait frappé mes yeux :
Grotte sombre, dis-moi, si tu les vis heureux ?
M' écriai-je ! Un vieux tronc bordait-il le rivage ?
Laure avait reposé sous son antique ombrage."

Why should one be sceptical on the information any more than on the delicacy of Madame Deshoulières ?

" Dans cet antre profond, où, sans d' autres témoins, -
Laure sut par de tendres soins
Del' amoureux Petrarque adoucir le martyre ;
Dans cet antre, où l' amour tant de fois fut vainqueur,
Il exprima si bien sa peine, son ardeur,
Que Laure, malgré sa rigueur ;
L' écouta, plaignit sa langueur,
Et f' it peut-être plus encore."

" Yet as to his really meeting Laura at Vaucluse, he retired there (thither), ' in the hope,' as he says, ' to extinguish by solitude and study the flame which was consuming me. Unfortunate wretch! the remedy served only to exasperate the disease. My meditations were about her alone whom I wished to avoid *.'—

‘ When I think of her—and when is it that I do not think of her ! —I look around my solitude, my eyes bathed in tears. I feel that I am one of those unfortunate beings whose passion can feed on memory alone, who has no consolation but his tears; but who still desires to weep alone—*.’ ”

“ Amor col rimembrar sol mi mantiene—
Ed io son di quei che il pianger giova—
Ed io desio,

Che le lagrime mie si spargan sole.” P. 25.

“ Poets, antiquaries, and travellers of all nations, amongst others the Archbishop Beccarelli, with Cardinal Sadoletto, and Cardinal Poole, then the legate of the province, searched all the spots in the country without finding out who Laura was, or whether she had ever existed. Meanwhile innumerable writers published each an account of Petrarch and Laura, which at once augmented the stock of fiction under the mask of history, and carried away the generality of readers. The Abbé de Sade, towards the year 1760, in examining his family archives at Avignon, brought to light some old testaments and contracts, which, strengthened by many allusions in the different works of Petrarch, led to the conclusion admitted as undeniable even by his Italian opponent †—“ That Laura was the daughter of Audibert de Noves, and married in her eighteenth year to Hugh de Sade; and that Petrarch became acquainted with her about two years after her marriage.” Those who are still anxious to preserve the poet from the imputation of having sighed for the wife of another, reject the authority of documents; nay, a Scotch critic (videlicet the noble canonist aforesaid) contends, that an abbreviation, to be found in a Latin manuscript, in which Petrarch says of Laura, *corpus ejus crebris P T B S exhaustum*, ought to be interpreted *perturbationibus*—and if so, we might imagine that the constitution of Laura had sunk under frequent afflictions. But the more direct interpretation of P T B S is *partubus*; and the words *crebris*, *corpus exhaustum*, combine more grammatically and more logically with it, to express that her constitution was exhausted by frequent childbearing. The terms *Mulier* and *Femina*, by which her lover continually designates her in Latin, instead of *Virgo* and *Puella*; and those of *Donna* and *Madonna* in Italian, signify more properly a married woman. *Donna* is also a general term; and being derived from *Domina*, it is, in poetry, an appellation of respect: but when it is opposed to *Giovine*, or *Vergine*, or *Donzella*, it signifies strictly a married woman, and the poet says of Laura,

“ La bella giovinetta ch'ora è donna.”

P. 10.

* Epèt. Famil. Lib. xii. Ep. 8.

† Tirabochi Storia. vol. v.

But it matters little to us in the 19th century to ascertain who or what Laura really was; the poetry in which she is celebrated is our only concern, and that poetry may be understood and fully felt as well if it should be ultimately discovered that she was a blear-eyed washing woman. We believe Laura to have actually lived, and to have been a very beautiful woman, but she *might* have been otherwise without disparagement to the warmth and sincerity of Petrarch's love. When we said that this poet was not generally understood, we did not mean that there were any peculiar difficulties in his style, but that few persons were intimately conversant with the theory upon which all his writings are founded, and that fewer still could sympathize with him when that theory was understood. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that it cannot be comprehended, except in the proportion it is felt; that it is no cold and solitary effort of the brain, but the warm and complex emanation of the entire man. It is indeed a high and noble stretch of the pure imagination, and to ardent and exalted minds it seems the natural development of their internal workings, and the appropriate consummation of their human being. But the great majority of mankind are made of coarser stuff and more earthly materials; and as they may be, and as thousands are, good and religious citizens upon a homelier scale, they are not unfrequently inclined to ridicule that as unnatural and absurd, which is in fact most strictly in accordance with the essential nature of the soul, and springs, and ever must spring, from the force of the abstract reason. We trust we shall be excused if we say a few words upon the character of this theory.

Its name, foundation, and faint outline, proceed from Plato; its substance and vivifying spirit from Christianity. We reverence the shade of that wonderful genius as much as any man, and we hope we have profited by the study of his writings; we therefore refrain from withdrawing the veil which his admirers would do well never to disturb. It is utterly impossible, and it will for ever be so, to defend *that* to which we allude. Let us be grateful for the superior illumination of Spirit which makes so many of us doubt its existence. But without adverting to the *object*, we may safely admire the texture of the Platonic theory of love. The whole of this theory, as it is to be found in the *Timæus* and *Parmenides* is beside our more immediate purpose; the speeches in the *Symposium* will supply us with the materials for this more confined branch of it. We are happy to avail ourselves of the following very energetic translation.

"Our souls emanate from God, and unto him they return again. They are pre-existent to our bodies in other worlds." (Or as Wordsworth so finely puts it in verse;

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home!")

"The most tender and the most beautiful inhabit Venus, the brightest and the purest of the planets, called the third heaven. They are more or less perfect, and the most perfect love those which are most perfect also. They are connected together in pairs by a predestined and immutable sympathy: without partaking of the sensual perturbations of the body, they are necessitated to follow it blindly, led by fatality or chance, for the procreation of the species. Each soul burns with the desire of finding its companion; and, when they do meet together in their pilgrimage on earth, their love becomes so much the more ardent, because the matter by which they are enclosed prevents their re-union. On these occasions their pleasures, their sufferings, their ecstasies, are inexpressible: each endeavours to make itself known to the other; a celestial light burns in the eyes; an immortal beauty beams in the countenance; the heart feels less tendency to earth, and they mutually incite each other to the exaltation and purification of their virtue. In proportion as they love each other, they are lifted towards God, who is their common origin; and, in proportion as they feel the pains of their exile upon earth, and their captivity in matter, they desire to be freed, in order that they may unite eternally in heaven." P. 5.

We consider this as it were the first stage of the theory; it has its beauties and its deficiencies; in particular, the love is not human; it is merely an inter-appetency of Spirits, and that too springing from "a predestined and immutable sympathy*."

Dante and Petrarch may exemplify the second or middle stage, when the love had become human, but was, for the most part, uninspired with any real passion. Hence there is a

* "This would be as bad as marriage at once. "The Comtesse de Champagne, daughter of Louis le Jeune, decided in a Cour d'Amour, *En amour tout est grace; et dans le mariage tout est nécessité: par conséquent L'amour,—ne peut pas exister entre gens mariés.* The Queen, to whom an appeal was made against this decision, replied, *A Dieu ne plaise que nous soyons assez osés pour contredire les arrêts de la Comtesse de Champagne.*" P. 9.

want of depth in Petrarch's love; it alternates too apparently between the more fanciful addresses of the Troubadours, and the metaphysical heights of Plato. He is a Platonic lover, or an Italian courtier, as the humour suits him. Thus for instance—

SONETTO CLVIII.

“ Siccome eterna vita èx veder dio,
 Nè più si brama, nè bramar più lice,
 Così me, Donna, il voi veder, felice
 Fa in questo breve e frale viver mio.
 Nè voi stessa, com'or, bella vid io
 Giammai, se vero al cor l'occhio ridice;
 Dolce del mio pensier ôra beatrice,
 Che vince ogni alta speme, ogni desio.
 E se non fosse il suo fuggir sì ratto,
 Più non dimanderei: chè s' alcun vive
 Sol d' odore, e tal fama fede acquista,
 Alcun d' acqua, o di foco il gusto e 'l tatto
 Acquetan, cose d' ogni dobor prive,
 I' perchè non della vostr' alma vista i'”

And then these exquisite lines—

“ E por pianger ancor con più diletto,
 Le man bianche sottili,
 E le braccia gentili,
 E gli atti suoi soavemente alteri,
 E i dolci sdegni alteramente umili,
 E 'l bel giovinie petto
 Torre d' alto intelletto;
 Mi celari questi luoglia alpestri e feri.”

Canz. iv.

Dante must have suggested to Petrarch the comparison in the sonnet we have quoted, or it is a curious coincidence, which, with regard to an inferior poet, we should have been disposed to doubt.

BALLATA I.

“ Poichè saziar non posso gli occhi miei
 Di guardare a Madonna il suo bel viso,
 Mirerol tanto fiso,
 Chi io diverrò beato lei guardando.
 A guisa d' Angel che di sua natura,
 Stando su in altura,
 Diven beato, sol vedendo Iddio,
 Così essendo umana criatura,
 Guardando la figura

Di questa donna che tene il cor mio,
 Porria beato divenir qui io,
 Tant è la sua virtù che spande eforge,
 Avvegna non la scorge
 Se non chi lei onora desiardo." Lib. 11.

In reading Petrarch, therefore, the Platonic theory, or rather the spirit of that theory must be constantly borne in mind; although not all, yet the greater part of his works are founded upon it, and demand its application towards their thorough comprehension. At the same time, Petrarch's words are not unfrequently above his meaning; sometimes they are below it. He was excellent in whatever character he wrote in; he was a most elegant Troubadour, and he was a genuine Platonist; but he did not combine both these modes of thinking and feeling into one indivisible action of the heart. He was passionate here, and metaphysical there, but he never concentrers and identifies his passion and his metaphysics. To make that double action one, to impregnate philosophy with passion, and embody abstract notions in sensual images, to purify the heart and to soften the brain, to Platonize humanity and to humanize Platonism—this was left undone by both Dante and Petrarch, and perhaps never could have been done by any of the descendants of the ancient Romans. Intellectual abstractions never could unite with the cold spirit of anthropomorphism formerly, and the same oppugnancy between them is manifest now in the poetry, the philosophy, and the religion of the Christian inhabitants of Italy.

The supplying of this deficiency, and the consequent perfecting of the Theory of Love, in its third and last stage, is the work of English Poets. In this, as in almost every other respect, the great masters of the British Lyre have far surpassed their Cisalpine tutors. We will content ourselves with two specimens which will gratefully relieve us from the necessity of proving this assertion by our own arguments; and will show, in vivid and transparent colouring, that beautiful interfusion of philosophy, passion and domestic fondness, which we all at once feel to be the true desideratum of the virtuous mind, and imagine to be the last and best consummation of our imperfect nature. The Spirit is loved for itself alone *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ μονοειδὲς ἀεὶ ὄν'* (words which are beyond the reach of any translation) but it is loved *through* the medium of the purified passions; for beauty is the virtue of the body as virtue is the beauty of the mind; therefore that love is imperfect which rejects either the one or the other.

" For that same goodly hew of white and red,
 With which the cheekes are sprinckled, shall decay,
 And those sweete rosy leaves, so fairly spread
 Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away
 To that they were, even to corrupted clay :
 That golden wyre, those sparckling stars so bright,
 Shall turne to dust, and lose their goodly light.

" But that faire lampe, from whose celestial ray
 That light proceedes, which kindleth lovers fire,
 Shall never be extinguisht nor decay ;
 But, when the vitall spirits doe expyre,
 Unto her native planet shall retyre ;
 For it is heavenly borne and cannot die,
 Being a parcell of the purest sky.

* * * * *

" For love is a celestiall harmonie
 Of likely harts composed of starres concent,
 Which joyne together in sweete sympathie,
 To work each others joy and true content,
 Which they have harbourd since their first descent,
 Out of their heavenly bowres, where they did see,
 And know each other here below'd to bee.

" Then wrong it were that any other twaine
 Should in loves gentle band combyned bee,
 But those whom heaven did at first ordaine,
 And made out of one mould the more t' agree ;
 For all that like the beautie which they see,
 Straight do not love ; for love is not so light,
 As streight to burne at first beholders sight.

" But they, which love indeede, looke otherwise,
 With pure regard and spotless true intent,
 Drawing out of the object of their eyes
 A more refyned form, which they present
 Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment ;
 Which it reducing to her first perfection,
 Beholdeth free from fleshs fraye infection.

" And then conforming it unto the light,
 Which in itself it hath remaining still,
 Of that first sunne, yet sparkling in his sight,
 Thereof he fashions in his higher skill
 An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;
 And, it embracing in his mind entyre,
 The mirror of his owne thought doth admyre.

- " Which seeing now so inly faire to be,
 As outward it appeareth to the eye,
 And with his spirits proportion to agree,
 He thereon fixeth all his fantasie,
 And fully setteth his felicitie;
 Counting it fairer than it is indeede,
 And yet indeede her fairnesse doth excede.
- " For lovers eyes more sharply sighted bee
 Than other mens, and in deare loves delight
 See more than any other eyes can see,
 Through mutual receipt of beames bright,
 Which carrie privie message to the spright,
 And to their eyes that inmost faire display,
 As plaine as light discovers dawning day.
- " Therein they see, through amorous eye-glaunces,
 Armies of loves still flying to and fro,
 Which dart at them their little fierie launces;
 Whom having wounded, back againe they go,
 Carrying compassion to their lovely foe;
 Who, seeing her faire eyes so sharp effect,
 Cures all their sorrowes with one sweete aspect.
- " In which how many wonders doe they reede
 To their conceipt, that others never see!
 Now of her smiles, with which their soules they feede,
 Like gods with nectar in their bankets free;
 Now of her lookes, which like to cordials bee;
 But when her words embassage forth she sends,
 Lord, how sweete musicke that unto them lends!
- " Sometimes upon her forehead they behold
 A thousand graces masking in delight;
 Sometimes within her eye-lids they unfold
 Ten thousand sweet belgards, which to their sight
 Doe seeme like twinckling starres in frostie night;
 But on her lips, like rosy buds in May,
 So many millions of chaste pleasures play.
An Hymne in honour of beautie."

We add a few stanzas from a little poem of Dr. Donne's, a man in many respects one of the most interesting and remarkable upon record. They exhibit the theory in its utmost refinement.

A VALEDICTION, *forbidding to mourn.*

- " As virtuous men pass mildly away,
 And whisper to their souls to go,
 Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
 The breath goes now, and some say no:

" So let us melt, and make no noise ;
 No wind-sighs or tear-floods us move ;
 'Twere profanation of our joys,
 To tell the laity our love.

" Movings of th' earth cause harms and fears ;
 Men reckon what they did or meant :
 But trepidation of the spheres,
 Though greater far, is innocent.

" Dull sublunary lovers' love,
 (Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
 Absence ; because that doth remove
 Those things that elementel it.

" But we, by a love so much refined,
 That our souls know not what it is,
 Inter-assured of the mind,
 Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss."

We perceive we have treated this subject at such length that our limits will preclude the possibility of our taking much further notice of the two remaining Essays. Indeed there is little necessity for so doing ; for the poetry and character of Petrarch are so identified with the nature of his love, that a person well acquainted with the pervading spirit of his passion may be said to be intimate inclusively with his poetry and character. Petrarch's language and style are at this day considered by his most learned countrymen as quite faultless, and it will be seen by the following curious succession of memoranda, which were found at the head of one of his sonnets, that he purchased this perfection by unexampled care and revision. We could mention some modern sonneteers, who would not do ill to follow the example.

" I began this by the impulse of the Lord (Domino Jubente), 10th September, at the dawn of day, after my morning prayers."

" I must make these two verses over again, singing them (cantando), and I must transpose them ; 3 o'clock, * A. M. 19th October."

" I like this (hoc placet), 30th October, 10 o'clock in the morning."

" No ; this does not please me, 20th December, in the evening — ' I shall return to this again ; I am called to supper.' "

" February 18th, towards noon ; this is now well ; however, look at it again (vide tamen ad hoc)."

Petrarch's independence was really very remarkable. He was

beneficed by successive Popes ; he was crowned through ecclesiastical favour, and he enjoyed the friendship of a Bishop and a Cardinal, James and John Colonna, and the patronage of their father Etesard, the most powerful man in Rome. Yet he did not scruple to join heart and hand with Cola di Rienzo, by whose party a son and a grandson of Colonna were murdered. "Nulla toto orbe," says he, "familia carior : carior tamen Roma*."

But his account of the visible Church and the Holy See, at Avignon, is still more bold.

"Scuola d' errore, e tempio d' eresia,
Oh fucina d' inganni, oh prigion dira,
Di vivi inferno !——"

"Putta sfacciata, e dov' hai posto spena ?
Negli adulteri tuoi ? nelle malnate
Ricchezze tante ?——"

"Nido di tradimenti, in cui si cova
Quanto mal per lo mondo oggi si spande ;
Di vin seffa, di letti, e di vivande
Maci lussuria fa l'ultima prova—
Or vivi si ch' a fio ne venga il lezzo !"

"All that is related of the two Babylons—of Syria, and of Egypt ;—all that is said of the four Labyrinths—of Avernus, of Tartarus—is nothing in comparison to this hell of Avignon † !"

"Spectat hæc Satan ridens, atque impari tripudio delectatus, interque decrepitos, et puellas nudas, arbiter sedens, stupet plus illos agere quam se hortari ; ac ne quis rebus torpor obrepat, ipse interim et seniles lumbos stimulis incitat, et cæcum peregrinis foliibus ignem ciet ‡."

"This is the 'man of sin' indeed !"

We had fully intended to have quoted some of Lady Dacre's translations, but we have no room left, and we must content ourselves with saying generally, that we think them, for the most part, very happy ; and that we wish that we possessed a version of Petrarch from the same fair hand. Miss *** might well be called in as an able assistant. We do not remember a more felicitous combination of fidelity and spirit than the following lines afford.

* Ep. Fam. Lib. ii. Ep. 16.

† Ep. sine tit. 5. 8. 10, 11.

‡ Ep. sine tit.

" Pon mente al temerario ardir di Serse;
 Che fece per calear i nostri liti
 Di nuovi ponti oltraggio alla marina ;
 E vedrai nella morte de' mariti
 Tutte vestite a brun le donne Perse,
 Etinto in vosso il mar di Salamina :
 E non pur questa misera ruina
 Del popolo infelice d'oriente
 Vittoria ten' promette,
 Ma Maratona e le mortali strette
 Che difese il Leon con pcca gente,
 Ed altre mille a' hai scoltate e lette.
 Perchè inchinar a Dio Molto conviene
 Le ginocchia e la mente,
 Che gli anni tuoi riserva a tanto bene."

" And turn thy thoughts to Xerxes' rash emprise,
 Who dared, in haste to tread our Europe's shore,
 Insult the sea with bridge, and strange caprice ;
 And thou shalt see for husbands then no more
 The Persian matrons robed in mournful guise,
 And dyed with blood the seas of Salamis."

Nor sole example this :

" (The ruin of that Eastern King's design),
 That tells of vict'ry nigh :
 See Marathon, and stern Thermopyle,
 Closed by those few, and chieftain leonine,
 And thousand deeds that blaze in history.
 Then bow in thankfulness both heart and knee
 Before His holy shrine,
 Who such bright guardian hath reserved for thee."

The parallel between Dante and Petrarch is the most original part of the book ; it discovers a clear and discriminating apprehension of the distinctive peculiarities of these two great Poets, with a judicious preference of the stern sublimity of the *Inferno*, to the soft and finished elegance of the love-chants of *Vaucluse*. One of the most unpleasing traits in Petrarch's character is his constant habit of speaking contemptuously, or at least coldly, of his great and unfortunate predecessor ; and it is the more remarkable, because with respect to every one else, no man that ever belonged to the genus *irritabile* displayed a more perfect freedom from that petty jealousy, which is the original blot and humiliation in human genius. It is impossible not to believe that this must have proceeded from a secret and deep feeling of the real superiority of the man, who thus forced him to acknowledge his own comparative weakness, by an ebullition of

envy, which no contemporary had strength to excite within his breast.

They were, indeed, different and very opposite characters by nature; the difference was confirmed and made ineffaceable by the different circumstances of their lives. Misfortune changed the quiet dignity of the one into sternness and severity; constant prosperity melted the philosophical calm of the other into softness and languor. Persecution, and poverty, and exile, exasperated the first; favour, and riches, and honour, infected and weakened the second. The Author of the *Divina Comedia*, was struck to the heart by the arrows of tyranny; he retired from his native country under an edict of perpetual banishment; he was never suffered to be at rest; he was dogged and insulted, and outraged, wherever he went; he met all this with an unconquerable pride; he opposed enmity with hatred; he concentrated all his mental force into one profound habit of fierce endurance, and thirst of revenge; and when his foes pursued his solitary steps with the slanders and the malignant missiles of faction,

“Egli rosa à diceva alcuna cosa:
Ma lasciavane gir, solo guardardo,
A guisa di Leon, guardo sí posa.”

Petrarch maintained throughout his life a reputation and an influence unprecedented in the annals of literary men; he was the friend and counsellor of Princes, Kings, and Republics; he was feared and yet courted by Pope after Pope; he refused bishoprics and repeated offers of high secular offices; he died with the reputation of a saint, for whom heaven performed miracles; and the Venetian Senate made a law against those who purloined his bones, and sold them as relics! Yet Petrarch was more unhappy than the undaunted Dante; who was excommunicated after his death, and his remains threatened to be disinterred and burnt, and their ashes scattered to the wind! He cherished a reluctance to active life, and indulged immoderately in contemplation and solitude; but his contemplations were broken and restless, and his solitude peopled with the visionary phantoms of his agitated imagination. He was ever straining after a moral perfection, which neither himself could reach nor others understand; he was vexed and chagreened at the discrepancy which he saw between the actual state of the world and his own notions of what he thought it ought to be; he became troubled and anxious in his mind, and fearful of the insufficiency of all human endeavours to appease the anger

or satisfy the justice of the All-seeing Being. Twenty-six years after her death, his love for Laura still survived; it had become a natural habit, and which was necessary to his being, though it overshadowed the evening of his life with a mixed sensation of melancholy, pain, and regret.

Petrarch retired to Arquà, near Padua, some time before his death. He was found on the eve of the 70th anniversary of his birth, on the 20th day of January, 1374, in his library, lifeless and unconvulsed, with his laurelled head resting on a book!

ART. IV. *An Address to the Members of the House of Commons, upon the Necessity of Reforming our Financial System, and establishing an efficient Sinking Fund for the Reduction of the National Debt; with the outline of a Plan for that Purpose. By one of themselves. Richardson, London, 1822.*

ART. V. *A Plan for reducing the Capital and the Annual charge of the National Debt; humbly submitted to the Consideration of Members of Parliament. By John Brickwood, Jun. London, 1822.*

IF there be any truth in the ancient adage, that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," it is next to impossible, that our Rulers should ever fall into error, or incur the chance of danger. Besides that numerous and very willing class of advisers who labour in our own vocation, and who are professionally bound to know all that is knowable on every subject which may happen to invite public attention, there is a large host of eager politicians, who, not possessing the convenient means which are placed in our hands for communicating opinions and tendering instruction to their betters, feel themselves impelled by the love of their country, to interpose their exertions between it, and the ruin with which it appears to be threatened, in the form of very learned, but extremely mystical pamphlets.

The ingenious author of "*Richesses Commerciales*," very justly observes, that on all great national emergencies, "*chacun doit au bien public le tribut de ses reflexions.*" We heartily approve the spirit of this maxim; and are accordingly pleased to find, that so many of our contemporaries are influenced at the present moment, by the patriotic desire

of correcting errors into which it is apprehended the inexperience of statesmen may have betrayed them; and of recommending a safer policy, of which the country may be said to have at once purchased the knowledge, and discovered the necessity, by the severe losses which it has incurred.

Before we proceed to state the objects contemplated by the two authors, whose ephemeral productions are named at the head of this article, we have a few preliminary considerations to state for the reflexion of our readers; which, if viewed in a proper light, will at once reconcile them to this species of discussion on the part of mere students and recluse theorists, such as most of the persons usually are, who, in these days write on financial subjects, and also relieve their apprehensions in regard to the pecuniary embarrassments and political catastrophes, which have been so long predicted, as always about to overwhelm this great and happy country.

In the first place, with respect to the description of writers, who take upon them to review the measures of statesmen, and to recommend to them new schemes of policy, we shall find that we have no just reason for refusing such persons a patient hearing, and far less for scouting their proposals, when he calls to mind that the celebrated piece of financial apparatus, known by the name of the Sinking Fund, was constructed and set up in the Treasury Chambers of this enlightened nation, and that too, by one of the ablest men that ever presided over its affairs, according to a plan which was furnished him by a dissenting minister! Dr. Price was unquestionably a man of genius as well as a respectable mathematician. His work on Reversionary Payments, possessed of considerable merit in itself, was extremely seasonable at the time it appeared, and proved of incalculable benefit to the public, already so much interested in the stability of those numerous insurance establishments, which at the period in question, began to obtain a footing in every part of the country. The name of Price immediately rose as one of the first authorities in the kingdom, in regard to all matters connected with money calculations; and as Mr. Pitt neglected no opportunity of promoting the welfare of the nation, he did not think it inconsistent with the dignity of the high office which he held, to consult with a private individual, relative to the best method of introducing into the business of the State, that improved system of assurance and redemption, which promised so many happy results on a smaller scale to the associations to which we have just alluded.

Our readers are aware that Dr. Price, after rejecting the scheme devised by Mr. Pitt, proposed for the consideration of the Premier three separate plans, any one of which was understood to serve as the basis and outline of a Sinking Fund. There was a gradation pointed out as subsisting in the powers of these several schemes: and Mr. Pitt it is said, chose the least efficient, as being in his estimation, the best suited to the actual resources of the country. In the whole transaction, which is detailed at some length by Mr. Morgan, the Divine appears sanguine and enthusiastic: urges with confidence the adoption of principles, which are much more remarkable for their boldness than for either their wisdom or their safety; and rejects with a certain degree of scornful impatience, all consideration of the inconvenience, which, as Mr. Pitt foresaw, could not fail to result from a too rapid accumulation of the redeemed debt. It is enough, however, to keep in mind that the Sinking Fund established by our great statesman, in the year 1786, was founded on a scheme furnished by Dr. Price. The zeal, the patriotism, and the skill necessary for superintending its operations, belonged of course to Mr. Pitt; but all the responsibility attached to the *principle* of that complicated instrument, and consequently all the merit arising from its success, are connected with the name of the dissenting teacher at Hackney.

The merit now spoken of, be it great or small, will be less ardently contested in the present age, than it would have been thirty years ago. It is no longer a secret, that the thaumaturgic properties of the Sinking Fund were greatly over-rated; that the use of it has been gradually restricted, and at length finally relinquished, as being useless in peace and mischievous in war: and that, both in Parliament and out of it, all men agree in the opinion that the debts of a nation, like the debts of an individual, can only be paid by the simple expedient of making the outlay less than the income, and by regularly and constantly appropriating the difference to meet the claims of creditors. The mazes of compound interest can no longer amuse even the most ignorant financier. The mere rapidity of transfers at the Stock Exchange, has lost all power to sustain the hopes of the most credulous; and the legerdemain of Dr. Price, who undertook to pay off the National Debt at a small expence, and no possible risk, has found its place among those antiquated absurdities, which men throw aside with a mixed sentiment of contempt and surprise, as to how they should ever have been received.

As an apology for Dr. Price, as well as for those who listened so eagerly to his doctrines, it is but fair to mention, that he lived at a time when the world had run mad on the subject of compound interest. The abstract qualities of numbers had at that period completely superseded all attention to the real transactions of human life, as well as to those limits which are imposed upon the increase of wealth, by the actual wants and uses of mankind. In order to prove the practical value of any speculation, it was held enough if the author made out that it was theoretically correct; and the most extravagant opinions were entertained by men in other respects reasonable, and recommended too as the basis of the most important financial arrangements, on no other ground, than that it was impossible on mathematical principles to demonstrate their absurdity. Nothing can more strikingly illustrate this predominance of wild hypothesis, than the facts already stated, in regard to the origin of the Sinking Fund; but had not the natural prudence of Mr. Pitt regulated the ardent zeal of his theological adviser, there would have been represented on the theatre of English finance, one of the most ridiculous and destructive pieces of political quackery, that ever disgraced the annals of a civilized government.

We may give as an example of the specious delusion, which political writers were at that period disposed to practise on themselves, the following position maintained by Dr. Price. He asserted, that a debt of 258,000,000*l.* might be discharged in eighty six years, at no greater expense than an annual appropriation during that period, of 200,000*l.* This appeared extremely encouraging to the British people, who happened at the time when Dr. Price wrote, to find themselves loaded with pecuniary obligations, approaching very nearly to the large sum just specified. The dullest of them could at once find out that 200,000*l.* multiplied by 86, does not much exceed 17,000,000*l.* an amount which would still leave unliquidated the considerable balance of more than 240,000,000*l.* But the operations of the Sinking Fund on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, were allowed on all hands to be exceedingly marvellous; and as Dr. Price had actually stated on paper, and illustrated by much laborious calculation, that the means proposed were fully adequate to the effect announced, no one was bold enough to call in question the accuracy of his views. Subsequent inquirers have however discovered, that the Doctor, in his operose exposition of this flattering system, omitted one essential element. He passed over in his calculation, the

amount of taxes which would have been necessary year by year, to improve the annual grant of two hundred thousand pounds into two hundred and fifty eight millions: and the taxes thus omitted, would in the last years of the period specified, have exceeded ten million sterling. In the eighty sixth year, they would have amounted to more than 13,000,000*l.*

This discovery dissolved the charm. As soon as it was mentioned, that in addition to the moderate sum of two hundred thousand pounds, it would be necessary to raise eight, ten, or twelve millions a year in the shape of taxes, the mystical operation of the Sinking Fund began to be understood, and the simplest of our countrymen were led to perceive, that the National Debt was after all to be paid off like every other debt, by contributing annually a part of their incomes.

But the Doctor continued to shut his eyes to this important particular, throughout his whole scheme of finance; and he maintained that it would be wise in a great nation to borrow money at simple interest, in order to improve it at compound interest, and thereby pay off its debts. He admitted that such conduct in a private individual would be absurd and ruinous—and how it should have been otherwise, merely because the scale of the transaction was to be enlarged, he has no where condescended to explain. It is enough to observe, that money if borrowed, must accumulate as fast against him who borrows it, as it can do in his favour, the rate of interest being the same in both cases; and all the advantage that a man could derive from so foolish a measure, would be the trouble of borrowing with the one hand and paying with the other, in addition to the expense of transacting this nugatory business. Such however, it is now admitted, was the sort of operation, which for several years during the late war, employed the Commissioners who had been appointed to superintend the payment of the National Debt. Money was borrowed, and put into their hands to purchase stock—which stock, in general, amounted to somewhat less in actual value than the money with which it was purchased; in other words, the purchase money cost Government more than the stock redeemed with it would have been sold for in the market. It is accordingly no longer denied, that the transactions of the Sinking Fund, during all the time that it was maintained on the produce of loans, were attended with a positive loss to the country;—a loss which was, however, in some degree compensated, by the advantageous effect which the regular demand of the Commissioners produced on the price of stock, and indirectly on the public credit of the Empire.

One of the greatest absurdities with which Dr. Price is chargeable, and which has been well exposed by Hamilton, is the assertion that it is of little consequence what interest a nation pays for its loans, inasmuch as a debt bearing a high rate of interest with a Sinking Fund attached, is redeemed in less time than the same debt, with the same sinking fund at a low rate of interest. But this paradoxical opinion is supported by a species of reasoning, which at once betrays the absurdity of the principle on which it rests. He overlooks, as in the former case, the large sums which must be raised year after year by means of taxation; confining his attention to the comparatively unimportant circumstance, of the more expeditious redemption of a given amount of debt. If this debt be ten millions with a sinking fund of one per cent. attached and bearing interest at six per cent, it would be redeemed by the said fund (100,000*l.*) in about $33\frac{1}{2}$ years. If the rate of interest were only three per cent. it would require 47 years. But in the former case, as Dr. Hamilton observes, the annual burden on the public would be 700,000*l.* and the whole burden 23,450,000*l.* whereas, in the latter case, the annual burden would be only 400,000*l.* and the whole burden 18,800,000*l.* If the sum of 700,000*l.* had been raised annually, while the debt bore interest at 3 per cent. it would have been discharged in 19 years, for 13,300,000.

But the gross delusion under which Dr Price addressed the public on the subject of the National Debt, is most strikingly manifested in the circumstances of a case, which he imagines solely for the sake of illustrating his argument. The case he supposes, is that of a state burthened with debt, bearing five millions of interest, and able by its utmost exertions to raise annually a million more as a sinking fund. "This, says he, (Reversionary Payments) if the debts bear interest at 6 per cent, will pay off three fifths of them in twenty three years, and the state may be saved; but if the interest be no more than three per cent, it will not give the same relief in less than double that time, and a public bankruptcy may prove unavoidable." What a powerful argument have we here in support of high interest! But the good Doctor fails to mention that, in this supposed case, a principal which at 3 per cent. yields the same amount of interest, that another principal at 6 per cent. yields, must be precisely double of that other; that is, while the one is 166,666,666*l.* the other is only 83,333,333. Instead therefore of proving as Dr. Price appears to do, that two sums of the same amount but bearing interest at different rates, will be paid off

as he has described ; he has only proved that a sum *half the amount* of another, but bearing interest at a double rate will be discharged in less time than that other, by means of the sinking fund. In a word, he had either grossly deceived himself, or what we are very loathe to imagine, attempted to practice deceit upon his readers.

It cannot be surprising then, that the celebrated Sinking Fund, originating in such views, and being supported by such reasoning, should have entailed upon its authors only vexation and disappointment. Like an ill contrived machine, it stood in constant want of adjustment or alteration. Every session of Parliament, even during the administration of Mr. Pitt, it was found necessary to add to its apparatus, or to withdraw some portion of it ; to accelerate its movement or retard its progress : And the first step taken by every succeeding financier upon his entrance to office, has been to modify, and in some cases to suspend entirely the operations of that unmanageable instrument. In the year 1813, Mr. Vansittart virtually relinquished the principle upon which its supposed efficacy was understood to rest ; and in 1819, the same statesman abolished the system of accumulated payments altogether. The name indeed was retained in the parliamentary language, which continued to be used in regard to it, and the minister even spoke of borrowing annually large sums from the Sinking Fund. But no one required to be told, that the famous financial contrivance so long associated with the policy of Mr. Pitt, and so commonly identified with the political salvation of the country, had altogether ceased to exist. To borrow from the Sinking Fund since the year 1819, was exactly the same thing, as to borrow from a dead man whose estate has fallen into your hands, but which, owing to some remains of prudish delicacy, or hereditary veneration, you do not choose at first to enjoy in your own right.

Nothing has ever surprised us more than the unresisting and pliant unanimity, with which this renowned fiscal expedient was relinquished by both sides of the House of Commons. Not a single struggle was made to retain it : no expression of regret accompanied the vote by which it was numbered among those obsolete schemes, which for a time had amused and deceived the public ; and the same favourite measure, which, not twenty years before, had been pronounced the palladium of British faith and the sanctuary of public credit, was cast away as a nugatory and even a mischievous novelty. In the present session of Parliament, the grand discovery of 1786, and the more matured invention of 1792,

are never spoken of, but as bye-gone absurdities, and as precedents which ought to be studied for warning and not for imitation. The wisdom which was hailed as the happiest exercise of human talent, and as the means of conferring upon the financial establishment of this great country, an immortality of youth, and an ever increasing vigour, has now been found to be nothing better than ignorant drivelling, or mere contemptible trickery. The omnipotent power of compound interest is now laughed to scorn, both by Peers and Commons. Statesmen who agree on nothing else, are of one mind in reprobating a Sinking Fund to be maintained on borrowed money: and it is now every where admitted, that a measure which was acknowledged to prove pernicious in conducting the money business of private life, would also prove pernicious in the pecuniary transactions of a nation. The only Sinking Fund that will be now tolerated, is one composed of the excess of income over expenditure;—the only means that will ever be found effectual for the liquidation of public burdens.

We have entered into these details principally with the view of shewing that, as the errors of the financial system now exploded were originally introduced by the speculations of a retired student, there can be no impropriety in correcting them upon the warrant of a similar authority. At first sight, no doubt, it appears reasonable to give to the opinions of practical men a much greater weight than can be claimed for the inferences of those more private individuals, who view things only in connection with their abstract relations. But experience has now sufficiently impressed on the conviction of mankind, that the details of office are not the best school for the appreciation of general principles, nor even of the very maxims upon which those details are conducted. The labours of the closet must occasionally come in aid of the rules which are followed in the actual administration of affairs; and of the value of this assistance we have nowhere a finer illustration than is supplied to us by the change of opinions that now generally prevails in regard to the bullion question, and on the necessity of approximating in our currency to a fixed and regular standard of value. The admirable "Letter" from Oxford was the means of enlightening many who were in the dark, and of putting right many who were in the wrong, in relation to the important points just specified; whilst the masterly work of Dr. Hamilton on the National Debt has completely atoned for the evil counsel which was administered to the statesmen of the last century,

by the author of the "Appeal to the Public" on the same interesting subject.

Before proceeding to the matters discussed by the two pamphleteers, whom we have now at our tribunal, we meant to have regaled our readers with a few of the predictions and evil omens, which have long threatened us with the financial catastrophe of this flourishing kingdom. Our object in this was not to ridicule the phantoms of danger which are thus so patriotically raised up around us, but simply to shew that the gloomy views of certain writers have not had a more solid foundation than the romantic schemes and flattering pictures of that other class of authors, who have gilded futurity with the brightness of their own dreams. Had there been any truth in the prophetic gifts of political soothsayers, we must have long ere now drunk deep of all the miseries attending national bankruptcy and individual ruin;—a consummation which, we hope, is still far distant, and by no means inevitably connected with our financial system.

The views suggested by Mr. Brickwood and his anonymous coadjutor are worthy of attention, as well on account of their intrinsic ingenuity, as of the plausible means which they seem to present for lightening a material portion of our public burdens. They remind us, however, of a conversation which took place in a stage-coach between a late professor of law and an honest quaker, on the same subject of national encumbrances. The lawyer was profuse in his expedients for lessening the pressure, which at that time bore hard on the public purse; and among other devices he proposed to reduce the interest on the whole amount of national securities, and even, like our authors, to diminish the principal itself, by changing the 3 and 4 per cents into a higher denomination of capital. The quaker urged objections to every point of this perilous innovation. His antagonist replied with much volubility, maintaining at once the expediency and the justice of the proposed measure. Broadbrim at length, eyeing the professor with a species of malignant gravity, and raising his voice to a somewhat higher pitch, said, "*Friend, I perceive thou hast no money in the funds.*"

We are far from wishing to extend this *argumentum ad hominem* to the two gentlemen now before us, and who have entered so warmly into the said professor's views; but we cannot help observing, that their zeal is much more accessible to motives of national concern than to the particular interests of the devoted fundholders.

The objects contemplated by the two authors are almost entirely the same, and evince a degree of unity both in the end and in the means that is very rarely to be met with in political projects. Our readers are aware, that ever since the middle of last century, when the system of funding by an *increase of capital* was first introduced, the sums for which the Government acknowledges itself a debtor to those who have advanced loans, are much greater than the actual amount of the money furnished by these lenders. Since the year 1793, the nominal sum added to our national debt has exceeded the sum actually received by more than 300,000,000*l.* The three per cents alone amount to about 500,000,000*l.*; and as this stock was funded on the average at 59*l.* per cent. the increase of capital in this one denomination of public debt exceeds 200,000,000*l.* In other words, for every 59*l.* lent to the country, an obligation was given to pay 100*l.* besides the interest at somewhat more than 5 per cent.

It is superfluous to observe, that such a system opposes a great obstacle to the payment of the National Debt, because it must be obvious in the first place, that if ever the 3 per cents shall be redeemed at *par*, the country will have to pay fully two-thirds more than it received when the several loans were contracted for; and secondly, that, in proportion as interest falls,—an event which, in other circumstances, would afford the greatest facility for diminishing the weight of public burdens—the funds necessarily rise, and of course, aggravate the evil which has just been mentioned. We have already remarked, that the 3 per cents were funded at about 59*l.* for each 100*l.* of nominal capital; and every one knows that this stock, since the peace, has been frequently above 80*l.* and in general above 75*l.* Whenever, therefore, the Commissioners for the National Debt bought 3 per cents at 80*l.* it is evident that they paid 21*l.* more than had been advanced by the original creditor. Even at the present moment, when by the unsettled state of political affairs abroad, public securities are somewhat lowered in value, the stock now mentioned is 15*l.* above the rate at which it was funded. But the main consideration turns upon the important fact, that Government is bound to give 100*l.* for every 59*l.* which it received, being 41*l.* per cent. more than was paid into the Exchequer.

We know not any good reason, and cannot imagine any adequate apology, for having so long persevered in a system which, even if attended with a small temporary advantage, is obviously pregnant with the most grievous incumbrances upon posterity. Loans might, no doubt, be obtained at a

rate of interest somewhat lower, when monied men were bribed with such an addition to the capital in which those loans were funded. But any moderate rise of interest would have been amply compensated for by the convenience secured to succeeding generations, for throwing off the load with which their predecessors have thought fit to burden them; and when we consider that the average interest on all the loans, during the late war, was not under 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* we can discover no necessity for the immense premium that was added in the form of increased capital.

The object of the little works now before us is, as we have already hinted, to remedy this evil, even at the expence of some present pecuniary sacrifice, should that be found necessary or inevitable. It is proposed by both authors, to convert all the stocks into a general fund, bearing interest at 5 per cent. a measure which would at once reduce the capital of the public debt by a sum of more than 200,000,000*l.* The value of the several species of stock is to be estimated according to the annuity which they respectively afford; a tolerably correct idea of which may be formed from the following table, which is constructed so as to present the relative price of a 3 per cent. 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. fund, yielding the same rate of interest.

	3 per Cent.	4 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	Rate of Interest.
When at £70	£93 6 8	£116 13 4	£4 5 8	per cent.
72	96 0 0	120 0 0	4 3 3	
75	100 0 0	125 0 0	4 0 0	
78	104 0 0	130 0 0	3 16 11	
80	106 13 4	133 6 8	3 15 0	
85	113 6 8	141 13 4	3 10 7	
90	120 0 0	150 0 0	3 6 8	
100	133 6 8	166 13 4	3 0 0	

If the various kinds of stock were estimated in the money market on no other ground than that of the annuity which they afford, the funds would always be found quoted at the relative prices which we have now stated; for as the 3 per cents. at 80*l.* for example, the 4 per cents. at 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and the 5 per cents. at 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yield precisely the same rate of interest on every 100*l.* sterling invested in them, it would be a matter of absolute indifference to the purchaser in which of them he should make his bargain. But the 4 and 5 per cents. are never observed to rise in proportion to the 3 per cents.; and the reason is, that as all the funds are redeemable at *par*, and may be paid off whenever government finds it convenient, there is a risk that the man who

should buy 5 per cents. at 140*l.* this year, would be compelled to resign them at 100*l.* upon the next meeting of parliament. On this principle it is very clear that the national funds will never rise greatly above *par*, because when they are so the holder is always subject to the loss of the difference between his purchase money and 100*l.*; and it is this circumstance that explains the great and universal preference which is shewn in the money market for the 3 per cents.

It is not to be imagined, therefore, that the public creditors will consent to the proposed commutation, and be satisfied with the same annuity from a 5 per cent. fund, that they now derive from the 3 per cents.; because, without any additional income in the meantime, they would sacrifice all the advantages which they have a right to expect from the improvable nature of their property, and even from the prospect, however remote, of its redemption by the state, at the full amount of the nominal capital.

To ensure a species of compensation, Mr. Brickwood proposes that a *bonus* of 5 per cent. shall be allowed to the holders of the new stock, and moreover that the said stock shall not be redeemable for twenty-five or thirty years. We know not whether such an advantage would be considered as a full indemnification for the loss of about two-fifths of their rated capital. It is very probable that it would be rejected; and as every such arrangement depends entirely on the pleasure of the proprietors, there is great reason to apprehend that the success of the measure would be very limited.

The other author, who addresses the members of the House of Commons, in the character of "One of themselves," recommends a plan somewhat different in appearance, although, in fact, materially the same in its result. He proposes that a committee shall be appointed to inquire what part of our nominal debt consists of capital really advanced to the state, and to what interest the public creditor is entitled for the use of it—a point which must of course be determined by the circumstances under which the advances were originally made. "If," says he, "it shall be found that the annual dividends which the fundholder has been receiving are insufficient, it will be proper to allow him a proportionate additional annuity, to be computed from the time when the debt was contracted; the amount of the arrears of such annuity with interest from year to year, to be added to the capital originally advanced, and this amount to constitute the price of redemption, or rate at which the debt is to be discharged."

It is not meant that every particular loan shall be minutely

traced, first to the original contractors, and then through the hands of all the purchasers who have from time to time obtained shares of the stock at the market price. Such an attempt would be equally useless and impracticable. The public debt must be regarded as one indiscriminate mass; and viewing it in this light, it would, the author thinks, be sufficient for the committee to inquire what is the aggregate of the sums raised by funding, from the commencement of the war in 1793, to the present time, and what the amount of the several stocks so created. The proportion which the money advanced and stock created bear to each other, will shew what proportion of the several stocks which now constitute the unredeemed national debt, consists of capital actually received; and a comparison of the amount of the annual dividends on the several stocks, with that of the common interest on such real capital, will ascertain the average rate of interest hitherto received by the fundholders for the use of their money.

It is next proposed that the committee shall determine what additional interest would have been required by the public creditor, beyond that which the dividends on his stock have actually afforded him, had his money been originally funded *without increase of capital*, it being the object of the author, by virtue of the projected arrangement, to place both the fundholder and the public as nearly as possible in the situation in which they would have been if the sum funded had been restricted to the sum advanced.

In this part of the undertaking, there would we think be much more difficulty than seems to be contemplated, it being next to impossible to recall and estimate correctly all the circumstances which, at the time of every particular loan, influenced the state of public credit and determined the value of money. No criterion, it appears to us, can be established for ascertaining these points, except the premium which was actually granted to the lender, in the shape both of annuity and of increased capital. The transactions themselves, in short, afford the only principle which can fix the grounds on which they took place. As, however, the measure proposed is meant to be general, and to proceed without any reference to individual negotiations, we see no reason for any minute inquiry into the dealings of every particular year, or for weighing very minutely the effects of any political crisis on the imagination of the usurer.

In advancing to the details of the plan, the first question to be put by the committee, in regard to the actual fund-

holders, is how much did each pay for the stock which he now holds.

"To answer this I have compared the amount of the sums funded in the different stocks with that of the stock so created, and I find by this comparison, the average rate of funding in the three per cents. during the war to have been about 59½ per cent. that of the four per cents. about 80½ 10s. and that of the five per cents. 91½ per cent. In estimating the rate of interest at which money might have been raised by the government during the war without granting an increase of capital, I have been guided by the average rate of funding in the five per cents. because the increase of capital granted in this stock being smaller than in any other, the field for speculation was more contracted, and any wide difference as to its value was less likely to arise. Taking then the average rate of funding in the five per cents. at 91½ we find that the average rate of interest already received by the holders of that stock is 5½ 9s. 11d. per cent. and that the increased capital to be hereafter claimed is 9½. Without pretending to fix the precise value of this remote benefit at the time of funding, I think we shall do no injustice to the funders in assuming that they would have been willing to commute it for an additional interest of a quarter per cent, which would have made the whole interest on the money advanced 5½ 14s. 11d.; or, to use round numbers, 5½ 15s. per cent. This therefore I fix as the average rate at which money might have been raised during the war, by funding without increase of capital, and which should now be made good to the fundholders."

The author next proceeds to ascertain the number of years for which the additional interest of a quarter per cent. here spoken of ought to be paid. He fixes this compensation at fourteen years, allowing compound interest on it during that period; and to make the whole arrangement as favourable as possible to the public creditor, he grants a small addition to the rate at which the several stocks were originally funded. He estimates the 3 per cents. at 60½. instead of 59½, the 4 per cents. at 81½, and the 5 per cents. at 92½. instead of 91½. The claims therefore of the proprietors of the respective funds would in 1822 have stood as follows.

FOR THE THREE PER CENT.

Capital originally advanced ..	£60 0 0
Interest on the same at 5 per cent. per annum	£3 9 0
Annual dividend already received	3 0 0
	<hr/>

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462 *Plan for Reforming our Financial System.*

Additional interest to be allowed £0 9 0

Which calculated for 14 years,
with compound interest at 5
per cent. is £8 16 4

Making the whole claim on the
government for every 100l.
stock unredeemed in 1822..... £68 16 4

FOR THE FOUR PER CENTS.

Capital originally advanced £81 0 0

Interest on the same at $5\frac{1}{4}$ per
cent. per annum £4 13 2

Annual dividend already re-
ceived 4 0 0

Additional interest to be allowed 0 13 2
Which calculated for 14 years
with compound interest at 5
per cent. is £12 18 0

Making the whole claim on the
government for every 100l.
stock unredeemed in the
year 1822..... £93 18 0

FOR THE FIVE PER CENTS.

Capital originally advanced £92 0 0

Interest on the same at 5 per
cent. per annum..... £5 5 10

Annual dividend already re-
ceived 5 0 0

Additional interest to be allowed £0 5 10
Which calculated for 14 years,
with compound interest at 5
per cent. is £5 14 3

Making the whole claim on go-
vernment for every 100l.
stock unredeemed in the
year 1822 £97 14 3

The price of redemption, then, for the several stocks, were this arrangement to take place, would be for the 3 per cents. 69l., for the 4 per cents. 93l. 18s., and for the 5 per cents. 98l.; and, at these rates, it is proposed that the various funds now existing should be converted into one bearing interest at 5 per cent. at least until some contrivance shall be fallen upon to reduce it to a lower rate. Our readers are

aware that the 5 per cents. are no longer in existence; and also that were the three and a half per cents. and the long and life annuities added to the following list of sums, the increased amount would present a more accurate expression of the national debt, which still exceeds eight hundred and thirty millions, as realized in the different funds.

Stock to be Reduced.	Stock to be Created.
£500,000,000, 3 per cents. at 69 per cent. will produce.....	£372,600,000
75,000,000, 4 per cents. at 94 per cent. will produce.....	70,500,000
155,000,000, 5 per cents. at 98 per cent. will produce.....	151,900,000
<hr/> £770,000,000	<hr/> £595,000,000

That such a plan as this, if acceded to, would materially lessen the nominal capital of the public debt, and thereby create a facility for future redemption, will be admitted by every one who is able to form an opinion on the subject; but that it would not, at the outset, diminish in the smallest degree the weight of the annual load which is inflicted upon the country by the demands of the national annuitants, must be equally obvious to every novice in money transactions.

The interest on the above "*Stocks to be reduced*" is, according to our arithmetic£25,750,000

Whereas the interest on the "*Stock to be created*" is not less than 29,750,000

Making a balance against the proposed measure, of..... £. 4,000,000

Now it appears to us, that four millions a year is much too great a price wherewith to purchase the eventual and perhaps very remote advantage of having it in our power to redeem the national pledges at their real value. The author indeed flatters himself with the expectation that in the course of a year or two, the interest of the new stock would fall to four per cent., and thereby create a great saving to the country. Were this to take place, the relief afforded to our finances would, it is obvious, arise from the reduction of the interest, and not from the mere commutation of the stock. But be this as it may, it is undeniable that the whole amount of the benefit expected to result from the measure in question would be obtained at the expense of the fundholders; and if these annuitants are to be deprived of a part of their income, it must make very little difference whether

they resign their property under the form of three per cents, or in that of five per cents.

Instead of such a *bonus* as that which, in the shape of accumulated arrears, this author recommends to be used as an inducement with the public creditors to relinquish a part of their capital, we should prefer the suggestion of Mr. Brickwood to make the new stock irredeemable for a certain number of years; an arrangement which would give to it a larger share of that speculative or imaginary value, which at present belongs to the three per cents. The main objection to both plans, however, is that an inducement of some kind or other must be employed, to prevail upon the fundowners to yield their assent to the proposed commutation of their capital: and it is by no means probable, as long as the interest of money remains at its present rate, that men so well versed in pecuniary transactions will accede to any terms by which they would lose, or the nation gain, any material advantage.

It is not indeed to be expected, that the holders of Government obligations will give up a preferable stock, on the mere condition of receiving an equal annuity from one of less marketable value; and, as no conversion of the public funds can take place without the consent of the owners, our simple financiers would soon discover, that they had omitted in their calculation, the main element of their hypothesis, or, to use plainer language, that they had counted without their host. The national creditor has the power of saying to his great debtor, either give me up my principal, or pay me that rate of interest on the promise of which I advanced my money: and if our rulers refuse to do the one or the other, they will be guilty of an egregious breach of faith towards a large and important class of our fellow subjects. But our rulers have all along scorned such a dishonest proposal. They have on all occasions presented to the fundholders the alternative of receiving the full capital which had been borrowed, or of accepting on it a lower rate of interest; and it has never, we trust, entered into their heads to imagine, that those who advanced their property to the nation in the time of need, will sit down satisfied with a reduced principal, and a diminished annuity.

There is, however, one topic in these pamphlets which, whatever may become of the scheme at large, ought to be deeply pondered by statesmen;—the doubtful expediency, we mean, of funding any longer by an increase of capital. In private life it would be counted madness to borrow 60%.

at legal interest, to be repaid with a 100*l.* at some future time. The addition of capital to the extent of 40*l.* on every 100*l.* cannot but be regarded as a most extravagant premium, and could not fail, were the transaction to take place between an individual borrower and lender, to excite a just suspicion, that the former never meant to make good his engagement. But Government have long acted upon this questionable ground. They have borrowed in the Three per Cents a sum which, when reduced to sterling money, amounts to 295,000,000*l.* for which, besides paying an interest of more than five per cent. they have bound themselves to repay to the holders of their bonds, the immense sum of 500,000,000*l.*

Even the late reduction of the Navy Five per Cents into Four per Cents, was not accomplished without an increase of capital of about seven millions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer offered for every 100*l.* of Five per Cents, 105*l.* of the New Four per Cents; a measure which yielded to the subscribers an interest of 4*l.* 4*s.* per. cent. and converted 148,000,000*l.* of the former denomination of stock, into 155,000,000*l.* of the latter. There was, no doubt, a considerable saving effected, in point of interest, by this change of denomination; but it would perhaps have been more politic to allow a trifle additional in the shape of annual rent, than to add seven millions of permanent capital to the public debt.

We conclude by reminding our authors, that their schemes are by no means original, and that the advantages and the disadvantages attending them, have been carefully weighed long since by able writers and practical financiers. Sir James Stewart, more than fifty years ago, proposed that funds of a lower name should be convertible into those of a higher, at the pleasure of the holder, and that a small inducement in point of price should be held out to the subscriber.

"Suppose," says he, "that in time of war, the nation's creditors should be allowed, at certain times, to subscribe their capitals in books opened at the Bank for that purpose, at one quarter per cent. above the selling price. Would not this have the good effect of supporting the price of stocks on the one hand, and of *reducing the capital of the national debt upon the other?*"

To illustrate his views, he gives the following example:

"Let me suppose that in time of war, the 3 per cents. sell at 74½, might not Government receive them at 75, and constitute

the new subscription at 4 per cent. ? What interest could any one have not to subscribe, who at such a time intends to sell his stock ? His 3 per cents sold to Government at 75, and turned into a 4 per cent. would afterwards, when sold in the market, produce $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more than if it had not been subscribed into the new fund."

The same object was contemplated, and somewhat similar means proposed by Dr. Price, in the preface to the third edition of his work on Reversionary Payments. In the event of the several funds rising considerably above *par*, he recommended that, instead of lowering the interest on such funds, the capitals should be reduced to a smaller amount under a higher denomination of stock.

"The 3 per cents," says he, "being at 110*l.* and consequently an immediate loss of 10*l.* arising to the proprietors from every 100*l.* paid off, in order to prevent this loss, they would probably consent to a deduction from their capital of double this sum, provided what remained was made irredeemable for fifteen years, and the same interest continued. In this case they would submit for the present to no more than the imposition of a new name on their capital. That is, every proprietor of 100*l.* stock, being to receive 3*l.* per annum for it, as he had always done, he would suffer only the inconvenience of having it called by the name of 80*l.* stock."

This brief extract contains the sum and substance of the two Tracts now before us ; with the exception that, instead of waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, and availing ourselves of it, as Dr. Price recommends, Mr. Brickwood and his parliamentary colleague press the necessity of creating an occasion, and of instantly putting their experiment to the test. Still, we repeat, the arguments used by them in support of their respective projects deserve attention, and seem well calculated to correct certain errors in which this country has too long persevered.

ART. VI. *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Town and Soke of Horncastle, in the County of Lincoln.*
By George Weir. Second Edition. 8vo. Sherwood and Co. 1822.

IN this systematizing age topographical works might if necessary be arranged in various classes from the extensive

and elaborate county history down to the one shilling guide to a miserable fishing village which in the summer season claims the distinction of a watering place. In such a classification the local histories of cities, towns, and districts, might probably hold the second rank, and among such the work before us must be placed.

The Soke of Horncastle would thirty years since have been fairly described as the first habitable land at which the traveller arrives after passing from Boston over the great range of the Lincolnshire fens. Important changes have however taken place, an extent of more than forty thousand acres which formerly constituted the fen, which in winter was frequently a more or less continuous sheet of water, and in summer was partially grazed by vast herds of cattle turned loose upon the waste; this whole country on which not a tree could then be found is now drained, inclosed, under regular courses of husbandry and thickly inhabited. However these changes may have benefited the agriculturist, one class of beings has greatly suffered by the new system of affairs; the myriads of geese which this district supported and which (plucking times excepted) must have enjoyed the paradise of their nature, have nearly disappeared. The prevalence of intermittent fevers in the fen districts is a fact so well known, that it has even left the whole county under an accusation of unhealthiness, but a singular circumstance has been brought forward by a distinguished physician; that since the drainage although agues have considerably diminished, pulmonary complaints which were before rare have now become more common. In some respects we regret that the fens do not come within the plan assigned by Mr. Weir to his work, for there is much in the natural history of such a country that is peculiar; the birds, insects, and plants differ widely from those of more favoured regions and have never received the attentive investigation they deserved, and though the face of the country is so changed that many of these characteristics are lost; yet there are still the remains of curious customs and local peculiarities which if well collected and illustrated would be by no means devoid of interest.

To return to the work before us, Horncastle from which the Soke is named, will be recognized by many as having long been celebrated for the largest horse-fair in England. According to our author the site of the present town was formerly occupied by a Roman fortification. Of this, the coins which are still found, with the remains of Roman masonry and pottery afford ample proof. He considers it to have been the Benovallum, (p. 4) of Ravennas and his reasoning

on the subject if not conclusive, appears as satisfactory as the nature of the subject will admit. It is situate upon the river Bane, and is the only place thus circumstanced where Roman vestiges have been observed to any extent.

"It is indeed probable that the Romans were induced at first to make a station at this place, from its convenient situation, easily rendered defensible by a *vallum* or temporary barrier drawn across the confluence of the two rivers from one bank to the other." P. 4.

We have quoted this passage for the purpose of suggesting that it is not at all necessary to the author's argument that the term *vallum* should imply a "temporary" barrier; for although from the mode of its construction it might frequently be used as such, yet the Romans used the same term in cases where permanence was required, and thus we find it terminating the names of some of their regularly fortified stations. According to Salmasius *vallus* is a sort of derivative from *varus* a forked stick, but Virgil in describing one of the works of the farmer mentions the sharpening of stakes and forked sticks, calling the former *valli*. Cæsar has minutely described the method of raising a defence of stakes (*valli*) with a ditch before them, and from this part of the construction came the word *vallum*, signifying the fence of a fortification, and even by corruption it was used at times for a turf wall.

By the Saxons it is conjectured, (p. 5.) that the name was changed to Hyrcastre, and on the authority of Leland, it is stated that Horia the Saxon "enstrengthened this fortress." This statement of the Saxon possession and name in the fifth century may at first sight appear to invalidate that of the anonymous *Ravennas* (of Ravenna) who it is believed wrote about the end of the ninth century, and calls the place still *Benovallum*, but it must be remembered that this writer appears to have compiled his geographical work from numerous Roman documents in which he would find their names of places still retained. Grants to faithful or at least successful warriors in feudal times and subsequent donations to religious establishments form the connecting links by which as might be expected the history is attached to the sale and purchase records of present times. In these transitions the only events of great public importance arose out of the troubles of the civil wars, and the neighbourhood of Horncastle seems to have witnessed some bloody fights between the forces of Charles and the parliament.

Among the antiquities of the place the coins of its Roman inhabitants form an interesting feature; those of Caligula are

the earliest, and those of Valentinian the latest that have come under the author's notice.

The present state of the town is next described, and a condensed but accurate account is given of the neighbouring parishes; in which the descriptions of their churches, and the annals connected with them form of course prominent features. The recent coronation gives a peculiar degree of interest to the account of Scrivelesby, the residence and service fee of the hereditary champions of England.

"At the time of compiling the Doomesday survey, it appears that part of this parish, then called Scrivelesby was annexed to the Soke of Horncastle, which was then retained by the conqueror. By the same record the manor appears to have been then holden by Robert de Spencer, but by what service is not said. How it passed from De Spencer to the family of Marmyon; whether by inheritance, or escheat of the crown, and subsequent grant, cannot now be ascertained. It was however shortly after in the tenure of Robert Marmyon, whose male descendants enjoyed the same until the twentieth year of Edward the First, (1292,) when Philip last Lord Marmyon died seized of this manor, holden by barony, and the service of champion to the kings of England on their coronation day; and seized also of the castle of Tamworth in Warwickshire, held therewith as parcel of his barony, but by the service of knights' fees, to attend the king in his wars in Wales. This Philip had only female issue, and between them his great estates here, in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and elsewhere, were divided. By this partition, the manor and barony of Scrivelesby were allotted to Joan, the youngest daughter, by whose granddaughter and heir the same passed in marriage to Sir John Dymoke, who with Margaret, his wife, had livery thereof in the twenty-third year of Edward the third.

"At the coronation of Richard the second, Sir John Dymoke claimed in right of his wife, to perform the office of champion: this right was counter-claimed by Baldwin Freville, who as Lord of Tamworth, also claimed to perform that service; but the commissioners of the court of claims deciding in favour of Sir John Dymoke, he performed that office; and from that period to the present time, nearly five hundred years, their male issue have continued in possession of the same inheritance. The present champion, the Rev. John Dymoke is the seventeenth of his family from Sir John Dymoke, who has inherited that high and singular office." P. 62.

Bolingbroke is interesting as the birth-place of our fourth Henry, but of an extensive castle which formerly existed there scarcely a vestige now remains. Revesby and its Abbey, the seat of the late lamented president of the Royal Society gives the author an opportunity of inserting a short

memoir of that distinguished character. Tattershall Castle though now but a ruin is one of the finest specimens of brick-work in the kingdom. The place was originally the service fee of Eudo and Pinco, two Norman barons, and after passing through various hands it became the property of the Lord Treasurer Cromwell, who in 1440, erected the present castle.

"The part now remaining is a rectangular brick tower of exquisite workmanship, about one hundred feet in height, divided into four stories, and flanked by four octagonal turrets; and is raised on ponderous arches, forming spacious vaults, which extend through the angles of the building, into the bases of the turrets. Under the crown of these vaults was a deep well which is now filled up. The walls are of great thickness particularly that on the east side, in which are several galleries and narrow rooms, arched in a curious manner, through which communications were obtained with the principal apartments in the several stories, from the great stairs in the south-east turret. The east wall also contains the chimnies." P. 87.

Two exceedingly rich ornamented chimney pieces still remain, and a good plate of them is given in the work.

In conclusion we have an outline of the natural history of the district. Its geological features are first noticed and are illustrated by a map and section of the strata. From its situation on the eastern coast of this island any one acquainted with the subject would be able pretty nearly to foretell the nature and succession of strata so completely at the top of the British series of superposition. Accordingly we find chalk, sandstone, and shale with clay and abundance of alluvial matter. In a work like the present minute details are perhaps not to be expected, but unless we are greatly mistaken there is yet in this part of the county of Lincoln, a wide field for the cautious research of some accurate geologist. Further investigation might perhaps refer the upper bed of clay to some known deposition analogous to it in another part of this island. We have next the two well known beds of chalk; the beds of a brick red colour which in this county and in Yorkshire, sometimes alternate with the common white chalk are singular and have been little examined, it would be a point of some interest to ascertain whether the organic remains of these beds differ from those contained in the white deposite. A stratum of "coarse brown pebbly sand," then an "alternating bed of oolites and clay," then another bed of sandstone "varying from a light grey to a dark brown," and lastly a "bed of shale," 150 yards in thickness conclude the features of the district.

The first bed of sand does not appear to contain organic remains at least none are mentioned as belonging to it. The oolites and clay are intelligible enough, but the succeeding sandstone may cause a question whether it belongs to the green sand or iron sand or to both. The evidence afforded by the organic remains will place part of it in the green sand division and the absence of every species of *alcionum* may at present make it questionable whether any part is to be referred to the iron sand. The lowest bed termed shale belongs evidently to the oolite formation, and its more clayey parts are analogous to the Oxford clay of geologists. Among the fossils which are quoted as belonging to this stratum we think we can also recognise some belonging to the lias limestone. It is in this deposit (if we are rightly informed) that some speculators more spirited than wise have recently sunk a shaft of more than one hundred yards in depth in search of coal. Fragments of shale sufficiently bituminous to be combustible, many of which occur in analogous strata, have enabled the designing workmen to persuade their employers that by penetrating far enough coal might be found. A very slight acquaintance with the structure of our island is sufficient to shew the fallacy of such a hope; but if it should prove any source of consolation to the adventurers they may find parallel cases of disappointment in Conybeare and Philip's very valuable work on the geology of England and Wales, p. 193.

After noticing a short list of the most interesting indigenous plants we prepare to close the volume of these Sketches. It would perhaps be an improvement if the list of organic remains belonging to each stratum was made immediately to follow the description of it, as in that case the reference would be easy, and if these lists were made with strict precision the comparison of each stratum with some one analogous to it elsewhere would become an easy task.

Some of the engravings are extremely neat, and the vignette of two Roman urns exhibits that peculiar elegance of form which even in works of little cost that nation seems never to have lost sight of.

If indefatigable research among records of authority, with a judicious selection of matter, if a small but comprehensive and neat volume at a moderate price be merits in an author we think to Mr. Weir we may fairly attribute them. It is clear that the publication of works of this sort is of all others the most certain step towards the formation of accurate county histories, for thus by the united labours of many individuals a fund of matter is prepared for the arranging hand

of any judicious compiler; and the deficiency of good county histories does fully prove that ages must elapse before each county can produce its Hasted, Whittaker, or Morant.

ART. VII. *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner.* 12mo. pp. 226. Cadell. 1822.

EVERY body who has been in Edinburgh has probably seen a feeble old man, wandering about the streets, in search of the few scraps, bones, and small pieces of coal, which the kennels of that thrifty metropolis supply to the needy. One of those who has often remarked him, and who is otherwise unable to relieve his pressing wants, has done no small act of kindness to the poor veteran and to the public, by collecting from his own mouth the narrative which forms the subject matter of the pages now before us. It is not that John Nicol's life (though tinged with great variety of colour) presents more diversified adventures than that of many, perhaps of most others, who have been bred to the sea; but there is an air of truth and simplicity about his statement of the things which he has seen, *et quorum pars magna fuit*, which is irresistibly attractive. It may seem strange to praise an authentic story by assimilating it to a work of fiction; yet so natural is the manner of this volume, that we were forced to satisfy ourselves respecting the personal existence of its hero before we could quite believe that it was not a most happy imitation, in brief, of the inimitable Robinson Crusoe.

John Nicol was born in 1755, at Currie, a small village about six miles from Edinburgh. His mother died in childhood, leaving five bairns behind her; of these two died young; one went to America and was never heard of more; the eldest was killed in action in the West Indies, after having attained the honourable rank of Lieutenant in the navy; and the hero of the present eventful story was destined to see more vicissitudes than any other of his family. In his own words, "Twice I circumnavigated the globe; three times I was in China; twice in Egypt; and more than once sailed along the whole land-board of America, from Nootka Sound to Cape Horn; twice I doubled it."

His father was a cooper, a man of talent and information, who sought to bring up John to his own trade. John, however, had read Robinson Crusoe many times over, had

passed all his spare hours, during a residence at Borrowstownness, in boats, had once sailed in the Glasgow and Paisley packet from Leith to London, and longed incurably to be a sailor.

Nevertheless he was apprenticed to a cooper, and he did not abscond from his indentures. When the tedious time had expired, he entered on board the *Kent's Regard*, which, in 1776, was stationed as a tender in the Leith Roads. Hence he was transferred, as cooper, to the *Proteus*, a twenty-gun ship, under orders for New York, with ordnance stores, and 100 troops to man the floating batteries on Lake Champlain. The magnificence of the St. Lawrence appears to have impressed him deeply, and he was much surprised by the vast floats of wood, surmounted with whole families, which glided down the river for many hundred miles. Without knowing it, he was at heart a poet.

"I can think of no pleasure more touching to the feelings, and soothing to the mind, than to lie upon the green banks, and listen to the melodious voices of the women, of a summer evening; as they row along in their batteaux, keeping time to the stroke of the oar. For hours I have lain over the breast-netting, looking and listening to them, unconscious of the lapse of time." P. 16.

Having landed their troops and stores, they sailed with convoy to the West Indies. Here he "took the country fever." Several of his shipmates died, and he himself seems to have recovered very much out of dread of the land-crabs, which he saw running through their graves. The blacks eat these loathsome animals on the principle of retaliation; for when Nicol remonstrated with them, they replied, "Why they eat me."

After a return to England, he next sailed to Newfoundland. For three weeks they neither saw sun nor sky, but lay before the harbour of St. John enveloped in fog, and unable to move. The *Proteus* became unfit for service, and was converted into a prison ship. Nicol spent eighteen months on shore, and was then ordered to join the *Surprise*, a twenty-eight gun frigate.

"On board the *Surprise* we had a rougher crew than in the *Proteus*: ninety of them were Irishmen, the rest from Scotland and England. We kept cruising about, taking numbers of the American privateers. After a short but severe action, we took the *Jason* of Boston, commanded by the famous Captain Manly, who had been commodore in the American service, had been taken prisoner, and broke his parole. When Captain Reeves hailed

and ordered him to strike, he returned for answer, 'Fire away! I have as many guns as you.' He had heavier metal, but fewer men than the *Surprise*. He fought us for a long time. I was serving powder as busy as I could, the shot and splinters flying in all directions; when I heard the Irishmen call from one of the guns (they fought like devils, and the captain was fond of them upon that account,) 'Hallo, Bungs, where are you?' I looked to their gun, and saw the horns of my *study**, across its mouth; the next moment it was through the Jason's side. The rogues thus disposed of my study, which I had been using just before the action commenced, and had placed in a secure place, as I thought, out of their reach. 'Bungs for ever!' they shouted, when they saw the dreadful hole it made in the Jason's side. Bungs was the name they always gave the cooper. When Captain Manly came on board the *Surprise*, to deliver his sword to Captain Reeves, the half of the rim of his hat was shot off. Our captain returned his sword to him again, saying, 'You have had a narrow escape, Manly.'—'I wish to God, it had been my head,' he replied." P. 27.

In this ship he continued without any particular incident, till she was paid off in March, 1783.

Life, and a sailor's life in particular (at least while on shore) is nothing without love; and with his prize-money and his pay in his pocket, a discharged mariner has little difficulty in procuring a *bella donna*. John Nicol fell in love to his heart's content with a wealthy farmer's daughter, bound with him on a stage-coach voyage from London to Newcastle.

"I felt a something uncommon arise in my breast as we sat side by side; I could think of nothing but my pretty companion; my attentions were not disagreeable to her, and I began to think of settling, and how happy I might be with such a wife." P. 40.

But all his savings were in his chest on board the *Leith smack*, in which, by being too late, he had lost his passage; and in order to recover his treasure, he was obliged to abandon his pretty Mary, though with a promise of return. In three weeks he *did* return, but, alas, Mary proved a jilt.

A trip to Greenland was succeeded by one to Granada. Here he learned three *Negro melodies*, which may be recommended to Sir John Stevenson's notice. The first is pathetic.

"I lost my shoe in an old canoe,
Johnio! come Winum so;
I lost my boot in a pilot boat,
Johnio! come Winum so.

The second is satirical.

* Anvil.

“ My Massa a bad man,
My Missis cry honey,
Is this the d—n niger,
You buy wi my money.
Ting a ring ting, ting a ring, tarro.

“ Missis cry niger man
Do no work, but eatee ;
She boil three eggs in pan,
And gi the broth to me.
Ting a ring ting, ting a ring*ting, tarro.”

The third is drastic and didactic. The slaves accommodate to it all their motions while at work.

“ Work away, body, bo,
Work aa, jollaa.”

There is quite as much meaning, and far less mischief, in these “ simple songs,” than in many of the warblings, Scotch, Irish, Hebrew, or National, with which the would-be musical world has of late years so unsparingly been deluged.

Nicol's next voyage was one of discovery. He engaged with Captain Portlock, in the *King George*, in 1785. At St. Jago he met with an adventure, which may be remembered as a salutary caution by those who are likely to traffic in Portugal mutton.

“ The island is badly cultivated, but abounds in cattle. We exchanged old clothes for sheep, or any thing the men wanted. The Portuguese here are great rogues. I bought two fat sheep from one of them. The bargain was made, and I was going to lead away my purchase, when he gave a whistle, and my sheep scampered off to the fields. The fellow laughed at my surprise. I had a great mind to give him a beating for his trick, and take my clothes from him ; but we had strict orders not to quarrel with the people on any account. At length he made a sign that I might have them again by giving a few more articles. I had no alternative but to lose what I had given, or submit to his roguery. I gave a sign I would ; he gave another whistle, and the sheep returned to his side. I secured them before I gave the second price.”
P. 67.

Falkland Islands, Cape Horn, Slater's Land, the Sandwich Islands, and Nootka Sound were successively touched at during the voyage ; but we meet with little that is new in the description of any of them. He then sailed to China. The Chinese, says Nicol, eat every thing in which there is life. Even the rats, which a Newfoundland dog was used to catch by night, were bartered for as food on the following morning. One day the Newfoundland dog bit a native boy—

"I was extremely sorry for it, and, after beating him, dressed the boy's hurt, which was not severe. I gave the boy a few cuss, who went away quite pleased. In a short time after I saw him coming back, and his father leading him. I looked for squalls, but the father only asked a few hairs out from under Neptune's fore leg, close to the body; he would take them from no other part, and stuck them all over the wound. He went away content. I had often heard, when a person had been tipsy the evening before, people tell him to take a hair of the dog that bit him, but never saw it in the literal sense before." P. 100.

The Chinese are distinguished for extraordinary longitude of nails. Many wear them half as long as the rest of their fingers, and pride themselves not a little on their whiteness and cleanliness. By means of these *riders* they hold more dollars in one paw, than an Englishman can hold in both. But shaking hands is quite out of fashion.

This voyage of discovery lasted nearly three years, and Nicol's next birth was in a female convict-ship. His narrative confirms the disgusting accounts which we have before had occasion to refer to, of the gross mismanagement with which these expeditions were *at first* attended. The ship was one vast brothel, and all hopes of penitence or amendment, during the passage, were dissipated by authorized prostitution. One of the women bore a son to Nicol while on board, and he would have married her immediately after, if he had not been compelled to return to England. For many years he continued an unavailing pursuit of his beloved, and we doubt not, that the fighting these amorous battles o'er again has been to him the most interesting part of the composition of his volume. The *Lady Julian* contained 245 female convicts. Few were very bad characters; most were condemned for petty crimes; many only as disorderly, [this must be a mistake] *the colony at the time being in great want of women.*

"One, a Scottish girl, broke her heart, and died in the river; she was buried at Dartford. Four were pardoned on account of his majesty's recovery. The poor young Scottish girl I have never yet got out of my mind; she was young and beautiful, even in the convict dress, but pale as death, and her eyes red with weeping. She never spoke to any of the other women, or came on deck. She was constantly seen sitting in the same corner from morning to night; even the time of meals roused her not. My heart bled for her,—she was a countrywoman in misfortune. I offered her consolation, but her hopes and heart had sunk. When I spoke she heeded me not, or only answered with sighs and tears; if I spoke of Scotland she would wring her hands and sob,

until I thought her heart would burst. I endeavoured to get her sad story from her lips, but she was silent as the grave to which she hastened. I lent her my Bible to comfort her, but she read it not; she laid it on her lap after kissing it, and only bedewed it with her tears. At length she sunk into the grave of no disease but a broken heart." P. 111.

Mrs. Barnsley was of another mood. She used to boast of hereditary honours. She herself was a distinguished shop-lifter, and all her family for more than a century had been known as swindlers or highwaymen. A brother of the last named *caste*, frequently visited her while in the river "as well dressed and genteel in his appearance as any gentleman."

We must not stop upon our hero's pursuit of his Sarah. She so dwelt upon his imagination, that on his return to England he engaged himself on board a South Sea whaler, in the hope of making his way to her place of exile, and it was not until he reached the fishing ground, that he learned her infidelity from a convict who had escaped thither. She had accompanied another man to Bombay; and her flight cost Nicol a second voyage to China.

We next find him pressed and employed on board the *Goliath*, of 74, in Sir John Jervis's (the late Lord St. Vincent's) fleet, blockading Toulon. His account of the action which followed is most characteristic of an English sailor.

"While we lay at Lisbon we got private intelligence overland that the Spanish fleet was at sea. We with all dispatch set sail in pursuit of them. We were so fortunate as to come in sight of them by break of day, on the 14th of February, off Cape St. Vincent. They consisted of twenty-five sail, mostly three-deckers. We were only eighteen; but we were English, and we gave them their Valentines in style. Soon as we came in sight, a bustle commenced, not to be conceived or described. To do it justice, while every man was as busy as he could be, the greatest order prevailed. A serious cast was to be perceived on every face; but not a shade of doubt or fear. We rejoiced in a general action; not that we loved fighting; but we all wished to be free to return to our homes, and follow our own pursuits. We knew there was no other way of obtaining this than by defeating the enemy. 'The hotter the war the sooner the peace,' was a saying with us. When every thing was cleared, the ports open, the matches lighted, and guns run out, then we gave them three such cheers as are only to be heard in a British man-of-war. This intimidates the enemy more than a broadside, as they have often declared to me. It shows them all is right; and the men in the true spirit baying to be at them.

E •

Life of John Nicol.

...then, my situation was not one of danger, but most
...feelings, and trying to my patience. I was sta-
...ater-magazine, serving powder from the screen, and
...ing; but I could feel every shot that struck the
...the cries and groans of the wounded were most dis-
...there was only the thickness of the blankets of the
...me and them. Busy as I was, the time hung upon
...dreary weight. Not a soul spoke to me but the master-
...he went his rounds to inquire if all was safe. No
...ever longed more for his physician than I for the voice
...master-at-arms. The surgeon's-mate, at the commence-
...the action, spoke a little; but his hands were soon too full
...own affairs. Those who were carrying run like wild crea-
...and scarce opened their lips. I would far rather have been on
...decks, amid the bustle, for there the time flew on eagle's wings.
...the Goliath was sore beset; for some time she had two three-deckers
...her. The men stood to their guns as cool as if they had
...exercising. The Admiral ordered the Britannia to our as-
...Iron-sides, with her forty-twos, soon made them sheer
...Towards the close of the action, the men were very weary.
...had put his head out of the port-hole, saying, 'D—n them,
...are they not going to strike yet?' For us to strike was out of the
question.

"At length the roar of the guns ceased, and I came on deck to
see the effects of a great sea engagement; but such a scene of blood
and desolation I want words to express. I had been in a great
number of actions with single ships in the *Proteus* and *Surprise*,
during the seven years I was in them. This was my first action in
a fleet, and I had only a small share in it. We had destroyed a
great number, and secured four three-deckers. One, they had the
impiety to call the *Holy Ghost*, we wished much to get; but they
towed her off. The fleet was in such a shattered situation, we lay
twenty-four hours in sight of them, repairing our rigging. It is
after the action the disagreeable part commences; the crews are
wrought to the utmost of the strength; for days they have no
remission of their toil; repairing the rigging, and other parts
injured in the action; their spirits are broke by fatigue: they have
no leisure to talk of the battle; and when the usual round of duty
returns, we do not choose to revert to a disagreeable subject. Who
can speak of what he did, where all did their utmost? One of my
messmates had the heel of his shoe shot off; the skin was not broke,
yet his leg swelled and became black. He was lame for a long
time." P. 178.

* "The *Britannia* is a first-rate, carrying 110 guns. She was the only ship
that carried 42 pounders on her lower deck, and 32 on her middle deck.
She was the strongest built ship in the navy; the sailors upon this account called
her '*Iron-Sides*.'"

The *Goliath* soon joined Lord Nelson. We must give the battle of the Nile as a companion picture to the last extract.

" We had our anchors out at our stern port with a spring upon them, and the cable carried along the ship's side, so that the anchors were at our bows, as if there was no change in the arrangement. This was to prevent the ships from swinging round, as every ship was to be brought to by her stern. We ran in between the French fleet and the shore, to prevent any communication between the enemy and the shore. Soon as they were in sight, a signal was made from the Admiral's ship for every vessel, as she came up, to make the best of her way, firing upon the French ships as she passed, and 'every man to take his bird,' as we joking called it. The *Goliath* led the van. There was a French frigate right in our way. Captain Foley cried, 'Sink that brute; what does he there?' In a moment she went to the bottom, and her crew were seen running into her rigging. The sun was just setting as we went into the bay, and a red and fiery sun it was. I would, if I had had my choice, been on the deck; there I would have seen what was passing, and the time would not have hung so heavy; but every man does his duty with spirit, whether his station be in the slaughter-house, or the magazine*.

" I saw as little of this action as I did of the one on the 14th February off Cape St. Vincent. My station was in the powder magazine with the gunner. As we entered the bay, we stripped to our trowsers, opened our ports, cleared, and every ship we passed gave them a broad-side and three cheers. Any information we got was from the boys and women who carried the powder. The women behaved as well as the men, and got a present for their bravery from the Grand Signior. When the French Admiral's ship blew up, the *Goliath* got such a shake, we thought the after-part of her had blown up, until the boys told us what it was. They brought us every now and then the cheering news of another French ship having struck, and we answered the cheers on deck with heart-felt joy. In the heat of the action, a shot came right into the magazine, but did no harm, as the carpenters plugged it up, and stopped the water that was rushing in. I was much indebted to the gunner's wife, who gave her husband and me a drink of wine every now and then, which lessened our fatigue much. There were some of the women wounded, and one woman belonging to Leith died of her wounds, and was buried on a small island in the bay. One woman bore a son in the heat of the action; she belonged to Edinburgh. When we ceased firing, I went on deck to view the state of the fleets, and an awful sight it

* "The seamen call the lower deck, near the main-mast, the slaughter-house as it is a mid-ships, and the enemy aim their fire principally at the body of the ship."

was. The whole bay was covered with dead bodies, mangled, wounded, and scorched, not a bit of clothes on them except their trowsers. There were a number of French belonging to the French Admiral's ship, the *L'Orient*, who had swam to the *Golia*, and were cowering under her forecastle. Poor fellows, they were brought on board, and Captain Foley ordered them down to the steward's room, to get provisions and clothing. One thing I observed in these Frenchmen quite different from any thing I had ever before observed. In the American war, when we took a French ship, the *Duke de Chartres*, the prisoners were as merry as if they had taken us, only saying, '*Fortune de guerre,*'—you take me to-day, I take you to-morrow. Those we now had on board were thankful for our kindness, but were sullen, and as downcast as if each had lost a ship of his own. The only incidents I heard of are two. One lad who was stationed by a salt-box, on which he sat to give out cartridges, and keep the lid close,—it is a trying birth,—when asked for a cartridge, he gave none, yet he sat upright; his eyes were open. One of the men gave him a push; he fell all his length on the deck. There was not a blemish on his body, yet he was quite dead, and was thrown over-board. The other, a lad who had the match in his hand to fire his gun. In the act of applying it a shot took off his arm; it hung by a small piece of skin. The match fell to the deck. He looked to his arm, and seeing what had happened, seized the match in his left hand, and fired off the gun before he went to the cock-pit to have it dressed. They were in our mess, or I might never have heard of it. Two of the mess were killed, and I knew not of it until the day after. Thus terminated the glorious first of August, the busiest night in my life." P. 185.

The expedition to Egypt formed the close of Nicol's warlike exploits. Twenty-five years after he first left Edinburgh as a wanderer, he again returned, and having bought a house on the Castle Hill, he married a cousin of his own, and established himself as a cooper. Business flourished, till unfortunately war again broke out, and he was compelled to withdraw himself from the press-gangs. At Cousland, about nine miles from Edinburgh, he got employment in Mr. Dickson's lime-quarries; and, while thus engaged, adopted a species of political logic among his companions, which we recommend as highly useful in general practice.

"As Mr. Dickson knew I was anxious for the news, he was so kind as to give me a reading of the newspapers when he was done. The other workmen assembled in my cottage on the evenings I got them, and I read aloud; then we would discuss the important parts together. The others were not friendly to the government, save one, an old soldier, who had been in the East Indies; he and

I always sided together. I had broke his Majesty's bread for fourteen years, and would not, upon that account, hear his government spoken against. I had but poor help from the old soldier, and I had them all to contend with; but when I was like to be run down, I bothered them with latitudes and longitudes, and the old soldier swore to all I said, and we contrived to keep our ground, for we had both been great travellers. When they spoke of heavy taxes, I talked of China; when they complained of hard times, I told them of the West India slaves; but neither could make any impression on the other." P. 204.

After eleven years he again removed to Edinburgh; but work was slack, and his wife proved expensive. Four years ago she died, and her funeral and some debts which she left behind, compelled him to sell all his property excepting a small room in which he lives, and a cellar, which is his workshop. In conclusion, he must speak for himself.

"In the month of August, last year, a cousin of my own made me a present of as much money as carried me to London. I sailed in the *Hawk*, London smack. I was only a steerage passenger, but fared as well as the cabin passengers. I was held constantly in tow by the passengers. My spirits were up. I was at sea again. I had not trode a deck for twenty years before. I had always a croud round me, listening to my accounts of the former voyages that I had made. Every one was more kind to me than another. I was very happy.

"Upon my arrival in London I waited upon my old captain, Portlock; but fortune was now completely against me. He had been dead six weeks before my arrival. I left the house; my spirits sunk with grief for his death, and my own disappointment, as my chief dependance was upon his aid. I then went to Somerset House for the certificate of my service; seven years in the *Proteus*, and *Surprise*, in the American war; and seven in the *Edgar*, *Goliah*, *Ramilies*, and *Ajax*, in the French war. I was ordered to go to the Admiralty-Office first, and then come back to Somerset House. When I applied at the Admiralty-Office, a clerk told me I had been too long of applying. I then went down to the Governor of Greenwich Hospital. I was not acquainted with him; but I knew the Governor of Greenwich would be a distressed seaman's friend. His servant told me he was in Scotland. I then waited upon Captain Gore, whose son's life I had saved, but he was not at home. It was of no use to remain in London, as my money wore down apace. I took my passage back to Edinburgh in the *Favourite*, London smack, and arrived just four weeks from my first setting out on this voyage of disappointment. What can I do? I must just take what fortune has still in store for me.

"At one time, after I came home, I little thought I should ever require to apply for a pension; and therefore made no application untill I really stood in need of it.

"I eke out my subsistence in the best manner I can. Coffee made from the raspings of bread, (which I obtain from the bakers,) twice a day, is my chief diet. A few potatoes, or any thing I can obtain with a few pence, constitute my dinner. My only luxury is tobacco, which I have used these forty-five years. To beg I never will submit. Could I have obtained a small pension for my past services, I should then have reached my utmost earthly wish, and the approach of utter helplessness would not haunt me as it at present does in my solitary home. Should I be forced to sell it, all I would obtain could not keep me, and pay for lodgings for one year; then I must go to the poor's house, which God in his mercy forbid. I can look to my death-bed with resignation; but to the poor's house I cannot look with composure.

"I have been a wanderer, and the child of chance all my days; and now only look for the time when I shall enter my last ship, and be anchored with a green turf upon my breast; and I care not how soon the command is given." P. 208.

We sincerely hope that the object for which this little volume is published, may be fully attained; and that its sale will enable the aged sailor, whose history it recounts, to pass the short remnant of his days without the dread of penury.

ART. VIII. *A Lecture on the History and Utility of Literary Institutions. Delivered at the Surrey Institution, London, on Friday, November 1st, and again at the Russell Institution, on Thursday, December 20, 1822. By James Jennings. 8vo. pp. 138. 6s. Sherwood & Co. 1823.*

THE historical and scientific merits of this Lecture do not constitute a claim to the honours we are about to bestow upon it. Mr. Jennings gives his readers rather less information about Academies, Lyceums, and Institutions, than they may gather from the London Directory, or the Guide to Paris. His literary talents will be appreciated when our extracts have been read, and the utility of the whole performance will be placed in a striking point of view. His object, in this Lecture "of two hours and twenty minutes," is to uphold the sinking fortunes of the *Surrey Institution*. Accordingly he furnishes "a select, yet numerous audience,"

"with the result of years of patient thought." He is thanked for his exertions by the Surrey managers, and he dismisses the *misrepresentation* to which his Lecture gave rise in the following dignified strain—

"It was his intention to have noticed some extraordinary *mistake* presentations, to which the delivery of this Lecture at the Surrey Institution, gave rise; but, upon mature deliberation, he is persuaded that silence is the best course. The important subjects here discussed, ought not to be mixed up with that evanescent and garrulous anility, the frequent accompaniment of an imbecile understanding, which would attempt to judge of the writings of those who soar beyond its ken, or whose comprehensiveness eludes its grasp—*Requiescat in pace.*" P. xi.

The curtain is then drawn up, and, after learning that man is a PROGRESSIVE BEING, and a *being eminently social*, we are reminded of "our duty to communicate that knowledge which we have acquired," and of the fitness of Literary Institutions for that purpose.—*Apropos* to Literary Institutions, (for "they ought to embrace the whole circle of human knowledge,") we have the following full and satisfactory account of the Bible, the Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

"The most ancient volume (or rather books), of which we have any satisfactory information, and which has come down to us, is the Old Testament. A volume, most certainly, deserving, even as a specimen of the earliest literature, our marked and respectful attention. The existence of such a book proves that the *Jews* were not inattentive to the advantages of recorded knowledge; nor to the striking events occurring in their own history. The *Jews*, when in the zenith of their prosperity, were, evidently, compared with the nations which surrounded them, a literary people. They had their historians and their chroniclers; and, as to their poetry, who is there that has not felt its force and its sublimity.—Their prophets were poets;—their poets prophets.

"The *Egyptians* made also, in an early period of the world, great progress in some of the sciences. But it was reserved for *Greece* to shew, under the auspices of PLATO and other sages, the progress which philosophy and literature had made; and to give them an *impetus* and a power which they had never before obtained.

"It was in Greece that *Academies* were first instituted. Hera Plato gave his lectures to crowds in the groves of Academus, near Athens; and here, for forty years, he presided, at the head of the *first* academy, diffusing the knowledge which he had acquired to eager and admiring audiences.

"The example of Greece was afterwards caught by the *Romans*, who established Academies, Lyceums, and other places of public resort, where original writers could recite their productions, and where applause was often as instantaneous as it was merited." P. 6.

The Author's notion of the effects and importance of these establishments, is admirably described—

"I pass over the *Society of Arts*, instituted in the year 1753, and various other associated bodies, to notice those literary establishments, which are now giving a tone and character to the age; and the efficiency of which we look for, in vain, in all or any of the literary societies of a former period. Need I say that I allude to our INSTITUTIONS, emphatically so called; to the *ATHENÆUM* and other INSTITUTIONS at Liverpool; to the *ROYAL INSTITUTION*; the *LONDON INSTITUTION*; the *RUSSELL INSTITUTION*; and, though last, I hope not least in this metropolis, the *SURREY INSTITUTION*." P. 26.

And those who are in quest of a good specimen of the mock heroic, need go no farther than his description of the worthies who have flourished at the Surrey.

"I must intreat your indulgence here, for dwelling a little more on the peculiar feature, the *LECTURES*, of such literary academies.

"You cannot be unaware of the feeling often excited in perusing a literary work of merit and of talent; you have all, perhaps, felt the desire, in reading such works as those of *HOMER*, or *VIRGIL*, of *PLATO*, or *CICERO*, to know, if it were possible, *personally*, the authors; to converse with them, and to hear their living poetry, and their oral wisdom; and to learn their habits, their manners, and modes of life, from themselves. Who is there that would not have been delighted to converse with *MILTON*, with *BACON*, or with *LOCKE*?

"Authors and philosophers were formerly much more retired and recluse than they now are. It was no easy matter to catch a sight of *POPE*, or to hear *SIR ISAAC NEWTON*. But now, in how many instances, have not our great men given us *viva voce* instruction; so that we have caught the stream of knowledge at once from the fountain, as when *PLATO* taught in the groves of *ACADEMUS*. Our *ROSCOES*, our *DAVYS*, our *COLERIDGES*, our *CAMPBELLS*; and our *HAZLITTS*, have personally appeared amongst us, at these Institutions, vivifying our minds, and shedding light on our paths.

"I have neither time, nor would it now be befitting, to mention all the gentlemen who have, from the first establishment of this Institution, given Lectures here. But you will permit me to

name a few of those who have honoured us with their presence, their science, and their wisdom.

" Among those who have paid the debt of nature, I may name Dr. SHAW, the able and scientific zoologist. Dr. LETTSOM, the humane physician, and benevolent philanthropist. The nervous and energetic OGILVIE, and Mr. MEADOWS.

" Among the living luminaries, I may mention Mr. SAMUEL WESLEY, and the correct and tasteful CROTCH, who have taught us music. In *Chemistry*, the acute and ingenious THOMSON, the classic and inquiring MURRAY, and the explanatory ACCUM. In *Physics*, Mr. MASON GOOD. In *Mechanics* and *Experimental Philosophy*, Mr. MILLINGTON, whose first prelections were, I understand, delivered here : he now lectures at the Royal Institution. In *Geology*, Mr. BAKEWELL. On *Education*, the persevering LANCASTER,—JOSEPH LANCASTER. On the *Philosophy of Art*, Mr. LANDSEER. On *Perspective*, Mr. JOHN GEORGE WOOD. On *Architecture*, the classic ELMES. On *Ethics*, Dr. COLLYER. On various branches of the *Belles Lettres*, the discriminating HAZLITT, and the lofty and truly poetic COLERIDGE," &c. &c. P. 42.

But the religious tendency of this contemptible publication must be our excuse for wasting time upon an examination of it. A note to page 12, in which mention had been made of Galileo, gives the following description of bigotry—

" The bigot, particularly the religious bigot, is, when in possession of power, generally an oppressor. From the foundation of the Christian Faith, to the present time, including the tortures of the Inquisition, and the burnings of Smithfield, bigotry has too often lifted her withering arm, to blast, as much as in her lies, the fair surface of the human intellect. To counteract this desolating and injurious state of mind, it cannot be too often inculcated, that belief is not an object of the will ; that is, we cannot believe or disbelieve at pleasure. We believe on any given speculative subject, as well as others, in exact proportion as previous impressions have moulded the mind ; an attempt to compel belief, so far from altering our ideas, on religious subjects, *perhaps, more particularly, contributes, most commonly, to fix them more strongly in the understanding*; hence the folly of persecution for opinions of any kind." P. 12.

" It is the business of education to teach such important elements ; their being universally imbibed,—bigotry, we may charitably hope, will be banished from the earth." P. 13.

In the same strain Mr. Jennings dilates, in a subsequent part of his ' two hours and twenty minutes,' upon the superiority of an Institution Orator over a Christian Preacher.

"I am aware it may be said, that morals may be left to the ministers of the different denominations of religion; and that this science may be taught more appropriately in the pulpit, than in the lecture-room of an Institution. I should think so too, could I be persuaded that our improvement in morals had kept pace with the increase in our population, and with the increase of places of public worship. But we all know that such is not the case. One of the causes of the want of effect in the discourses from the pulpit is, I can have no doubt, in the fashion, much too prevalent, of inculcating speculative opinions, rather than an impressive enforcement of moral doctrine and practice. For the persons professedly set apart to instruct us, I entertain a sincere respect; their labours, both in and out of the establishment, are various and great; but the science of morals is generally kept too much in the back ground. Surely the science of our duties, in the everyday conduct of life, is a science that may be made comprehensible, useful, and practicable. I most strongly, therefore, recommend every season at this, and indeed at every Literary Institution, a course, or courses of lectures, on morals, and their application to the daily conduct of life. The choice of the lecturer, and the style and matter of the lectures, will demand great and peculiar care. The existence of a Deity will, of course, be insisted on; and the sublime morality of the New Testament be specifically enforced; but the introduction of mere speculative opinion, or of controversial divinity, (of all controversy the most unprofitable, and the most to be deprecated,) must be most carefully avoided. Thus may that science, which contributes so much to our moral and social well-being, (without which, indeed, we can neither be moral nor properly social,) become useful to all—of every creed, and of every clime. Nor should the lecturer confine himself simply to a dry detail of duties, as the terms *moral lectures*, might seem to imply; by no means. The imagination may be brought to our aid here with peculiar propriety, and with much effect, whether in apposite illustration of a truth, or in impressive similes; aided, in their delivery, by a chastened eloquence, which charms, while it instructs.

"Indeed I know no place where a person of adroitness, talent and *eloquence*, (I say *eloquence*,) may make moral lectures more powerful, efficient, and attractive, than in the lecture-room of a Literary Institution. Here men of every persuasion may attend as auditors; and here those truths only may be inculcated, which immediately concern us all; and in the practical application of which, all are interested. The *Jew*, the *Gentile*, the *Turk*, and *Christian*; may, and will, listen to that benevolent moralist, who shall teach us how to respect and esteem one another; how best to bear our parts here; how best to contribute to individual and collective happiness; and how to become wiser and better men. To that benevolent moralist who shall teach us, and teach us truly, that *opi-*

nions are the effect of impressions made upon our minds by the circle of the society in which we move; and that to be angry with, or feel dislike towards, another, for *difference of opinion*, is just as unwise as it is to complain of our difference in stature, in complexion, or in features. And that, therefore, in the inculcation of moral duties, and in moral practice, *difference of opinion* must not be suffered to destroy (as it unfortunately sometimes does,) that peace and happiness, which it is the duty not less than the interest of every one to endeavour to promote." P. 82.

And in a long note on this passage, which we have not room to extract, he refers to his former definition of Bigotry, and denounces the term Toleration, as implying that "the opinions of the *tolerators* are indisputably true," and 'the opinions of the *tolerated* false.' A position which this learned person's philosophy compels him to impugn.

To make the whole more complete, Mr. Jennings had intended to conclude with an extract from Lallah Rookh, descriptive of Mr. Thomas Moore's Millennium. "It is delightful," he says, "to look forward in imagination at least to that time,

" When the glad slave shall lay down
His broken chain—the tyrant lord his crown—
The priest his book—the conqueror his wreath—
When from the lips of TRUTH one mighty breath
Shall, like a whirlwind, scatter in its breeze
The whole dark pile of human MOCKERIES.
Then shall the REIGN of MIND commence on earth,
And starting quick, as from a second birth,
Man, in the sunshine of the world's new spring,
Shall walk transparent, like some holy thing." P. 121.

Now we say not a word respecting the ignorance, the absurdity, the bad taste, or the flippancy, of Mr. James Jennings. We pass over the delicate allusion to his own qualifications for the office of Librarian to the New Surrey Institution, (p. 113); and we merely ask of those who support this establishment, whether they really intend to turn it into an infidel lecture-room. Our opulent merchants and citizens contribute their guinea, as a matter of course, to some two or three score of Institutions. The less refined of among their number are not unwilling to hear that their sons and daughters sit under the learned man, and talk of 'progressive being'—and mineralogy. But are they aware that such an *ignoramus* as Mr. James Jennings is permitted to dole out the scepticism, infidelity, and nonsense, which are "the result of his deliberate convictions—of years of patient thought"—and is unanimously thanked by the managers for his excellent Lecture?

ART. IX. *The Entail: or the Lairds of Grippy. By the Author of Annals of the Parish, Sir Andrew Wylie, &c. In Three Volumes. 12mo. 1l. 1s. Cadell. 1823.*

HAVING already broken through the regular order of succession, in which Mr. Galt's novels ought perhaps to have been noticed, we shall confine our attention in the present article to his last and best work: for such we think the *Entail* will be generally considered, whether as regards the management of the plot, the vividness with which the principal characters are delineated, the richness of its humour, or the high tragic interest of the main events. The outline of the story, comprising as it does the transactions of three separate generations, is as follows. Claud Walkinshaw, the hero, first appears as the orphan and destitute grandson of the Laird of Kittlestonheugh, (an estate in the neighbourhood of Glasgow,) who has lost both his whole fortune and his only son, the father of Claud, in the ill-fated Darien speculation; and surviving but a short time, leaves his young relative entirely dependant on the industry of Maudge Dobbie the family nurse, and the only servant who had followed his ruined fortunes. By the hard exertions of this worthy and affectionate creature, the young Claud is maintained and educated, and though he subsequently repays her care with neglect and ingratitude, his youthful mind religiously retains the memory of her injunctions to recover the lost estate of his forefathers. Having been furnished by the bounty of some kind friends, with a pack and goods, he perseveres steadily, for above thirty years of industry and frugality, in the prosecution of this plan; and at the period when he is introduced more particularly to our notice, is established as a thriving cloth merchant in Glasgow, and has just effected the purchase of the farm of Grippy, part of his ancient patrimony.

“ The feelings of the mariner returning home, when he again beholds the rising hills of his native land, and the joys and fears of the father's bosom, when, after a long absence, he approaches the abode of his children, are tame and calm, compared to the deep and greedy satisfaction with which the persevering pedlar received the earth and stone that gave him infestment of that cold and sterile portion of his forefather's estate. In the same moment he formed a resolution worthy of the sentiment he then felt,—a sentiment which, in a less sordid breast, might have almost partaken of

the pride of virtue. He resolved to marry, and beget children, and entail the property, that none of his descendants might ever have it in their power to commit the imprudence which had brought his grandfather to a morsel, and thrown himself on the world. And the same night, after maturely considering the prospects of all the heiresses within the probable scope of his ambition, he resolved that his affections should be directed towards Miss Girzy Hypel, the only daughter of Malachi Hypel, the Laird of Plealands." Vol. I. p. 256.

After an exquisitely comic courtship of the matter-of-fact kind, Claud marries this mature damsel, and in process of time a son is born, on whom he settles the farm of Grippy, in the hope of ultimately augmenting it by his wife's paternal inheritance of Plealands. The old Laird, however, whose family pride equals that of Walkinshaw, refuses to bestow his estate on any other than a Hypel, and in consequence entails Plealands on Walter and George, the second and third sons of Claud, with the proviso of taking his own name. After his death, which happens early in the first volume, it is discovered that his will, though valid as a testamentary conveyance, does not bind the heir of Plealands to the condition of changing his name, in consequence of some technical informality; and from this discovery arises the first temptation to the injustice which Claud ultimately commits against his eldest son. An opportunity offering in the course of time, of exchanging Plealands for the still unredeemed remainder of the Kittlestoneheugh property, Claud, as trustee for his son Walter, gladly embraces it; and this desirable point being effected, the thought still harasses him, that the ancient inheritance of the Walkinshaws cannot be united in one person, except by the exclusion of his eldest and favourite son Charles, and the preference of Walter, who is only one degree removed from an idiot. To set the latter aside by a statute of lunacy would be merely to transfer Plealands to George the third son, next named in the Entail made by old Hypel, and could not consolidate the property in Charles; and the father, therefore, remains, under a difficulty, the nature of which we have been forced to explain somewhat at length. After the young men, however, grow up, a circumstance takes place, which cuts the Gordian knot. Charles, who had been engaged to a Miss Fatherlans, with the consent of his father, honourably perseveres in his attachment after the unexpected ruin of her family, and thereby incurs the displeasure of the selfish and money making Claud. Their clandestine marriage, which soon takes place, renders

justifiable in the eyes of the latter, the harsh step which his family pride has for a long time coveted to take, and accordingly he secretly settles Grippy upon his younger sons in succession, with the vague salvo of remunerating Charles, (with whom he makes it a merit not to quarrel,) out of his business, or personal property. Having thus "sacrificed his first born to the Moloch of ancestral pride," and united the Kittlestonheugh property in a Walkinshaw, he marries Walter to Miss Betty Bodle, the buxom daughter of the Laird of Kilmarkeekle, whom he had in vain urged Charles to address; and about the same time his daughter Margaret becomes the third wife of Mr. Milrookit, the Laird of Dir-dumwhamle, a gentleman with a most uncouth name and a "sma' family" of fifteen children. Soon after these events, Mrs. Walter Walkinshaw, from whom Claud had hoped for a son somewhat wiser than his father, dies in childbed, leaving her husband with a sickly daughter, and this circumstance adds to the remorse and disgust which have already begun to devour the old man.

"Deep and secret as Claud kept his feelings from the eyes of the world, this was a misfortune which he was ill prepared to withstand. For although in the first shock he betrayed no emotion, it was soon evident that it had shattered some of the firmest intents and purposes of his mind. That he regretted the premature death of a beautiful young woman in such interesting circumstances, was natural to him as a man; but he felt the event more as a personal disappointment, and though it was accompanied with something so like retribution, that he inwardly trembled as if he had been chastised by some visible arm of Providence. For he could not disguise to himself that a female heir was a contingency he had not contemplated; that, by the catastrophe which had happened to the mother, the excambio of the Plealands for the Divethill would be rendered of no avail; and that, unless Walter married again, and had a son, the re-united Kittlestonheugh property must again be disjoined, as the Divethill would necessarily become the inheritance of the daughter." Vol. I. p. 300.

An advantageous opportunity soon after offering of marrying and establishing George in the world, Claud sacrifices the last stake reserved for poor Charles, by advancing nearly the whole of his personal property, to set up his younger son as a merchant; and just at this crisis, Charles, who has been tempted from his supposed expectation, to exceed the scanty income earned by him as his father's working partner, discovers all at once that the latter has deprived him of his birthright, and himself of the power of remedying the injus-

tice. A fever is the consequence, which terminates fatally; and the mental sufferings which his father has long been enduring from his rash step, are brought by this event to a crisis. The sullen remorse which has long been rankling in his mind, gives way to a deep penitence: his constitution suddenly breaks, and he dies in the unavailing attempt to make some provision for his destitute grand-children and daughter-in-law. He is soon followed to the grave by the daughter of Walter, a sickly child; and her father, whose imbecility has become more and more obvious for some time, is with his mother's consent, "cognosed," or set aside under a statute of lunacy, and his brother George succeeds to the family property, salving his conscience by the settlement of an annuity on Mrs. C. Walkingshaw, and her children. A certain space of time is allowed to pass without much notice in the narrative, during which the latter grow to years of discretion; and poor Walter ends his days under the care of his mother, while George becomes rich and prosperous. The latter, whose family consists of only one daughter, and who is aware (here we suspect a legal blunder,) that her right to the landed property might, at his death, be successfully contested by his nephew, James Walkinshaw, is naturally desirous of marrying the young people to each other. Both, however, are otherwise attached; James to Miss Ellen Fraser, the relative and adopted daughter of his mother's intimate friend Mrs. Eadie; and Robina to her cousin Walkinshaw Milrookit; and old Leddy Grippy, disappointed in the attempt to reconcile her favourite grand-child to Robina and her fortune, is tempted by her inordinate love of match-making, to promote the clandestine marriage of the latter with young Milrookit. Some of the most richly comic scenes in the book are worked up out of her disclosure of the wedding to her indignant son, and her repentance when saddled with the maintenance of the young couple, who take refuge under her roof.

"In short, nobody, Jamie, has been more imposed upon than I hae been—I'm the only sufferer. De'il-be-lickit has it cost Dir-dumwhamle, but an auld Muscovy duck, that he got sent him frae ane o' your uncle's Jamaica skippers two year ago; and it was then past laying—we smoor't it wi' ingons the day afore yesterday, but ye might as soon hae tried to mak a dinner o' a heep o' seven heere yarn, for it was as tough as the grannie of the cock that craw't to Peter." Vol. III. p. 96.

A reconciliation between George and his son-in-law is effected through the mediation of James, and announced by

him just at the moment when the old Leddy is in the act of giving the slip to her guests, and in motion "to catch the Greenock flying coach at the Black Bull."

"His grandmother took hold of him by the arm, and giving it an indescribable squeeze of exultation, said,—'I'll tell you, it's just a sport. They would need long spoons that sup parridge wi' the de'il, or the like o' me, ye maun ken. I was just like to be devour't into beggary by them. Ae frien' after another calling, glasses o' wine ne'er devauling; the corks playing clunk in the kitchen frae morning to night, as if they had been in a change-house on a fair-day. I could stand it no longer. So yesterday, when that nabal, Dirdumwhamle, sent us a pair o' his hunger't hens, I told baith Beenie and Walky, that they were obligated to go and thank their parents, and to pay them a marriage visit for a day or twa, although we're a' in black for your aunty, her mother; and so this morning I got them off, Lord be praised; and I am noo on my way to pay a visit to Miss Jenny Purdie, my cousin at Greenock.'

"'Goodness! and is this to throw poor Beenie and Walky adrift?' exclaimed Walkinshaw.

"'Charity, Jamie, my bairn, begins at hame, and they hae a nearer claim on Dirdumwhamle, who is Walky's lawful father, than on me; so e'en let them live upon him till I invite them back again.'

"'Walkinshaw, though really shocked, he could not tell why, was yet so tickled by the Leddy's adroitness, that he laughed most immoderately, and was unable for some time in consequence to communicate the message, of which he was the joyous bearer.'" Vol. III. p. 125.

The death of Mr. George Walkinshaw having been accelerated by vexation at her daughter's marriage, her husband secretly and unaccountably conceives a desire to rival his nephew in the affections of Ellen Frazer; but before any person except the author is aware of his intentions, his schemes of male heirs are cut short by shipwreck while on a party of pleasure. Walkinshaw Milrookit, on succeeding to his father-in-law's property, learns and keeps secret the nature of the Kittlestonheugh Entail; but the notable old Leddy, his grandmother, provoked at his illiberal conduct to Mr. C. Walkinshaw, and his ingratitude to herself, contrives to ferret out the flaw in his succession, and to establish the claim of James Walkinshaw, (who has entered the army under the auspices of the Frazers) to the landed estate of his ancestors, now augmented and improved in value. His marriage with Ellen Frazer follows of course, and the story concludes with the information that he begat nine sons, served as

many or more campaigns with éclat, and, like Dolph Heyleger and Bappo, was nearly feasted to death by his admiring townsmen.

Such is the outline of a novel which we have perused with deeper interest in some parts, and more hearty laughter in others, than any of the former productions of Mr. Galt, to whom the world seems to agree in attributing it. The plot, though it may be fairly defined to consist of a farce tacked on to a tragedy, is well digested and developed, and three at least of the characters might, we think, have figured in the Waverley novels without any detriment to their well established fame.

Of these the first which naturally attracts our attention, is that of Claud, the moving master spirit of the whole, and moulded of "ambition's sternest stuff." To appreciate the merits of this bold and powerful conception, we must consider the difficulty which the author has imposed upon himself, of imparting an absorbing and commanding interest, and even a degree of dignity to a character, coarse, illiterate, hard-hearted, selfish, and ungrateful at the most susceptible age of youth to his earliest benefactors. These traits could not be endured without abhorrence in any ordinary character. There is, however, a certain masculine grace in the powers of active exertion and passive endurance, when combined in an extraordinary degree, which if it fail to render their possessor amiable or even respectable, rivet the attention upon his minutest action. The Satan of Milton, the Prometheus of Æschylus, and the Napoleon of real life, are characters which must remain impressed on the mind's eye in a commanding form; and we think it hardly exaggeration to pronounce Claud Walkenshaw, in spite of his humble education and employment, a being compounded of the same striking materials. His powers of intense deliberation, his firmness of purpose maintained against his better affections, his contempt for his chosen heir, the calm moody self-possession with which he struggles against remorse, conscience, and disappointment, are all in admirable keeping; his avarice and selfishness, abominable as they are in themselves, are of no vulgar nature, but exist merely as subservient to an end in itself meritorious; and the remark of the author that he is a character of a higher stamp than his more educated son George, is just and discriminating. The manner in which the strong texture of his mental and bodily frame is shattered to pieces by the death of Charles, the

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deep humiliation which ensues, and the softening effect which it produces on his character, may remind us in some respects of our lamented Kemble's memorable performance of Wolsey's closing scene, in which the work of ten years appeared done in a few minutes; and his visit to his son's orphan children, atones in a great degree for his past conduct.

We will quote both the passages in question, which are perhaps the two most striking in the book.

"The lawyer, for about the term of a minute, made no reply, but looked at him steadily in the face, and then added solemnly,

" 'He's no more!'

"At first the news seemed to produce scarcely any effect; the iron countenance of the old man underwent no immediate change—he only remained immovable in the position in which he had received the shock; but presently Mr. Keelevin saw that he did not fetch his breath, and that his lips began to contract asunder, and to expose his yellow teeth with the grin almost of a skull.

" 'Heavens preserve us, Mr. Walkinshaw!' cried Mr. Keelevin, rising to his assistance; but, in the same moment, the old man uttered a groan so deep and dreadful, so strange and superhuman, that Walter snatched up his child, and rushed in terror out of the room. After this earthquake-struggle, he in some degree recovered himself, and the lawyer returned to his chair, where he remained some time silent.

" 'I had a fear o't, but I was na prepar't,' Mr. Keelevin, for this,' said the miserable father; 'and noo I'll kick against the pricks nae langer. Wonderful God! I bend my aged grey head at thy footstool. O lay not thy hand heavier upon me than I am able to bear. Mr. Keelevin, ye ance said the entail cou'd be broken if I were to die insolvent—mak me sae in the name of the God I have dared so long to fight against An Charlie's dead—murdered by my devices! Weel do I mind, when he was a playing bairn, that I first kent the blessing of what it is to hae something to be kind to;—often and often did his glad and bright young face thaw the frost that had bound up my heart, but ay something new o' the world's pride and trash cam in between, and hardent it mair and mair.—But a's done noo, Mr. Keelevin—the fight's done and the battle won, and the avenging God of righteousness and judgment is victorious.' Vol. II. p. 59.

"The old man, without seeming to notice their innocent reverence, walked to a chair near the window, and sat down. His demeanour was as calm, and his features as sedate, as usual, but his eyes glittered with a slight sprinkling of tears, and twice or thrice he pressed his elbows into his sides, as if to restrain some inordinate agitation of the heart. In the course of a few minutes he became quite master of himself, and, looking for a short time compassionately at the children, he invited them to come to him. Mary, the

girl, who was the youngest, obeyed at once the summons; but James, the boy, still kept back.

" 'What for wilt t'ou no come to me?' said Claud.

" 'I'll come, if ye'll no hurt me,' replied the child. 'Hurt thee! what for, poor thing, should I hurt thee?' inquired his grandfather, somewhat disturbed by the proposed condition.

" 'I dinna ken,' said the boy, still retreating,—'but I am feart, for ye hurt papa for naething, and mamma used to greet for't.'

" Claud shuddered, and in the spasmodic effort which he made to suppress his emotion, he unconsciously squeezed the little hand of the girl so hardly, as he held her between his knees, that she shrieked with the pain, and flew towards her brother, who, equally terrified, ran to shelter himself behind a chair.

" For some time the old man was so much affected, that he felt himself incapable of speaking to them. But he said to himself,—

" 'It is fit that I should endure this. I sowed tares, and mauna expek wheat.'" Vol. II. p. 79.

By the death of Claud, the plot, on the nature of which we have already remarked, very much diminishes in interest, resembling somewhat a game at chess tolerably well conducted by inferior pieces after the capture of the queen. To keep up our metaphor, the Leddy, whose latent powers had been cowed and overawed by her stern husband, assumes the part of a busy little knight, and is the cause of much perplexity to some of the pieces, much benefit to others, and much sport to ourselves, by her whimsical frisks and evolutions in a confined space. In fact, though her character is well kept up from the first scene, where she administers such frank and homely consolation to her galled lovers, yet we were not prepared for her taking the decided lead which she assumes both in the business and the comic interest of the latter half of the book. Her fussy notable delight in the mystery of match-making, the uncouth naiveté of her repartees, and the unconscious fluency with which she blurts out a profusion of whimsical and pertinent bon-mots, would provoke the muscles of a Stoic, and render her indeed an important treasure to the author and reader. Having already quoted more than one passage illustrative of the peculiar turn of humour of this busy matron, we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to the wedding dinner of Robina, and to chapters 28, 29, and 34, in the second volume, as consummate in their way. Her grand triumph however is reserved for the conclusion of the book, where the claims of her grandson James, are established by her exertions. Here we are overwhelmed by a flood of hereditary legal knowledge, equal to her pro-

ficiency in the varieties of the vulgar tongue, which would have dumb founded the notable widow Blackacre herself, and which her occasional slip-slop renders doubly amusing. Proud of her conquest and revenge, the good lady's imagination fairly runs riot in projected victories, the adverse man of law flies aghast from her technical rattle, like a cowed cur from the kettle at his heels; and, (to rise a little in our illustrations,) her close of life is as blazing and triumphant as that of the tropic sun in Rokeby—"Peace to her ashes," we may say in all sincerity; for expecting but little of feeling or affection from her, we are not scandalized at the want of these qualities which she so grossly betrays in the first and second volumes. We looked only for amusement, and have enjoyed it in abundance.

Watty, her idiot son, is a creature of a kinder temperament than either his father or mother, and as true to nature, we think, as either. The conduct of the story demanded that he should be about a degree and a half superior to a mere driveller, and the line of demarcation is drawn with judgment, peculiarly in the interesting and amusing scene of the sheriff's inquest, and in those circumstances in which the better and more powerful feelings of his nature act, as it were, intently.

"'It's my bairn,' replied Watty, 'and ye hae naething, father, to do wi't.—Will I no tak care o' my ain baby—my bonny wee Betty Bodle?'

"'Do as I bid thee, or I'll maybe gar thee fin' the weight o' my staff,' cried the old man sharply, expecting immediate obedience to his commands, such as he always found, however positively Walter, on other occasions, at first refused; but in this instance he was dissatisfied; for the widower looked him steadily in the face, and said,—

"'I'm a father noo; it would be an awfu' thing for a decent grey-headed man like you, father, to strike the head o' a motherless family.' " Vol. I. p. 307.

These occasional dawnings of reason, however, are so managed as not to break the consistency of poor Watty's fatuity; and, to this end, the very trait in question is artfully combined with an instance of obstinacy and perverted feeling. The author's leading conception, or key to the character of Walter, seems to have been, that his "fatuous" should possess to a certain extent, the powers of feeling and perception common to other men, without the combining faculties necessary to turn them to account. Thus he is not des-

litude of regard for his own interest, but incapable of perceiving any thing beyond a tangible advantage, and as the proverb says, "penny-wise and pound-foolish." His parental affection is strong, but it is transferred like that of a silly sheep to the lamb clothed in the fleece of her own offspring, and his humour, which excites a laugh in several places, appears merely to arise from the impression of external objects.

On the three characters which we have enumerated, the author has put forth his whole strength, and the rest are of that common-place sort, which leaves but little impression on the memory. It is true that the open-hearted Charles and his gentle wife interest us deeply, but then they merely do so as human beings suffering undeservedly, for had a prosperous fate been allotted them by the author, they would quietly have fallen into the ranks of "bien weel-doing cloth-merchants," and have been forgotten by the reader. Nor can we describe James and Ellen more distinctly than as a generous hot-headed young man, and a fine young woman above the middle height, characters not very uncommon. As to Robina, she conveys the idea of a pert cunning milliner, addicted to coarse finesse, and sordidness is the only trait in the character either of her husband or father-in-law. George Walkinshaw, we must say, is deserving of a better fate than that which the author allots him, and of less indignation than is felt against him by his sensitive nephew; though perhaps a little selfish and calculating, he is mild, gentlemanlike and placable, and on the whole much too respectable to be consigned so uncereemoniously to the tender mercies of crabs and congers.

We are not well enough versed in all the varieties of Scotch oddity, to enable us to say, whether the hobby of Kilmarkeckle, the amateur tobacconist, be a natural one or not; suffice it, that it is an inoffensive one. It is undoubtedly necessary to the existence of all the varieties of Bores, that they should possess their hobbies, and the old gentleman paces very quietly through the green meadows on his "hip-popotamus," without treading on any one's toes; not so, that unhappy lady Mrs. Eadie, who may claim the privilege of figuring as Bore in ordinary to the present work. She dances across every body's path in as rickety a pair of Osseanic stilts as ever were mounted, and great indeed must be the privilege of the second sight if it authorizes such pompous self-complacency as pervades every word and action. Unmoved by the irresistible "bathos of the cow," she

interprets every cock and bull sound into a prophecy, (see pages 134, 135, 138, vol. 3) and entirely absorbed in the dignity of the Glengael blood, slights both the convenience and the feelings of her worthy husband. Nor are the motives on the strength of which she assumes so much, of more than an every day nature, since we will suppose that her sybylline knowledge, if it really exists, has taught her the real nature of James's rights and prospects. In short, in spite of "her august air, the impressive melancholy of her countenance, the solemn Sidonian grandeur of her voice, and again, the towering grandeur with which she shakes her right arm over George's head," (to his astonishment we suspect) we cannot consider this poor bestraught lady as half so rational or respectable as Andrew Wylie's old gypsy.

We cannot leave unremarked a few more instances of bad taste. Though we know something of Welsh customs on such occasions, and are disposed to grant some latitude to those of Scotland, yet the drunken funeral of old Plealand's still appears somewhat overstrained. Nor can we see why Charles, educated by his highly accomplished grandmother, need speak broader Scotch than his brother George, brought up at the feet of the notable Girzy. To talk too of the regret of Lot's wife for her elegant dresses, (Vol. I, p. 118.) is most woeful and unseasonable bantering indeed; nor can we easily forgive the author for shaking our faith in the domestic comforts of our worthy friend Bailie Jarvie, and metamorphosing the modest Mattie into a gorgeous vixen. Fielding and Smollet, it is true, have already tried this experiment of putting new wine into old bottles, in introducing Random's friend Morgan to Peregrine Pickle, and making Adams the tutor to Tom Jones's children; but as they did not repeat it, it is probable that they perceived in time the bad taste of the practice; besides, they only make free with their own creations, without altering their character; but in the present instance, the author has seized upon, peppered, and bedeviled the conceptions of his betters in a most unwarrantable manner. We must remonstrate also against the use of the term "we," in speaking of the author's imaginary self as an occasional actor in the story. The term may be very properly applied to the divinity of kings, or to our august selves, sitting and deciding in full monthly conclave on the merits of contemporary works; but as relating to the gentleman who sat at Mr. Ornit's desk, or walked with Dr. and Mrs. Denholm to Watty's wedding, it conveys an incongruous idea of a double, treble, or quadruple man, a sort of human am-

phisboena, such as, we can at least venture to assert, is not common in our southern climate ; or of the glee, where three or four voices sing in concert,—

“ Grave on my tomb, when there I'm laid,
Here lies one who lov'd but one dear maid.”

Finally, (for we have reached the last page) we would remind the author that the world in general cares but little for the Glasgow magistrates or their civic feasts, which seem such a greedy subject of local allusion on the opposite bank of the Tweed. That the corporation in question is a most respectable body of men, and equal or superior in good taste to their university, we make no doubt, but confess ourselves totally uninterested in their lime punch, their turtle, and their indignations ; nor do we conceive that they will feel themselves much obliged to the author for dragging such matters to light, or to a dying them in a strain so dubiously worded between compliment and banter, as, though closing with the puff direct, must leave somewhat of an *aigre-doux* flavour on their palates, as bad as a surfeit of the said boasted punch. We trust that Mr. G. will avoid in future faults of this description, which, though excusable in his earlier productions, are misplaced and offensive in a work like the present, destined, as we may pretty confidently predict, to rank as an English classic.

ART. X. *Relics of Literature.* By Stephen Collet, A.M.
8vo. pp 418. 15s. Boys. 1823.

FEW compilers of *Adversaria*, it might be imagined, could transcribe their common place-book for the press, without producing a volume in which the entertaining should predominate over the dull. It would be harsh to say that Mr. Collet must be content to take his stand among these few ; but certainly, in spite of his decorated title and sharp-typed pages (two merits in which we shall be glad to see him often imitated), we do not meet with much in his collections with which we have not met before ; and we do meet with some things with which we never wish to meet again. We shall proceed to make free with a few, which we think can amuse our readers ; who therefore must expect us to be as

desultory, rambling, and-discursive as is the theme which we have taken in hand.

We begin with a very beautiful madrigal by Lodge, printed, as is believed, from an "unique edition" (though we do not quite know what these words mean) of his poems.

"Love in my bosom, like a bee,
Doth sucke his sweete;
Now with his wings he plays with me,
Now with his feete.

"Within mine eyes he makes his nest,
His bed amid my tender breast;
My kisses are his daily feast,
And yet he robs me of my rest.

"Strike I my lute—he tunes the string,
He music plays, if I do sing;
He lends me every living thing,
Yet cruel he my heart doth sting.

"What, if I beat the wanton boy
With many a rod,
He will repay me with annoy,
Because a god.

"Then sit thou safely on my knee,
And let thy bower my bosom be;
O Cupid! so thou pity me,
I will not wish to part from thee." P. 7.

In the Lansdowne Library, to which Mr. Collet is much indebted, is a copy of Burnet's *History of his own Times*, with marginal notes in Swift's hand writing. Those given below are sufficiently characteristic.

"P. 28. *Burnet*. 'The earl of Argyle was a more solemn sort of man, grave and sober, and free of all scandalous vices.'—*Swift*. 'As a man is free of a corporation, he means.'

"P. 49. *Burnet*. 'I will not enter farther into the military part; for I remember an advice of Marshal Schomberg, never to meddle in military matters. His observation was, 'Some affected to read those affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errors, that exposed them to the scorn of all commanders, who must despise relations that pretend to exactness, when there were blunders in every part of them.'—*Swift*. 'Very foolish advice, for soldiers cannot write.'

"P. 5. *Burnet*. 'Upon the king's death, the Scots proclaimed his son king, and sent over Sir George Wincan, *that married my great aunt*, to treat with him while he was in the Isle of Jersey.'—*Swift*. 'Was *that* the reason why he was sent?'

"P. 63. *Burnet*. (Speaking of the Scotch preachers in the time of the civil wars.) 'The crowds were far beyond the capacity of their churches or the reach of their voices.'—*Swift*. 'And the preaching beyond the capacity of the crowd. I believe the church had as much capacity as the minister.'

"P. 163. *Burnet*. (Speaking of *Paradise Lost*.) 'It was esteemed the *beautifullest* and *perfectest* poem that ever was writ, at least in our language.'—*Swift*. 'A mistake! for it is in *English*.'

"P. 189. *Burnet*. 'Patrick was esteemed a great preacher, * * but a little too severe against those who differed from him—' He became afterwards more moderate.'—*Swift*. 'Yes, for he turned a rank whig.'

"P. 263. *Burnet*. 'And yet, after all, he (K. Charles II.) never treated her (Nell Gwyn) with the *decencies* of a mistress.'—*Swift*. 'Pray what *decencies* are those?'

"P. 327. *Burnet*. 'It seems, the French made no great account of their prisoners, for they released 25,000 Dutch for 50,000 crowns.'—*Swift*. 'What! ten shillings a-piece! By much too dear for a Dutchman.'

"P. 483. *Burnet*. 'I laid open the cruelties of the church of Rome in queen Mary's time, which were not then known; and I *aggravated*, though *very truly*, the danger of falling under the power of that religion.'—*Swift*. 'A BULL!'

"P. 525. *Burnet*. 'Home was convicted on the credit of *one* evidence.—Applications, 'tis true, were made to the duke of York for saving his life: but he was not born under a *pardoning planet*.'—*Swift*. 'Silly fop!'

"P. 586. *Burnet*. 'Baille suffered several hardships and fines, for being supposed to be in the Rye-house plot; yet during this he seemed so composed, and ever so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the revival of the spirit of the noblest Greeks and Romans.'—*Swift*. 'Take notice, he was *our cousin*.'

"P. 727. *Burnet*. 'I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and *unheard of* revolution.'—*Swift*. 'The devil's in that! Sure all Europe *heard* of it.'

"P. 752. *Burnet*. (Doubting the legitimacy of the pretender, and describing the queen's manner of lying in.) 'All this while the queen lay in bed; and in order, to the warming one side of it, a warming-pan was brought; but it was not opened, that it might be seen whether there was any fire in it.'—*Swift*. 'This, the ladies say, is *very foolish*.'

"P. 799. *Burnet*. 'When I had the first account of king James's *flight*, I was affected with this dismal reverse of fortune in

a great prince, more than I think fit to express.'—*Swift*. 'Or than I will believe.'" P. 113.

The following are said to be extracts from a few mutilated leaves of manuscript, which fell accidentally into Mr. Collet's hands. They are fragments of a diary, kept by a resident in London, about half a century back. "One line on the spot," says Burns, when writing to a friend, "is worth a cart-load of recollection;" there is an air of life and reality about the hasty memorandum, put down by an observant man at the moment of a transaction, which is never to be transferred to the more elaborate portraiture of the after-historian: and such is eminently the case with the unknown journalist.

"1771, June 27.—Went to see the *Maid of Bath* performed for the first time, at the Haymarket theatre. Saw there lord Lyttleton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Doctor Johnson, Garrick, and Goldsmith. In that part of the play, where the friends of old Sir Solomon Flint are endeavouring to disabuse him of his passion for the heroine, and warning him of the expences that will attend his wedding, 'you must have,' says Billy Button, (who, by-the-bye, is intended to represent a Mr. G——, a taylor, at Bath,) 'new liveries, and a new wardrobe, if you go with your bride to London; for every body there judges of people according to their appearance.' 'Aye! Aye!' replies Sir Solomon, 'I don't mind that: I can have a wardrobe at a very reasonable rate; for you must know, the parson who is come down here to marry us, is a great patriot, a profound politician; he was some time ago a fine gentleman; but having met with some misfortunes at Paris, was obliged to leave several laced suits of cloaths in pawn, at that metropolis, which he has promised to let me have upon the most moderate terms. So that I shall make a figure very cheaply with the parson's finery.'

"This smart allusion to parson Horne, and his Parisian follies, was so well taken by the audience, that after several loud bursts of applause, they would not suffer the piece to go on 'till the passage was repeated."

1771, July.—The lord mayor, aldermen, &c. went to St. James's, to present their new address, remonstrance, and petition to the king. One of the noblemen in attendance asked one of the aldermen, what the citizens meant by their present visit? The alderman answered, 'To open the king's eyes, and let him see who are his enemies.' 'Why then,' replied the lord, 'have you Mr. Wilkes behind you?'"

"August 15.—Much talk of a proposition, which one of the ministers is said to have made to the king, to assemble the parliament next winter, at Oxford, should there be any likelihood of a repetition of the late popular disturbances. His majesty was very

angry with the author of this advice, and replied warmly, 'that a rabble should never drive him from the metropolis of his kingdom.' "

" September.—A ship, arrived from Davis's Straits this season, brings advice that she sailed so far up the Pole, *that the magnetic compass had no power*; and that she then came to an open broad calm sea, where there was not the least appearance of ice or land."

" January 22.—Died in Emanuel hospital, Mrs. Wyndymore, cousin of Mary, queen of William III. as well as of queen Anne. Strange revolution of fortune! that the cousin of two queens should, for fifty years, be supported by charity!

" January 31.—Died, Henry Cromwell, esq. great grandson of Oliver Cromwell, of illustrious memory."

" April 28.—Died, at Mile End, the goat which had been twice round the world; first in the Dolphin, Capt. Wallis, then in the Endeavour, Capt. Cook. She was shortly to have been removed to Greenwich Hospital, to have spent the remainder of her days under the protection of those worthy veterans, who there enjoy an honourable retirement. She wore on her neck a splendid collar, on which was engraved the following distich, said to have been written by the ingenious and learned Dr. Samuel Johnson:

"Perpetui ambita bis terra præmia lactis
Hæc habet, altrici capra secunda Jovis." P. 304.

Our short notice of this volume must be concluded by a few remarkable and amusing blunders which Mr. Collet has treasured up in the course of his reading. There is a "Treatise on the Signs of the Ancients," published by a writer named Nicolai, in the year 1706. One of the learned scribes in Dr. Rees' Cyclopædia, under the article *Stenography*, observes that this art was first introduced "at Nicolai." He had probably somewhere seen, that in Nicolai the whole art was to be found, and without enquiring further he naturally enough created a place out of a man; even as he afterwards speaks of a book (*Ars Scribendi Characteres*) "printed about the year 1412," that is nearly forty good years before the discovery of the black art, whether the praise of its invention belong to Fust, Mentel, Koster, or Guttemburgh.

Moreri, from whom we should not expect the mistake, speaks of one *Dorus Basilicus*, as a well-known author. Another French writer, having observed the dearth of police intelligence in our newspapers, when the report of Parliamentary debates prevents it from finding room, draws the following sapient deduction: "Such is the respect of the English for their Parliament, that when it is sitting, crimes

are extremely rare; but as soon as it rises, the papers are filled with accounts of the most horrible atrocities." We wish Mr. Collet had given this passage in the original, or, at least, the name of the work from which it is borrowed. The author, he says, is anonymous.

The speculator on *Phrenography* (the word comes of an honest stock, and has quite as much intelligence as its own brother, the favourite *Phrenology*) will be much gratified by the large plate of fac-simile autographs. It contains XLIV signatures of some of the most illustrious names in our history; and is in our eyes by far the most desirable part of this volume.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

DIVINITY.

A Scriptural Account of the Nature and Employment of the Holy Angels; partly occasioned by Two Poems, recently published, the Title of one, and the Subject of both, being the Loves of the Angels. By C. Spencer, A. M. Vicar of Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

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A Second Volume of *Sermons*, by the Rev. *W. Snowden*, is nearly ready for Publication.

The Rev. *Charles Swan* will shortly publish a Volume of *Sermons*, with *Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory*.

A New Novel, by the Author of *Waverley*, &c. entitled *Quintin Durward*, will speedily be published.

Mr. Gurney is preparing for Publication a *Series of Lectures* on the *Elements of Chemical Science*, lately delivered at the *Surry Institution*.

The *Lives and Memoirs* of the *Bishops of Salisbury*, from the year 705 to the present Time, by the Rev. *S. H. Cassan*, are preparing for Publication.

The Rev. *T. D. Fosbrooke* has made considerable progress in his *Encyclopædia of Antiquities, and Elements of Archaeology*, now publishing in Monthly Numbers. It is the first Work of the kind ever edited in England.

Mr. James Boaden is preparing for Publication, a *Life* of the late *John Philip Kemble, Esq.* including a *History* of the *Stage*, from the *Death of Garrick* to the *Present Time*.

Mrs. Holderness has in the Press, a Volume, intitled, *New Russia*, being some *Account* of the *Colonization* of that *Country*, and of the *Manners and Customs* of the *Colonists*.

Rinzan Gilhajze, by the Author of the *Entail*, is nearly ready.

Horæ Romanæ, or an *Attempt* to elucidate *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* by an *Original Translation, Explanatory Notes*, and *New Divisions*, by *Clericus*; will speedily be published.

Mr. J. C. Buckler is publishing in Monthly Numbers, *Views of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales*, with *Descriptions*.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR MAY, 1823.

ART. I. *Observations upon the Metrical Version of the Psalms, made by Sternhold, Hopkins, and Others: with a view to illustrate the Authority with which this Collection was at first admitted, and how that Authority has been since regarded, in the Public Service of the Established Church of England; and thence to maintain, in this Venerable Service, the Usage of such Metrical Psalmody only as is duly authorized. With Notices of other English Metrical Versions of the Psalms. By the Rev. Henry John Todd, M.A. F.S.A. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Settrington, County of York.* 8vo. pp. 120. 4s. Rivingtons. 1822.

ART. II. *An Inquiry into Historical Facts, relative to Parochial Psalmody, in reference to the Remarks of the Right Rev. Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough. By Jonathan Gray.* 8vo. pp. 80. 2s. Seely. 1821.

WHATEVER difficulties may exist respecting the authority upon which our Church Psalmody rests, the history of its origin and progress is sufficiently plain. The practice of congregational Psalm-singing became popular at an early æra of the Reformation, was noticed and permitted in the Statutes of Edward the VIth. and still farther protected by the Injunctions of Elizabeth. Without being enjoined in the Liturgy or Act of Uniformity, it was received as an established and lawful custom, and was confined, for any thing that has yet been discovered to the contrary, to what are now generally known as the authorised versions of the Psalms of David, and to the small collection of festival hymns which the printed copies of those versions have always contained.

We are not aware that any material or notorious innovations occurred before the middle of the last century. At that period, Church-psalmody was at a low ebb, and with a

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view of rendering it at once more universal and more edifying, selections were printed from various translations of the psalms, and from the most approved and popular hymns. This practice is still to be observed in a considerable portion of our Churches, and although not strictly legal, and therefore not strictly proper, it is neither a test nor a symptom of a non-conformist spirit; but is adopted by sound, though indiscreet members of the Church of England.

There is another custom by no means to be confounded with the preceding, which like it is much more common than a sober Churchman could wish—a custom not of furnishing a congregation with ten or a dozen short hymns selected from Kenn or Addison, or other writers of the same stamp, but of publishing a massy volume of hymns collected from every point of the theological compass, culled from all the sweets of all the sects under heaven. This system originated with Wesley and Whitfield, and is confined with few exceptions to their disciples. It is not less at variance with the letter than with the spirit of our ecclesiastical laws. And nothing remains but for the Governors of the Church to prohibit such proceedings; and the Clergy in general to take away the pretence for them by abandoning any irregular psalmody to which they or their congregations may have become accustomed.

The first of these indispensable steps has been taken by more than one of our Prelates, and has met the fate of every other attempt to check the uncanonical inclinations of an active and numerous party. The Appendix to the Bishop of Peterborough's Primary Charge contains a short and satisfactory exposition of the laws respecting Psalmody, and an intimation that they must be complied with in his Lordship's Diocese. He is met as is usual in similar cases, first by a denial of his right to interfere, and secondly with a threat of the consequences of his interference. Pamphlets and Reviews are set at work; ignorance and misrepresentation are pressed into the service, and with the civil sheers of evangelical wit and the characteristic closeness of evangelical logic, Bishop Marsh is proved to be an ill-informed and tyrannical ruler. The process by which this feat has been achieved is sufficiently singular to demand attention. And the exposure, happily for our readers, is as plain, as it is unanswerable.

Mr. Gray of York is the Bishop of Peterborough's principal opponent. He does not enter into the difficult question of the King's right to issue ecclesiastical injunctions, not inconsistent with the Statute or Canon Law of the realm.

He does not appear to be aware that any thing can be lawful or unlawful in the transactions of the Church of England, without being provided for by the Act of Uniformity: but he contends that there is no authority for the use of the Old Metrical Version; and infers that we are at liberty to sing whatever Psalms or whatever Hymns we please. The inference thus boldly stated is somewhat surprising. A plain reader would suppose that if the Old Version be unauthorised, he is bound to confine himself to the New. But he will learn from Mr. Gray, that the Old Version was used universally and exclusively and lawfully for an hundred and fifty years, and therefore it is lawful to use an unauthorised version, and to sing any hymns which we may happen to fancy. This is the drift of Mr. Gray's argument; and of the writer who has reviewed and panegyrised it. And although neither seems prepared to say that he has proved this point, (as indeed their own admissions render it absolutely incapable of proof,) yet is this the precise question upon which they contradict Bishop Marsh, and have the modesty to declare that they refute him. Some praise for ingenuity and assurance, these gentlemen may claim; but their knowledge, their taste, and their infallibility are all pretty much upon a par.

Bishop Marsh had argued, and his lucid and powerful reasoning is quoted and assented to by Mr. Todd, that as the Act of Uniformity required Chapters to be read from the Bible, and left it to the King to determine what translation of the Bible should be read, so the Royal Injunctions having permitted Psalm-singing, it must be left to the King to determine what metrical version should be sung. And although no act of the King or the Convocation can now be found by which the Old Version of the Psalms was authorized, yet such act must be inferred from the manner in which it had been printed; viz. with an assertion of being allowed and licensed, and from the persons by whom it was printed, viz. the King's Printers. To our unenlightened minds this argument appears legitimate and conclusive. But Mr. Gray and his colleagues deny that there is any analogy whatsoever between the prose and the metrical versions, because the use of the former is enjoined and the use of the latter permitted. They cannot or will not perceive that Bishop Marsh reasons thus—With respect to the Bible in prose, we are commanded to read in a certain manner, and the version to be so read is appointed by the King—With respect to metrical Psalms, we are permitted to sing them at certain times, and the version to be so sung must be allowed or

authorized in the same manner as before.—There is no compulsory singing whatsoever, but there is a *permission* to sing from a *permitted* version.—The Bible is *appointed* to be read in Churches, because the law requires it so to be—The Psalms are *allowed*, because the law *allows* congregational singing. So much for the reason of the thing; the *a priori* propriety of singing what we please, or of singing what is provided for us by ecclesiastical authority. On this point at least, it does not require the acuteness of a Marsh, to detect and expose the miserable blunders of his antagonists.

Having given us this specimen of his logic, Mr. Gray proceeds to make us acquainted with the extent of his information respecting the publication and introduction of the Old Version of the Psalms. The Bishop of Peterborough had touched lightly upon this part of the subject; and as his assertions are encountered by a decided and not a very courteous contradiction, persons slightly acquainted with Church-history might have been easily misled, if Mr. Todd had not taken up the cause. With that depth and accuracy of literary knowledge, before which Socinians and Calvinists have been alike compelled to retire, Mr. Todd investigates the progress and character of our various metrical Psalms, restores Sternhold and Hopkins to their original and proper station, and scatters the flimsy pretensions of the Yorkshire Antiquarians like dust before the wind. His labours when contrasted with those of Mr. Gray exhibit a happy specimen of the difference between superficial and solid learning.

The first historical mention of singing in church, distinct from that which is prescribed in the Rubric, occurs in the Statute 2 and 3 of Edward VI. c. i. The Statute enacts that the Order of Divine Worship, then recently agreed upon and set forth, should be henceforth observed; and that such of the Clergy as should officiate in any other manner should be liable to certain severe punishments. "Provided that it shall be lawful for all men as well in Churches, Chapels, or other places, to use any Psalms or Prayers taken out of the Bible at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in this book." "The proviso," says Burnet, (Part II, Book I, 1548,) "for the Psalms and Prayers, taken out of the Bible, was for the singing Psalms which were translated into verse and much sung by all who loved the Reformation." "About this time," says likewise Fuller, (Book VII, p. 31,) "David's Psalms were translated into English Metre, and if not publicly commanded, generally permitted to be sung in all

Churches." The various translations are described with minuteness by Mr. Todd and Dr. Cotton. The latter in a letter to the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer, (Vol. III, p. 327,) gives the following compressed account of the whole.

"In 1549 we have published a portion of the Psalms by Sternhold, 37 in number, (not 51 as stated by Hawkins and Wharton) in the same year the seven Penitential Psalms by Sir Thomas Wyatt; the Canticles or Ballads of Solomon by William Baldwin; and the whole Psalter by Robert Cowley, a printer. In 1550, we have the Book of Genesis in metre by William Hunnis, under the quaint title of a *Hive full of Honey*, likewise 'Certain Psalms of David,' in metre, by the same. About this time were also published several Psalms in metre, by Miles Coverdale, with an introduction illustrative of his design in making them public. In 1551, Sternhold's Psalms were republished with seven additional ones, by John Hopkins. In 1553 were published the first fourteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles in verse, by Christopher Tye, one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; and about the same time, the Proverbs, some chapters of Ecclesiastes, with certain Psalms, 'drawn into metre by John Hall.'"

We desire no stronger presumptive proof of an historical fact, than that which is thus afforded of the introduction of Metrical Psalmody into the Church during the reign of Edward VI. and of the correctness of Burnet's interpretation of the Proviso in the fore-mentioned Statute.

Mr. Vernon observes (Gray's Inquiry, p. 49,) that the proviso "gives no *protection* to any version of the Psalms except the prose version established by the Act," and Mr. Gray proceeds to reason upon this declaration as if it proved that the Act did not allude to metrical singing. The reverse is as certain as such a fact can be. The proviso unquestionably extends to some practice relating to Psalmody not enjoined or provided for in Edward's Prayer Book. There is no reason to believe that any such practice existed, except it were a practice of singing Psalms, &c. in metre. We know that such a practice did prevail, that it was encouraged by the King himself, and his immediate attendants, and was favourably received by all lovers of the Reformation. And although the Act did not protect any metrical version, yet such protection might be obtained from a different quarter, viz. from the separate and independent authority of the Convocation, or the King. The prose versions of the Bible were not sanctioned by Parliament, and therefore it is absurd to contend that such a sanction was requisite for the metrical versions. The Psalms of Sternhold were printed

with the King's permission and by the King's Printer, and considering the state of the Press in those days, such facts amount to a proof that they had the King's sanction. Mr. Gray and his Reviewer have contradicted the Bishop of Peterborough upon this point, as well as upon the date of the first edition of Sternhold's Psalms. His Lordship's superior accuracy upon both the questions is fully established by Mr. Todd.

"The King's printer certainly printed the Edition of Sternhold's thirty-seven Psalms, with the addition of fourteen more by Hopkins and Whitynham, which has been described in a preceding note as printed in 1551. Ames dates it in 1552. Hist. Acc. of Printing, p. 208. But the first complete collection of the Metrical Psalms by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, was printed, not by the King's printer, but by John Day, to whom a licence for printing the work was granted, and who was patronized by Archbishop Parker. In the course of time it was printed by the King's printer, and still continues so to be." P. 19.

The reader may find a further confirmation of the fact in Dr. Cotton's valuable *List of Editions of the Bible*, p. 55, 56. And there is nothing to set against it except the researches of Mr. Gray, who has ransacked the Library of York Minster, and of certain respectable booksellers in that learned city, without discovering a single instance of the Old Version being printed by the King's printer!! We find no fault with this gentleman for the limited extent of his information, but he might have taken the trouble to enlarge his researches before he declared the Bishop of Peterborough's assertion, "not to be founded in fact." P. 27.

It is certain, then, that metrical Psalms were printed during the reign of Edward, that his Acts of Uniformity permitted other singing in churches than that which was prescribed in the rubric, that Fuller, Burnet, Strype, and many other high authorities understand such permission to relate to the Old Version of the Psalms, or such parts of it as were then published. We are now to examine the proceedings of Elizabeth upon the same subject. Having re-enacted her brother's Act of Uniformity, which is also mentioned and confirmed by the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. the exceptions and provisions were again in force; and her subjects lost no time in availing themselves of the privilege of singing metrical Psalms. Mr. Gray's account of this matter is clear and satisfactory.

"It was no difficult task to prevail upon the people to prefer the plain Psalmody, in which they found it easy to join, to that intri-

cate music, which was too refined and scientific for their taste and comprehension. Congregational singing gradually found its way into Parish Churches; and Queen Elizabeth found it her policy to permit, or at least to connive at, the practice. One of her injunctions to the Clergy in the year 1559, designed primarily for the protection of Cathedral Music, contains a saving clause in favour of 'a Hymn or such like Song,' at the beginning or end of Morning or Evening Prayer. The following is the injunction alluded to:—
 'For the encouragement and the continuance of the use of singing in the Church of England, it is enjoined, that is to say, that in divers Collegiat, as well as some Parish Churches heretofore, there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children for singing in the Church, by means whereof the laudable exercise of Musick hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge; the Queen's Majesty neither meaning in anywise the decay of any that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same so abused in any part of the Church, that thereby the Common Prayer should be worse understood by the hearers, willeth and commandeth that first no alteration be made of such assignments of living as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or musick in the Church, but that the same so remain; and that there be a *modest and distinct song* so used in all parts of the Common Prayers of the Church, that the same may be plain understood as if it were without singing;* yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in musick, it may be permitted that IN THE BEGINNING OR IN THE END OF COMMON PRAYER, EITHER AT MORNING OR EVENING, THERE MAY BE SUNG AN HYMN OR SUCH LIKE SONG, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and musick that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.' 'According to which order,' says Heylin, 'as plain-song was retained in most Parish Churches for the daily *Psalms*,† so in the Queen's own Chapels, and in the quire of all Cathedrals, and some Colleges, the hymns were sung after a more melodious manner, with organs commonly, and sometimes with other musical instruments, as the solemnity required.'

"From the indefinite expression used in the injunction, viz. 'a hymn or such like song,' Heylin will not allow that metrical Psalmody was intended. 'No mention' (he says) 'is made here of singing David's Psalms in metre, though afterwards they first thrust out the Hymns which are herein mentioned, and by degrees also did they the Te Deum, the Magnificat, and the Nunc Dimittis. Mr. Vernon, too, considers the provision as inapplicable to metrical Psalmody; for he observes, that the injunction 'was addressed

* "At present in Roman Catholic countries, the Priests use a variety of intonation, *ad libitum*, in chanting the prayers of the Church; but in our Cathedrals, it is nearly reduced to a plain monotony; which seems to have been the object of this part of the Injunction."

† "Evidently meaning the chanting of the Prose Psalter."

solely to Cathedral Churches.' It has, however, been more generally considered as a concession in favour of the Psalms in metre. The saving clause, or 'nevertheless,' which permits a 'hymn or song,' implies it to be an innovation upon Church music. Now, what other 'hymns or songs,' except metrical psalms and hymns, can be shewn to have been introduced into the Church about this period? None whatever. But these were introduced during the very year in which this injunction was issued. Again—the 'hymn or song' is permitted to be used 'at the beginning or end of Morning or Evening Prayer.' Now, in Cathedral Service, no such practice can be shewn to have existed or been introduced. But the metrical Psalms were used precisely in the mode which the injunction permits; that is, they were not allowed to be blended with the Service, or to intervene during the performance of it; but only to be used *before or after* Common Prayer.

"Accordingly in the title to the Old Version, it is said, 'To be sung in all Churches of all the people together, *before and after Morning and Evening Prayer*, and also *before and after Sermons*.' 'This' (observes Heylin) 'may serve to explain to us what the ordinary times of their singing together these Psalms were; namely, before they began the morning service, and after it was done. Likewise when there was a sermon, before it began, and after it was finished.' I am, therefore, disposed to admit, that the saving clause in the injunction, though somewhat obscurely worded, was a concession in favour of metrical Hymns and Psalms; and that the injunction was intended not only for the protection of Cathedral Music on the one hand, but for the toleration of metrical Psalmody on the other." P. 14.

We have only two remarks to make upon this passage. Mr. Vernon's assertion respecting the injunctions being addressed solely to Cathedral churches is an error. The title of them, Wilkins iv. 182, is, *Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty, concerning both the Clergy and Laity of this realm, published A.D. 1559, being the first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth*. Moreover, if these injunctions had been addressed solely to Cathedral churches, that circumstance would have proved nothing against their application to metrical Psalms; for in this very year, we find that the Queen's visitors rebuked the Chapter of Exeter for interfering with such Psalm singing in their Cathedral church. The people are described as resorting reverently and in great numbers to the choir, and 'appointing at every such meeting to sing a Psalm,' and 'altogether with one voice give praise unto God,' and the Canons are accused of 'scoffing and jesting at such godly doings, only because it grieved them to see God so devoutly served.' The signatures to this monition are those of Juel,

Mountjoye, and Mohun. The Chapter reply that since the Injunction for Morning Prayer in the Queen's late visitation, it has been well and diligently observed, "but certain private persons *haviay presumed to sing, and caused to be sung, certain Psalms as they call them in English metre or rhyme, in disturbance of the injunctions given for order of the said prayer, wherein is no mention made of such Psalms to be sung;*" therefore they were afraid of incurring the penalties imposed by the Act of Uniformity, if such irregularities were permitted. The reply to this defence is not upon record but there is another letter to the Chapter upon the same subject, dated one day earlier than the defence itself, and stating that as the Visitors' commission was in some part determined, therefore they *Matt. Cant. Edm. London, Will. Mey, and Thomas Huych*, the Queen's Majesty Commissioners command them to obey the said Visitors' injunctions, "as they and every of them will answer at their peril." Wilkins iv. 200. Thus it is evident that during the first year of Elizabeth, metrical Psalms were sung with the express permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, not only as Mr. Gray and Mr. Vernon suppose in London, and in parish churches, but in country districts, and cathedrals. It only remains for us to enquire, first, whether the permission extended to all Psalms or Hymns, or was restricted to an authorized version; and, secondly, whether the Old Version was so authorized and allowed.

Mr. Gray seems to suspect that the permission was limited, but denies that the Old Version comes within the bounds. It would have been more consistent to reject both propositions, and towards this his whole argument directly tends; but we presume that he was lothe to dispute the authority of Mr. Vernon, who had decided in the plainest terms that all versions of the Psalms, destitute of Royal sanction are illegal. Mr. Gray, contents himself with disputing the foundation upon which this judgment rests, without questioning the accuracy of the judgment itself. If the Old Version was not duly authorized and allowed, then the whole Church persevered (as we have already observed) for a century and a half in the exclusive use of an unauthorized version, and it is impossible not to infer, that the Act of Edward VI. and the Injunctions of Elizabeth permitted such a practice, and consequently it was not illegal.

But to shew the correctness of Mr. Gray's notions in a more striking point of view, let us consider whether the congregations whom Edward and Elizabeth allowed to sing, *could* sing from an unauthorized book. Was there such a thing in existence during the reigns of these princes, as a Psalm-book

which they had not sanctioned? Was not their *imprimatur* a *sine quâ non*, to the publication of any work of that description, and if the prerogative had been surreptitiously or openly infringed, would not a seizure and suppression have immediately ensued? It is not wonderful that the Injunctions should be silent respecting the versions to be chosen: in fact there was no choice to make. Such Psalms as the Queen allowed, her people were at liberty to sing, and such as she did not allow they were unable to procure. These circumstances at once account for the general language of the Injunctions and for the absence of any regular and formal authorization of Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms. They account, likewise, for the universal admission of that point which was disputed for the first time in the Consistory Court of York, and so satisfactorily decided by Mr. Vernon. If Mr. Gray thinks fit to dispute, or even to doubt the necessity of a Royal sanction, he has the modesty to oppose his single opinion, (unsupported by authority or argument) to the decision of all our historians, lawyers, divines, and common people. To a man of ordinary nerves these odds must be somewhat alarming.

Upon the second head of our enquiry he does not stand so entirely alone, although Mr. Todd has demonstrated that his position is untenable. The merit of disputing the authority of Sternhold and Hopkins, must be shared with Heylyn and Wither among the ancients, and with sundry moderns, who have pinned their faith upon Heylyn's very inaccurate narration. His works contain no less than four accounts of the introduction of metrical Psalmody. There are two in the History of the Presbyterians, VI. 16 and 25; and two in the History of the Reformation, I. p. 131, and II. p. 117. It must be confessed to his credit that these four accounts are substantially the same, and with a view to ascertain their general correctness we extract the first and most detailed from the History of the Presbyterians.

"Now with this Bible," (the Geneva Bible) "and these Notes which proved so advantageous to them in their main projectments they also brought in David's Psalms in metre, of which they served themselves to some tune in the time succeeding. Which device being first taken up by Clement Marot, and continued afterwards by Beza as before is said, was followed here in England by Thomas Sternhold, in the reign of King Edward, and afterwards by John Hopkins and some others, who had retired unto Geneva in the time of Queen Mary. Being there finished and printed at the end of their Bibles, they were first recommended to the use of private families, next brought into the Church for an entertainment before the beginning of the Morning and Evening Service. And finally published by themselves, or at the end of the Psalter, with this declaration, that

they were *set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after Sermons*. But first no such allowance can be found as is there pretended, nor could be found when this allowance was disputed in the *High Commission*, by such as have been most industrious and concerned in the search thereof. And then, whereas it is pretended that the said Psalms should be sung before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and before and after Sermons, (which shews that they were not to be intermingled with the publick Liturgy) in very little time they prevailed so far in most parish Churches as to thrust out the *Te Deum*, and the *Benedicite*, and the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, quite out of the Church. And thirdly by the practices and endeavours of the Puritan party, who had an eye upon the usage of Geneva, they came to be esteemed the most divine part of God's public service; the reading Psalms together with the first and second Lessons being heard in many places with a covered head, but all men sitting bare-headed when the Psalm is sung. And to that end the parish Clerk must be taught to call upon the people to sing it *to the praise and glory of God*, no such preparatory exhortation being used at the naming of the chapters, or the daily Psalms." *Heylyn's Hist. of Presbyterians*, VI. 16.

The spirit which pervades this passage, like the prevailing spirit of all Heylyn's writings, is that of a violent partizan. But there is an unfairness throughout this particular description of which we may hope that he was not often guilty. Who could imagine from this statement respecting the gradual introduction of the metrical Psalms, that they were sung (as we have already proved) all over the kingdom in the very first year of Elizabeth's reign? Still less, who could suspect that the words *set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, &c.* were to be found in the title page of the very first English edition of the entire metrical Psalter? Again, when he adverts to the dispute in the *High Commission*, of which we have not been able to discover any other mention, why did he not state the point actually discussed, and the issue of the discussion? It is certain that the issue *was not a prohibition* of Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms; and it is almost as evident that it must have been a confirmation of their authority, a confirmation not grounded upon the production of the original allowance, but upon the presumption that such allowance had been granted, though not duly registered and enrolled.

Besides, can it be believed, (upon the unsupported authority of Heylyn, writing at the distance of a century from the events which he describes,) that the Printers in the days of Elizabeth would have ventured to claim an allowance which they had never received? Mr. Gray would

probably answer in the affirmative, for he quotes as a case in point, a work published in 1814, by Mr. Gardiner, entitled, *Psalms and Hymns, adapted to Sacred Melodies, allowed to be sung in Churches*; and says, that because the Prince Regent, and the two Archbishops are patrons of this work, and it is dedicated by permission to his Royal Highness, "Mr. Gardiner's selection has higher pretensions to the sanction of authority than the Old Version ever possessed."!!! But more practised reasoners than Mr. Gray will be disposed to believe, that Elizabeth and her Council, were too jealous of their authority to suffer such an impudent forgery as that which is attributed to the editors of Sternhold and Hopkins. And if it should appear that these editors were themselves connected with the Court, and that the Printer was in the employment and confidence of the Primate, we shall run little risque in concluding, that the *allowance* was authentic, and never doubted or disputed, excepting by the authors of rival translations, or the inveterate enemies of every thing that had the slightest connection with Geneva.

Having noticed the Queen's prohibition of unlicensed books, Mr. Todd gives the following account of the licenses obtained for the Psalms.

"That the requisite obedience, in the case of Sternhold's Version, was shewn to the Injunction; and that the Version had undergone the necessary examination; seems clear by 'a * Licence granted in the third year of the Queen's reign, (1561,) for John Day to print the *Psalms of David in metre*.' Accordingly he is described as having printed, in 1562, '*The whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter, by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, &c.*' It may also be noticed, in passing, that one of those persons, whose metrical labours were brought into this complete collection of English Psalmody, was a Royal + Commissioner with others to visit the whole realm, and (among other duties) to deliver the Queen's Injunctions. This was Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely. These Psalms, then, which none appear to have disputed as being, at their first appearance, described as '*set forth and allowed to be sung in Churches*,' exhibited the usual title of *approbation*, which other publications then did; or, as they sometimes exhibited it, with the synonyme *authorized*." P. 35.

"Afterwards, in the nineteenth year of the Queen's reign, † another Licence was granted to John Day and Richard Day his Son, during their lives, to print the Psalms of David in metre. And

* Ames, Hist. Acc. of Printing, p. 238."

† Churton's Life of Dean Nowel, p. 42, 43."

‡ Ames, ut. supr. p. 243.

accordingly in 1598, this whole Book of Psalms was printed by John Windet for the Assigns of the son who *had been thus joined in the patent with his father*. Licences thus publicly granted, directions thus regularly observed, are surely disclaimers of *connivance*, as also of *assumption* either on the part of the translators or the printer; and are on the contrary, *proofs of royal authority* as to the publication of these Psalms, a point of no small moment. And who was this John Day, to whom the Licence for printing the Version was granted? Not indeed the royal printer, but a man of learning, who was patronized both by Archbishop Parker and the Privy Council of that period. The excellent primate is described as having ‘* had a favour for him, and perhaps a little the more, because, by his being employed in printing the Ecclesiastical Orders and Injunctions from time to time, *he was no ways affected by the Puritan party*.’ And the Council of the Queen had ‘† written, upon some occasion, to this prelate, and the other ecclesiastical commissioners, *to help Day; perhaps in vending his books, and encouraging those of the Clergy to buy them*.’ In the year after the whole of the Version had been printed by him, namely in 1563, there appeared sixty-two Psalms of this Translation with the musical accompaniment of ‘four parts, whiche may be song to al musicall instrumentes, seth forth for the encrease of vertue, &c.’ This also he printed *cum gratiâ et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per septennium*, which favour of the Queen again appears in a like instance; as in 1579 there is another edition of Psalms, selected from Sternhold, with a similar title and musical notes, and with the royal arms upon the first leaf, together with the important notification *cum privilegio*, printed by him. These particulars deserve mention in speaking of the formal allowance, or approbation, which has been so often denied as having been possessed by the Version of Sternhold and his associates. John Day likewise printed the British Antiquities, and the Metrical Version of the Psalms, composed by Archbishop Parker; of which latter publication there will presently be given a further account, illustrating the sanction of authority belonging to the Version of Sternhold: for the Version of Parker appears, though *royally privileged*, not to have been imposed upon any congregation, or recommended, in opposition to Sternhold’s, which, we may suppose it might have been, if the primate had not considered Sternhold’s as *the settled form of Metrical Psalmody for the Church*.” P. 37.

With these facts upon record, it is impossible to sustain the accuracy of Heylyn’s statement; and it is upon Heylyn’s statement alone, that Collyer, Warton, and all subsequent writers deny the original authority of the Old Version. It is supported by many other considerations and arguments;

“* Ames, ut supr. p. 233.”

“† Ibid. p. 232.”

Hooker bears testimony to the general use of *Metrical Psalms*. At the close of his defence of the more antient mode of reading or singing that portion of Scripture, he observes,

“ It is not our meaning that what we attribute unto the *Psalms* should be thought to depend altogether upon that only form of singing or reading them by course . . . but it may be justly said that we ourselves retaining it; and *besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised*, neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the antients so oft and so highly commended the former.”
Hooker, V. 29.

Mr. Todd (p. 36) gives various instances of the synonymous use of the words *allowed* and *authorized*, a circumstance which had escaped the researches of Mr. Gray, who lays great stress upon the inferior weight of the former term. There is a passage in Fuller, more conclusive even than the quotation of Mr. Todd—Speaking of the forty-four Articles of King Edward VI., he says, “ With these was bound a Catechism younger in age (as bearing date the next year) but of the same extraction relating to this convocation as author thereof. Indeed it was first compiled, as appears by the King’s Patent prefixed, by a single divine, charactered *pious and learned*, but afterwards, *perused and allowed by the Bishops and other learned men*, (understand it the Convocation) and by royal authority commended to all subjects, commanded to all school-masters to teach it their scholars.”
Fuller VII. §. 2—10.

There are other direct proofs of the *authorized* use of the *Metrical Psalms*, during the reign of Elizabeth and her successors, and of the universal opinion subsequently entertained upon the subject.

“ III. The usage of the Old Version is sanctioned by the Crown and Convocation. Sir George Wheeler, a very learned divine and antiquary, in his interesting *Account of the Churches of the Primitive Christians*, published in 1689, has related that from this Version a Psalm was chosen, and enjoined or directed to be used, in a Form of Prayer soon after the first Collection of these *Psalms* was published. “ * I do not doubt but there was authority for those [*Psalms*] in use, when first set forth. For not only that at the front testifies as much, in the oldest editions; but also there is a

“ * *Account of the Churches, &c.* p. 121, 122. Sir G. Wheeler was a Prebendary of Durham. He had travelled with the celebrated Spon, and part of his Travels has been published. He presented to the University of Oxford several valuable antiquities collected while he travelled.”

Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, set forth by Queen Elizabeth and her Council, WHEREIN ONE OF THOSE PSALMS [18] ORDERED TO BE SUNG; not long after that edition in the same reign, in which they came forth. It is next to be observed that, in the old editions of the complete collection of these Psalms, the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which was translated into English metre, and placed in the Form and Manner of making and consecrating Bishops and Priests in the first Ordinal of Edward the sixth, *to be sung or said, is the first of the Metrical Translations or Hymns*, which precede these Psalms: 'Come Holy Ghost, Eternal God, proceeding from above;' and is yet, in the same Forms, one of the Hymns so enjoined. And this English Hymn was sung after the Litany, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, London, at the second Session of the Convocation in 1562-3, namely on the 13th of January, before Archbishop Parker and other prelates. It is thus recorded in the Acts of that Convocation: * *Decantata fuit per ministros ecclesiæ Letania, in sermone vulgari (juxta morem et ritum in Libro nuncupato, The Booke of Common Prayers, &c. descriptum;) quâ finitâ ac Hymno Veni Creator, &c. per ministros ejusdem ecclesiæ in vulgari solemniter decantato, Magister Wilhelmus Daye, S. T. B. &c. suggestum in medio chori positum ingressus fuit, ac ibidem Concionem Latinam, stilo venusto, ad Patres et Clerum præsentem habuit.* Then after this Latin Sermon, the first Psalm in English was sung: '† Finitâ verò Concione, ac Psalmo primo (*Beatus vir, &c.*) in sermone vulgari decantato, celebrata fuit Sacra Communio, &c.' It is probable that this was the first Metrical Psalm in Sternhold's Collection; to which are prefixed the words *Beatus vir*, from the Latin Vulgate, as they also are to the same Psalm in Archbishop Parker's Metrical Version of the whole number, and as they had long before been to the same in the old Prose Translation which is now in the Book of Common Prayer. There is no Prose Translation of the Hymn, *Veni Creator*, with which we are acquainted; and as the Metrical Version of that Hymn had already been appointed to be sung in a Public Form of Prayer, the bishops and clergy were therefore now witnessing the performance of what was expressly enjoined, and made a part of the liturgical offices established by Act of Parliament. The Metrical Hymn to the Holy Spirit, then being sung at one part of the Service, when the Convocation assembled; it is fair to presume that the Psalm sung at another part of it, namely, *after the Sermon*, was also Metrical." P. 39.

V. And now I point out to the reader, among the exceptions of the Presbyterians, delivered at the Savoy Conference, against the Book of Common Prayer, the twelfth of them: '‡ Because singing of Psalms is a considerable part of public worship, we desire that

* * Acta in Convoc. 1562, printed in Kennet's Synodus Anglicana, p. 194."

† Ibid. p. 195."

‡ An account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both persuasions, &c. Lond. 1661. p. 6."

the Version, *set forth and allowed to be sung in Churches*, may be amended; or *that we may have leave to make use of a purer Version.* They ask leave, we see, *to use another Version*; plainly implying, that they considered the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins authorized, and that they presumed not, or affected not, to depart from it *without leave*. They again advert to *the authority of the Old Version*. “* Your distinction between Hopkins’ and David’s Psalms, as if the metre, *allowed by authority*, to be sung in Churches made them to be no more David’s Psalms, seemeth to us a very hard saying.” The Episcopal Commissioners did not think fit to attend to the remarks of the Presbyterians on this point, as they rightly considered the Old Version as forming no constituent part, (though it formed an accustomed part,) of the Book of Common Prayer; and therefore “† *no part of the Commission.*” Yet at the same time they did not deny the authorized usage of this Version nor did they concede, that it might be changed at the discretion or wish of any who disliked it.” Todd, p. 48.

Mr. Todd enters at length into the history of Archbishop Parker’s Metrical Translation of the Psalms; and shews both that it was intended by its illustrious Author for the public service of the Church, and that he did not on this account discountenance the older and more popular Version.

“In a quarto edition of the translation of the Bible in 1569, which had been just before made and published by the direction of this great prelate, we are informed, indeed, that † *the Psalms in metre, printed by John Day in the same year*, follow the New Testament. These are the Psalms of Sternhold, &c. And if they had not been *allowed*, as the title of them has expressed it, would the Archbishop of Canterbury have suffered such an appendage to his Bible? The inference is plain. To the admissibility of the Metrical Version there was no objection, and the value of it the primate had no wish to dispute.” Todd, p. 59.

We cannot follow Mr. Todd through his account of the other Metrical Versions—Dod’s, Wither’s, King James the First’s, George Sandy’s, William Barton’s, Tate and Brady’s, and Sir Richard Blackmore’s—For each of these the royal privilege and permission was duly obtained; although with the exception of Tate and Brady’s, none of them acquired a permanent footing in the Church. Wither endeavoured to prepare the way for his “*Hymns and Songs of the Church*” by undervaluing the received Version; and urging that “*whatsoever the Stationers in their title-page*

“* An Account of all the Papers that passed between the Commissioners, &c. p. 31.”

“† Ibid. p. 58.”

“‡ Lewis’s Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible, 2d. edit. p. 256.”

pretended to that purpose, the Psalms of Sternhold, &c. being first allowed for private devotion only, crept into public use by toleration rather than command." It is probable therefore that Wither is the author of the statement, which was adopted by Heylyn. He insinuated, as Mr. Todd has shewn, a very gross falsehood; namely, that the title-page containing the royal allowance, was introduced by the Company of Stationers, and had not been used by the first or earlier Printers of the Psalms. The contrary is notoriously the fact. The allowance for private devotion only, in which Wither and Heylyn so suspiciously concur, is a fact of which neither of them adduce any proof. The Statute of King Edward and the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth bearing date in the first year of their respective reigns, permitted Psalm-singing in Churches, and any Collection of Psalms which they sanctioned in general terms, must have been sanctioned with a view to general use. The only real alteration that we are acquainted with, respects the mode of printing, not the purpose to which the publication was applicable. The first edition was separately printed, subsequently they were added to the Prayer Book, and afterwards to the Bible. But this was a change suggested by fashion or convenience, and not material to the authority of the work.

We cannot conclude this article without offering a few remarks upon Mr. Vernon's judgment. There can be no doubt that he has correctly expounded the law. Being required to consider the conduct of a Clergyman who had introduced into his Church certain hymns and psalms, not permitted by any lawful authority, he pronounced that such conduct was illegal. At the same time he declared, that if a sentence was called for he should not condemn the Clergyman in costs, and he stated that the Archbishop of York would be happy to act as a mediator between the contending parties.

"The parties agreeably to Mr. Vernon's suggestion, ultimately referred the dispute to the amicable adjustment of the Archbishop; who, in a spirit of conciliation, undertook to compile a new Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Mr. Cotterill's Church; and in consideration of the expence and loss which Mr. Cotterill's Work had occasioned to him, his Grace further took upon himself the charges of printing the new Selection.

This circumstance, while it is honourable to the character of the Archbishop of York; exhibiting him as the promoter of peace and union in the Church; affords an additional testimony, in favour

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of the modern practice of introducing into the Church, selections of Psalms and Hymns, accommodated to the popular taste and feeling." Gray, p. 52.

We cannot congratulate the Church of England upon this termination of the dispute. In refusing to give costs in an intricate case against an individual who might believe himself to be in the right, and who had shewn no symptoms of contumacy, Mr. Vernon acted the part of a kind and considerate Magistrate, anxious to allay local irritation, and to administer justice in mercy. But what followed, although equally kind, and equally well-intentioned, we are not prepared to consider as equally judicious. Taking it for granted, as we readily do, that the Archbishop's selection is unexceptionable (Mr. Gray assures us that it is absolutely the very best of all selections) "the accommodation of popular taste and feeling," at the expence of uniformity and law, is a step which we must deplore and condemn. Mr. Vernon imagines that it can lead to no evil, because a Diocesan may prohibit the use of any improper hymns. But in what a situation will this place congregations, incumbents and Bishops? When an individual among the former is offended at seeing the Church indebted for its psalmody to the conventicle, he is to appeal immediately to the Ordinary, and require him to exercise the very agreeable privilege of giving the people a triumph over their minister, or the minister a triumph over his people. As long as there exists the least tendency to abuse in the choice of hymns, to call upon individual Prelates to pronounce individual judgments upon the propriety and orthodoxy of each new modelled stave, is to confer upon them a most invidious and inappropriate duty. Every word that has been urged against the Bishop of Peterborough's Examination Questions may with equal wit and more truth, be urged against the system of diocesan singing books. One Bishop may reject what another has approved and recommended. A collection of *godlye hymnes and songes* may be "*admitted at Barnet, rejected at Stevenage, re-admitted at Buckden, kicked out as a Calvinist at Witham Common, and hailed as an ardent Arminian on its arrival at York.*" And the harmony of the Church will be most woefully interrupted by the jarrings and discords with which such music will abound.

John Wesley (Southey's Life, Vol II. p. 223.) strictly forbade his preachers "to introduce any hymns of their own composing." In other respects they had great latitude allowed them: they might use the Liturgy or parts of it, or might substitute an extemporaneous Service of their own.

But the Hymns were of greater importance; they served at once for creed and catechism, and their purity was at all events to be preserved. It was a wise provision,—and Clergymen who imitate John Wesley in his due estimation of the effects of congregational singing, should like him, be alive to the danger of its abuse. Mr. Gray and Mr. Vernon may or may not be right in their utter condemnation of Sternhold and Hopkins. We have no desire to disturb or to share their insensibility to the charms of that ‘pure English, undefiled,’ with which the Old Version abounds. But whether these gentlemen who leathe, or Bishop Horsley and Mr. Todd who admire the version, be the better judges of poetical merit, the proper and the only proper issue of such a dispute should be to encourage or to discourage another translation. The Hymn-books now abroad are with one consent methodistical. “*Venn’s, Kempthorne’s, Noel’s, Cotterill’s*,” (it is thus that the most popular selections are classed by the Reviewer of Mr. Gray) bear their character in their names. It is admitted, although these select volumes be pure and spotless, that many such works contain ‘revolting specimens of bad taste,’ and some slight approaches to heretical doctrine. It is from these that each Clergyman is to make his selection; and the plough-boys and dairy-maids whom he turns into Antinomians, are to denounce his aberrations to the Bishop of the Diocese. Would it not be safer to confine ourselves to authorised Psalm-books, even though in the modern phraseology which Mr. Vernon has condescended to adopt, they may happen to be less ‘edifying and acceptable?’ The Hymns affixed to the original and authorised editions of the Old and New Versions are the only Hymns which can be properly used or really wanted. For every other purpose of congregational singing the Psalms of David (even in their present unsatisfactory dress) are amply sufficient. And we conceive that among the * mistakes which have crept into Mr. Vernon’s judgment, there is none greater than the declaration that a practice which he condemns, but encourages, which he pronounces in the same breath to be both proper and wrong, is “a practice adopted by a majority of the Established Clergy.” We hope and believe better things of a very great majority of the Clergy. They know the danger

* We have already noticed the errors respecting Edward’s Statutes and Elizabeth’s Injunction. Mr. Todd calls our attention to another trifling mistake. The Parliament is represented (upon what authority we do not know) as discussing and negating the admissibility of Sternhold’s Psalms, several years before they were written. Todd, p. 14.

of making *improvements*, real or imaginary, in the authorised Church Service. They know that it is impossible to say where such improvements will end. The Prayer-book, as well as the singing Psalms might be rendered more "edifying and acceptable" if they were reformed after the example of Wesley. Such reformatations are partially adopted by a *minority* of the Clergy; and as these persons happen to be the very same individuals to whom the collection of Ven and Nqel, are so naturally and excusably dear, the fact furnishes another and an unanswerable argument against encouraging a system which is found in such suspicious company, and leads to such mischievous results.

ART. III. *Poems Divine and Moral. Many of them now first published. Selected by J. Bowdler, Esq. In Two Volumes. 12mo. 10s. 6d. Cadell. 1821.*

THE object of this publication, and the name of the Editor, could not fail to secure a favourable reception at our hands, even if the selection had been made with less taste and judgment. A work indeed, whose professed design is "*to do good*," appeals to a higher tribunal than that of criticism, and deserves (if the endeavour be properly directed) a nobler reward than the praise of men. But this very circumstance, which at first sight seems to take it out of our jurisdiction, makes us more desirous to bestow upon it a portion of our attention. It is our delight as it is our duty, to bring forward those works which, without making lofty pretensions, convey wholesome instruction in a pleasing form; and the Reviewer will feel his office hallowed and ennobled when he contributes his small offering towards the glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures.

Of all the various publications, which aim at combining the useful with the agreeable, there is none more successful than sacred and moral poetry. It possesses a charm which fixes the attention and engages the affections. The solemn character of the subjects are softened, and rendered engaging by the dress in which they appear; and while they captivate the artless innocence of the youthful mind, they afford to the sober piety of advanced years a cheering relief in sickness and sorrow, and a retreat from the cares and bustle of life. If the attributes of the Deity can ever be familiarized

to the human understanding, it will perhaps be when they are described in the suitable language of poetry; his power and greatness, the terror of his judgments, and the wisdom of his counsels appear before us in a manner not wholly unworthy of them, when they are heightened and adorned by all the magnificence of poetic figure; and how beautiful are the love, and tender compassion, and universal benevolence of the Most High, when the sweetness of the verse recommends them to the ear, and the beauty of the images, under which they are delineated, charms and captivates the mind. The inspired writers well knew the excellence of this art when they employed it in all the varieties of Sacred Song; and perhaps there is no loss so great in respect of language, as that by which we unhappily are deprived of nearly all notion of the rules and harmony of Hebrew poetry.

It is not surprising that the thoughts of many a devout heart have vented themselves in sacred verse. The wonder rather is that many from whom we might confidently have anticipated success have disappointed expectation. We have chiefly in our view the simpler and humbler kinds of poetry. The case is much the same with the composition of sacred music. Some years ago several of the most eminent masters of the art in this country were engaged in the composition of Psalm tunes; and (as we have been informed) with so little success, that the only good tune was produced by one, who had been in the habit of composing for the stage. This was probably owing to the simplicity which he had acquired; and the difficulty of uniting dignity with simplicity will account for the failure in each art. It is not that the sacred fountains are exhausted, or any of the smaller streams dried up; it is not that invention has lost its power, or piety any of its charms: but some are apt to aim too high, and attempt too much; and others, by wishing to be simple, become low and insipid, and even vulgar. In these respects we yield greatly to those who have gone before us. Luther's Hymn and the 100th Psalm are unrivalled: and though we must not venture to bestow high praise on the first who tried their skill in poetical composition (for the name of Sternhold is unhappily and unjustly united with the idea of all that is homely and uncouth) yet we are very much disposed to think, that those who would give us a good poetical translation of the Psalms must take the course, and follow (under happier auspices) the steps of that writer in his uncommon fidelity, and in the dignified simplicity of his best passages.

But let us not be supposed to fix unmerited blame on the

various attempts that have been made by good and pious persons without number in sacred poetry. Many of them are highly excellent, and we feel much indebted to Mr. Bowdler for the selection which he has made in the volumes before us, which we could wish to see in the hands of every young person, as they are very frequently in our own. In these volumes there are many poems and extracts from poems, which have been frequently published, some which are universally known, some which, though never printed, have been shewn in manuscript among the friends of the authors, and some of considerable merit, which are entirely new to us. The contents are divided under several heads, and comprise a very wide range, from the simple Hymn and lowly Elegy, to the towering Ode. It may, perhaps, admit of doubt, whether it was wise to unite so many degrees in one publication. Mr. Bowdler intends his work chiefly for the young, and these soon advance from step to step. He who has heard one of his little ones repeat the "Hymn for a Child," will never wish to see it erased; and every parent and teacher knows how rapidly, and with how much delight, the pupil goes forward, and climbs the hill, whose sides are adorned with poetic flowers. Mr. Bowdler has, moreover, brought into one volume, in a separate edition those poems, which are most adapted for the young, omitting those in foreign languages, and some pieces less calculated for general use.

Our readers will expect to see some extracts from these volumes, and we shall lay a few before them, making choice of such as have not been before published. Several of these will be found under the most of the heads into which the work is divided. The Hymns, which occupy the first division are for the most part such as are well known. There are some, however, which have never appeared in print. The following is probably new to our readers.

" LITANY.

" Saviour, when in dust to Thee
 Low we bend the adoring knee;
 When, repentant, to the skies
 Scarce we lift our weeping eyes:
 Oh, by all thy pain and woe,
 (Suffered once for man below,)
 Bending from Thy throne on high,
 Hear our solemn Litany!

" By Thy helpless infant years,
 By Thy life of want and tears,

By Thy days of sore distress
In the savage wilderness ;
By the dread mysterious hour
Of the insulting tempter's power,
Turn, oh turn, a favouring eye,
Hear our solemn Litany !

“ By the sacred griefs that wept
O'er the grave where Lazarus slept ;
By the boding tears that flowed
Over Salem's loved abode ;
By the anguish'd sigh that told
Treachery lurk'd within thy fold ;
From thy seat above the sky
Hear our solemn Litany !

“ By Thine hour of dire despair,
By Thine agony of prayer,
By the cross, the nail, the thorn,
Piercing spear, and torturing scorn,
By the gloom that veil'd the skies
O'er the dreadful sacrifice ;
Listen to our humble cry,
Hear our solemn Litany !

“ By Thy deep expiring groan,
By the sad sepulchral stone,
By the vault, whose dark abode
Held in vain the rising God ;
Oh ! from earth to heaven restor'd,
Mighty, re-ascended Lord,
Listen, listen to the cry
Of our solemn Litany !” Vol. I. P. 37.

The interest excited by the sufferings and decease of the amiable Princess, who is said to have composed the following lines, will excite some curiosity, and (we should hope) a better feeling than curiosity in our readers.

“ Unthinking, idle, wild, and young,
I laughed, and talked, and danced, and sung ;
And proud of health, of freedom vain,
Dreamed not of sorrow, care, or pain :
Concluding, in those hours of glee,
That all the world was made for me.

“ But when the days of trial came,
When sickness shook this trembling frame,
When folly's gay pursuits were o'er,
And I could dance and sing no more,
It then occurred, how sad 'twould be
Were this world *only* made for me !” Vol. I. P. 104.

In the following page is an elegy on Mr. Dawson, which reminds us greatly of Mason and Gray, and is not unworthy of either. A little poem on the "Ruins of Dunkswell Abbey," is by the hand of no common writer, and we shall quote the two first stanzas, not being able to afford room for more.

"Blest be the power, by Heaven's own flame inspired,
That first through shades monastic poured the light;
Where, with unsocial Indolence retired,
Fell Superstition reigned in tenfold night;
Where, long sequestered from the vulgar sight,
Religion fettered lay, her form unknown,
'Mid direful gloom and many a secret rite;
Till now released, she claims her native throne,
And gilds th' awakening world with radiance all her own.

"O sacred source of sweet celestial peace!
From age to age in darksome cells confined!
Blest be the voice that bade thy bondage cease,
And sent thee forth t'illuminate the blind,
Support the weak, and raise the sinking mind:
By thee the soul her native strength explores,
Pursues the plan by favouring Heaven assigned,
Through Truth's fair path th' enlightened spirit soars,
And the Great Cause of all with purer rites adores."

Vol. I. P. 149.

Among the Odes is one of no common merit, by J. Sargent, Esq. on the Fall of Babylon, taken from the xivth chapter of *Isaiab*. The sublimity of the original is such as perhaps to make every imitation of it appear to disadvantage, we are unwilling to have a single passage lengthened, or a new image or idea introduced; and those who are well acquainted with Bishop Lowth's *Alcaic Ode* will find it difficult to be satisfied with any that may come after. Yet Mr. Sargent has brought to the subject so correct a taste, and has so happily applied the form of the noblest classical model, that we own ourselves abundantly gratified, and should be happy if our limits would allow of our transferring it to these pages.

In a small collection of *Epitaphs* are two or three, which are new to us, and worthy of insertion; but upon this head every reader perhaps has some little favourites, which he would scarce wish to see excelled. The *Fables and Tales* seem rather thrown together than arranged, and the name of Southey we observe affixed to one which does not belong to him. These are succeeded by "Extracts from some of the most admired Poets." And here we shall present our

readers with two stanzas from a Hymn of Spenser's, under the apprehension that we shall scarce be deviating from our proposal of quoting only what is new to them. We wish our quotation may induce them to refer to the original copy of his "Hymns on heavenly Love and Beauty."

"Humbled with fear and awful reverence,
Before the footstool of His majesty
Throw thyself down, with trembling innocence,
Nor dare look up with corruptible eye
On the dread face of that great DEITY;
For fear lest, if He chance to look on thee,
Thou turn to nought, and quite confounded be.

"But lowly fall before His mercy-seat,
Close covered with the LAMB's integrity
From the just wrath of His avengeful threat,
That sits upon the righteous throne on high;
His throne is built upon eternity,
More firm and durable than steel or brass,
Or the hard diamond, which them both doth pass."

Vol. II. P. 3.

Among some Miscellaneous Poems is a copy of verses by the present Bishop Jebb, which we will not injure by mutilation; but they bear a pleasing testimony to the elegance of their author's mind, as well as to his piety. There is a sober melancholy grace thrown over the opening, and indeed the whole, of the "Magdalen's Petition," by the Rev. John Marriott, which is very striking. It is followed by some excellent "Lines found in the Skeleton Case at the Royal Academy." The next poem is nameless, but worthy of some exalted name. It is styled the "Mirror of Fancy," and consists of a description of several graces and virtues, which successively make their appearance in a glass which Fancy presents to the eyes of the poet. We shall quote the stanzas on "Sensibility," chiefly for the sake of the last.

"Next Sensibility, lov'd maid, appear'd;
Of tears and smiles she had an endless store,
And now the tale of Mirth with joy she heard,
And now at Sorrow's words her eyes ran o'er;
Thus each by turns her bosom did divide,
And now with bliss it thrill'd, and now with grief it sigh'd,

"A mother here embrac'd her long-lost child;—
The raptur'd damsel felt a mother's bliss!
There a sad widow, with affliction wild,
Gave to her clay-cold lord the unfelt kiss:

Her heaving breast with sudden frenzy swell'd ;
 She shriek'd, and seem'd to be the object she beheld !

“ Thus Echo, leaning on her rocky cell,
 Lists to each sound that Zephyr's wings convey ;
 And now she mourns with mourning Philomel,
 And now she joys to trill the linnet's lay ;
 Responsive warbles to the flute's soft breath,
 Or lengthens slow the solemn knell of death.”

Vol. II. P. 200.

The work is closed with some poems in foreign languages, many of which have considerable merit ; but we do not know that they come under the rule of quotation which we have laid down for ourselves. The Editor appears so partial to Bishop Lowth's Latin poems, that we are rather surprised at the omission of his elegant and pathetic Epitaph on his Daughter.

We have been liberal of our quotations, thinking that our readers would be better pleased with the poetry of other persons than with our prose. We have only to add, that the volumes are neatly printed, though we wish we had more cause to commend the care of the printer, for we have been offended with some sad blunders. These, however, detract little or nothing from the merit of the work, upon which we can safely pass a sentence of approbation. The Editor modestly professes that his design is “ to do good,” and we trust it will be fulfilled in the comfort and instruction afforded to many a feeble and devout Christian, long after he shall have been called to receive his reward for faithfully copying the example of his Master.

ART. IV. *The Use of the Blowpipe, in Chemical Analysis, and in the Examination of Minerals.* By J. J. Berzelius, Member of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, &c. Translated from the French of M. Fresnel, by J. G. Children, F.R.S. L. and E. F.L.S. M.G. &c. with numerous Additions, by the Translator. 1 vol. 8vo. Baldwin and Co. 1822.

WE beg leave to congratulate the Philosophical World on the appearance of this excellent translation of the celebrated work of Professor Berzelius. Of all the chemists in Europe, none, perhaps, was more fully qualified in every way than our author, to supply the long felt want of a work of this

description; and Mr. Children has done an essential service to our countrymen, by presenting them with this valuable translation: and not less by enriching it with his own interesting and important additions.

Among the various assistances of which the mineralogist can avail himself in determining the nature and composition of any substance which presents itself to his inspection, there is none to be compared with the characteristics which minerals develop when exposed to a flame excited by the blowpipe. A regular system of mineralogy, founded upon those characteristics, has been long a great desideratum in mineralogical science; so that by successively trying an unknown substance with the different tests which the use of the blowpipe affords, we might gradually ascertain its place in the system. Such a system, however, complete in all its parts, is hardly to be expected in the present state of the science: and, indeed, Professor Berzelius gives it as his opinion, that such a system, as far as it could be carried at present, would not sufficiently accomplish its object in enabling a person, without any other assistance, to discover the species, genus, and order of a mineral submitted to his examination. Still, however, this method, though not every thing required, is yet by far the most useful of any known, and when united with others, will readily enable the student, with a little experience, to attain the objects of his enquiries.

A very excellent little work, arranged on the plan in question, was published some years since by Mr. Aikin, in which the various classes of minerals are distinguished by the phenomena they present before the blowpipe: this little work is noticed, with approbation, by Berzelius, who mentions, as a proof of the sagacity of its author, that he does not confound the kind of classification in question with the systematic arrangement on which the science, properly so called, proceeds: this mistake, he observes, is prevalent in Germany. He has himself, however, adopted the chemical system of classification; and shewn the various phenomena produced by the application of the blowpipe to the different substances; and thus has afforded the experimental enquirer the means of ascertaining the place of a mineral in the system according to its chemical composition.

The first portion of the volume consists of a preface, a note to the reader, and a sketch of Berzelius's system of mineralogy, all by the translator, and both the former chiefly relating to some points connected with the latter. We hear-

tily concur with the translator in the very just encomiums he has bestowed upon his author.

"We feel," with him "perfectly confident, that no apology for presenting this translation to the public, nor any eulogy on the author of the original work, are at all necessary. The name of Berzelius, as a skilful and patient experimenter, stands almost unrivalled; and the present Essay amply vindicates his claim to the high reputation he has acquired. It is an invaluable collection of important and new facts, and admirably supplies the want, which has long been felt and acknowledged, of a scientific practical treatise on the blowpipe."

The translator next proceeds to apologise to his author for some liberties which he has taken with the work. Many of these, he says, consist merely in the omission of details which appeared to him unnecessary; but the most important are those which affect the peculiar chemical theory and symbols which Berzelius has adopted. Mr. Children has thought it advisable, wherever any expressions occur in the work founded on these principles, or wherever any of the symbols are employed, to substitute for them more common expressions not involving the peculiar hypothesis of his author, and to translate the algebraical symbols into words at full length. The discussion of these points occupies the principal part of the prefatory division of the work. A general explanation is next given of the leading principles of Berzelius's system of mineralogy. His arrangement is purely chemical; at the same time, the external forms and characters of the substances are employed as important secondary distinctions, although the chemical composition is the fundamental principle of arrangement. The chemical principle upon which the whole depends, is,

"That the elements, of which minerals are composed, unite with forces proportionate to the differences that exist in their mutual electrical relations. Hence one or more electro-positive, and one or more electro-negative ingredients, must be found in every compound body: thus, if it be formed of oxides, for every ingredient which we call a base, another must act as an acid, although the latter, in its insulated state, may not have the sour taste and other properties by which acids, usually so called, are distinguished: such are silica and the oxides of titanium, columbium, and many other metallic oxides, so that all the immense series of earthy minerals may be classed after the same principles as salts. An ingredient which acts as an acid in one case, may act as a base in another, according as it is electro-negative, or electro-positive, with respect to the substance it combines with: and consequently

in a combination of two acids, the weaker may serve as a base to the stronger. The order of arrangement depends on the electro-chemical properties of the elements of which mineral substances are composed, proceeding from the most electro-negative oxygen, to the most electro-positive potassium : but as we are yet only very imperfectly acquainted with the electro-chemical relations of the simple bodies, we must be contented with an approximate arrangement." P. xxiii.

Having thus just given the fundamental principle upon which Berzelius proceeds in his system, we will not enter into the details of it, but content ourselves with recommending them strongly to the attention of our readers, as given in the subsequent pages of the work.

Before we proceed, however, it may be desirable to many of our readers to have a short sketch of the principle upon which the atomic theory proceeds ; as that theory and certain deductions from it form the subjects of some discussion in the work before us.

The doctrine of definite proportions or the atomic theory, is decidedly the most important extension which chemical science has received of late years. The establishment of these doctrines has done much towards imparting a mathematical precision to our views of chemical composition. It was observed, that, when one substance forms with another several different compounds, according to the different proportions of that second body, with which it unites, then, the numbers which express those proportions of the second body by weight, are always multiples by a whole number of the first of them ; and if these be reduced to their lowest terms, and the weight of the first body be expressed by a number proportionally reduced, this number for the first body, and unity for the other, give what are called the atomic weights of the two bodies. And it was further observed, that the number being thus determined for the first body, if that body became, in its turn, united to another in several proportions, the weights of it in each of those proportions, are exact multiples of that precise number which was in the former case taken as its atomic weight. In this way every substance in chemistry has a particular number affixed to it ; and we owe to Mr. Dalton the ingenious idea that these numbers represent the weights of an atom of each body ; for as there cannot be a combination of atoms, except in numbers which are whole multiples of each other, (a fraction of an atom being an absurdity) and as chemical combinations must be formed by unions among the ultimate atoms of bodies, so we can only account for the differences of the numbers above-

mentioned, by supposing the atoms of different bodies to be of different weights. This beautiful theory, which has opened to us a vast variety of new ideas respecting the phenomena of nature, has been ably and successfully studied and improved by many of the most eminent chemists of the age. In our own country no man has done more for it than Dr. Thomson; and in foreign countries Berzelius stands foremost on the list of those chemists who have directed their labours to the extension and improvement of the atomic theory. He has made many important observations, some of which are collected in certain general rules known by the name of Berzelius's canons. One of these Mr. Children has alluded to as more closely connected with the mineralogical system and symbols of his author, it is this:

"When two elements combine, one of them is always supposed to be electro-positive, and one electro-negative with respect to the other. And compound atoms of the first order (that is, composed of only two simple elementary atoms) having a common electro-negative element, always combine in such proportions that the number of atoms of the electro-negative element of one, is a multiple by a whole number of that same number in the other."

Mr. Children regards this canon as differing in nothing essential from the common doctrine of chemical proportions, and that in fact it is merely an hypothetical extension of it. With the greatest deference to the high chemical abilities and fame of Mr. C. we cannot help remarking that we think his observations on this point somewhat unfounded. The canon of Berzelius is an extension of the atomic theory, but surely not an hypothetical one; at least it is not more hypothetical than the whole of that theory itself is. It surely cannot be considered as differing in nothing essential from the common theory; it expresses what its author at least believes to be a general fact. If that fact is not true, or not general, let it be shewn that such is the case, and the canon falls to the ground.

It appears that in a subsequent part of the work, the author had given the atomic composition of each mineral which he describes, expressed in the symbolical notation which he adopts, and the atomic numbers assumed in compliance with another part of his theory. The translator has given the substance of these statements in words at length, in a continued series of notes to that part of the work in which they occur.

It appears from "a note to the reader" following the preface that he considers himself guilty of some "errors" in

these notes, which he has there corrected in detail, giving for each mineral the correct numbers to be substituted for those printed; the fault not having been discovered till too late to correct the press. Our only object in noticing these "errors" is, that Mr. Children particularly represents his falling into them as "one proof among a thousand of the danger of involving plain matter of fact in unnecessary hypothetical dogmas." p. xiii.

Now we cannot help thinking that Mr. Children is somewhat too severe upon himself in calling these differences between the numbers given by Berzelius, and those which result from the common theory, errors. These differences arise from one peculiar doctrine maintained by that philosopher: namely that bodies which have weak affinities combine atom with atom, whilst in others whose affinities are more energetic, one atom of base takes two atoms of oxygen.

Now we would only ask is this doctrine of Berzelius established by experiment, or is it a mere gratuitous assumption? it certainly bears the appearance of an inference from facts; but surely before it is decidedly rejected as unworthy of admission, and leading to erroneous conclusions, it ought to be fairly refuted and shewn to be an hypothetical assumption.

In consequence however of his opinion that this doctrine of Berzelius is merely hypothetical, that his nomenclature is obscure and perplexed, and his mineralogical symbols intricate and puzzling to the student, Mr. Children has on all occasions substituted for the former, the terms commonly used in this country: and has omitted the latter altogether, substituting for them words at length. He observes in a note p. 106.

"I do not expect Berzelius will acquiesce in the change I have adopted, but as no disrespect is intended I trust he will pardon me. The English reader will I hope pardon and approve."

With respect to the system of nomenclature adopted by the author we are much disposed to agree with the translator; indeed we think great want of symmetry is to be found in all the chemical nomenclatures which have yet been brought forward, and the introduction of new names is always an evil of the first magnitude. We think also that every thing tends to induce the opinion, that in the course of time as chemical science enlarges its boundaries, the best existing nomenclature will be found deficient; and we are much inclined to consider the commonest names of substances the best, pro-

vided at the same time their chemical composition be recorded in that simple and universally applicable manner which the symbolical method affords. Mr. Children has rejected Berzelius's symbols partly because they are united with his hypothetical views. We think however that these symbols might easily have been purged from every thing theoretical, had they been thought worth retaining on other grounds; he thinks symbols however, puzzling incumbrances in themselves; and we must own we are somewhat surprized at finding him compare them with the chemical symbols adopted by the alchymists. The nature and design of the two are surely entirely different. The alchymical symbols were merely childish hieroglyphics without meaning or use, except to conceal the mysteries of the art from the eyes of the vulgar. But on the other hand when we wish to express chemical compounds in the complicated forms under which they frequently exist, and the relative proportions in which the ingredients unite, the adoption of some concise notation is not only a great saving of words, but we should suppose every student must acknowledge the great assistance afforded by such a plan, both to the conception and the memory. To a beginner it has long been our conviction that it is almost impossible to convey a clear idea of the atomic theory, for instance, without the use of some notation of this kind; and similar observations will we think apply to many other parts of the science.

The advantages in point of clearness, brevity, and assistance to the memory, derived from the use of symbolical notation, every student we think will allow are clearly exemplified in some of the admirable chemical papers of Mr. Herschell; as well as in those of other no less distinguished authors; in Dr. Henry's excellent paper on coal gas, for instance, the superiority of this mode of illustration appears to us to be most decidedly shewn. As new chemical compounds are discovered every nomenclature however ingeniously devised will be likely in some instances either to fail in affording a descriptive name, or to express it in so barbarous and complicated a manner as to be worse than useless. By algebraic symbols, on the contrary, the composition of every possible substance may be expressed with readiness, clearness, and elegance. We have perhaps said too much on this point which after all, is of minor importance. We must add however that we trust Mr. Children will excuse us if we thus venture to oppose our opinion to his, especially as he must perceive that though we may not feel quite disposed to acquiesce in one or two points of very inferior importance,

yet upon the whole we cannot but admire the judgment and ability displayed throughout the whole undertaking. It is time however that we should proceed with our examination of the volume.

We come now to the body of the original work ; it commences with a short introduction by the author, in which he points out briefly the design of his treatise, and the nature of those objects to which the blowpipe is applicable. This invaluable little instrument affords the means of readily trying a vast number of experiments for determining the nature and composition of different substances, and which though always conducted on a microscopic scale, yet present us in an instant with the most decisive results. To the mineralogist in particular it is of the most essential use ; for those employed in such researches the present work is more immediately designed, and after a full description of the apparatus, and the methods of operating successfully, the author has given a detailed account of the different characteristics discoverable in each species of minerals when exposed to the action of the blowpipe.

The treatise itself commences with an historical account of the use made of this instrument. It appears to have been long known and used in the arts before it was applied to scientific purposes. It appears to have been first employed in this way by Andrew Swab, a Swedish metallurgist, about 1733. The art of using the blowpipe was transmitted traditionally, and little published on the subject: indeed as the author remarks, as in other practical sciences, books alone are weak masters to make adepts in this. The practical skill of Gahn in the use of this instrument was carried to greater perfection than that of any of his predecessors—as an instance, it is mentioned, that long before the question was started whether the ashes of vegetables contain copper, Berzelius had himself seen him many times extract with the blowpipe from a quarter of a sheet of burnt paper, distinct particles of metallic copper. It was from this distinguished mineralogist that the author of the present work derived his skill.

“I was so fortunate as to enjoy a familiar intercourse with this eminent man, during the last ten years of his life. He spared no pains to impart to me all that he could from his knowledge and long experience, and I have strongly felt the obligation I then contracted towards the public to perpetuate as far as in me lies the fruits of his labours.”

This it appears Berzelius did in a former work on chemistry, but this was confined to an account of the use of the instrument. The results obtained by the application of it to mineral substances, it remained for our author to describe, from his own experiments; which he was strongly urged to do by Gahn, who had promised to criticize the results "his blowpipe in his hand," had not the scheme been frustrated by his death.

Next comes a description of the blowpipe and the apparatus connected with the use of it. The author has detailed the various contrivances which have been proposed as improvements on it. The most complicated of which he rejects as absolutely useless, and considers the instrument in one of its most simple forms, as decidedly the best adapted to the purposes for which it is wanted. That of Dr. Wollaston is at once perfectly adequate to the production of the desired effects, extremely simple, and exceedingly portable. Persons unaccustomed to the instrument are apt to suppose that it requires great pulmonary exertion; this however is quite a mistaken idea: it has notwithstanding led to several attempts to substitute for the action of the lungs, bellows and other contrivances: speaking of these our author remarks,

"By these pretended improvements, motions more or less troublesome have been substituted for a slight exertion of the muscles of the cheeks, and their inventors have demonstrated by their very contrivances, that they did not know how to use the blowpipe: they might as well have proposed to play on a wind instrument with a bladder. Our conclusion must be that all apparatus of this kind is perfectly useless." P. 18.

The notes by the translator form a very interesting and instructive appendage to the work. We will quote his remark on the same subject of contrivances to supersede the action of the lungs.

"These expedients are like the various devices for lathes and tools for *gentlemen* turners and carpenters, who waste their time and cut their fingers in ineffectual attempts to make a box worth sixpence, with an apparatus that cost a hundred pounds. The skilful workman needs no such aids; and the operator with the blowpipe will do well to render himself independent of them at once." Note, p. 18.

There is however one instrument of this description which, as it answers purposes to which the common blowpipe is necessarily inadequate, the translator has thought it right to

notice at some length in a note, p. 15. This is the apparatus called Brooke's or Newman's blowpipe, in which any gas or mixture of gases may be compressed with great force, and thus propelled through a jet; and in the case of a combustible mixture, the stream of gas itself being inflamed, the most intense heat is produced, so that the most refractory substances are fused in a very short time. Of this and the other apparatus plates are given in outline.

The author next discusses the point of what combustible is best. The flame of a lamp is found better adapted than that of a candle for excitation by the blowpipe: though perhaps more inconvenient in travelling.

He then treats on the art of keeping up the blast and giving a proper direction to the flame. The translator, in a note, p. 21, sums up a whole page of directions to this effect, thus: "In fewer words, the operator must breathe through his nostrils, and blow with his mouth by the mere compression of the cheeks." To produce a good heat requires some knowledge of flame and of its different parts. The author accordingly enters upon a description of flame, including the theory of the action of the blowpipe. This we consider one of the most able and interesting parts of the work; and it is greatly enriched by an abstract of Sir H. Davy's account of the nature of flame, by the translator.

At the base of the flame of a candle, we may perceive a small part of a deep blue tint, and perfectly transparent. This forms the bottom of the flame, and terminates where the external surface begins to ascend perpendicularly. In the interior of the flame a dark part is seen through its brilliant covering. This space encloses the gases which issue from the wick, and which not yet being in contact with the air cannot undergo combustion. Round this space is the brilliant part of the flame, and a sort of thin covering may be perceived, slightly luminous, over this, thickest at the summit. It is in this outer part that the combustion of the gases is completed, and the heat the most intense. It is found that on inserting a very fine wire into a flame some remarkable appearances are observed, (for which we refer the curious reader to the work, p. 22.), which serve to indicate the relative temperature at different parts of the flame. These effects are found to be always greater just on the outside of the luminous part, and within the external part just spoken of; and they increase as we descend, keeping still in the same relative situation, till the wire comes upon the confines of the blue flame at the bottom. Here the maximum effect is produced. And it is upon this consideration that the

operation of the blowpipe is conducted. By directing a stream of air against a flame, the blue part is as it were driven into the interior of the flame, and terminating now in a point, instead of as before forming a circle round the flame, the effect is most intense at, or just beyond, that point. This effect is easily explicable on the principles of Sir H. Davy, deduced from a variety of experiments on explosive mixtures of gases. He has shown, that generally speaking the *heat* of a flame is greater, the more perfect the combustion of the inflammable matter *while in a gaseous state*. On the other hand the *illuminating* power results from an opposite cause; namely, the decomposition of part of the gas towards the interior of the flame where the air is in the smallest quantity, and the deposition of solid charcoal, which, first by its ignition, and then by its combustion increases in a high degree the intensity of the light. This he shewed very decisively by the simple experiment of placing a piece of wire gauze at a small distance above a stream of coal gas, and igniting it only above the gauze. The further he moved the gauze from the pipe the more air mixed with the gas, and the feebler was the *light* of the flame, while the *heat* proportionally increased; as appeared from its effects in heating a fine wire of platinum. In a flame urged by a blowpipe at the point of the blue flame the greatest quantity of oxygen is supplied to the gases issuing from the wick, and therefore at that point their combustion is more perfect, produces more heat and less light, whereas in the outer parts of the flame, where a solid product of charcoal is deposited in the form of smoke, the combustion is less perfect, the heat less and the light greater.

Our author after giving several directions for obtaining a proper sort of flame, proceeds to describe the two principal operations in which the blowpipe is employed: these are the oxidation of metals, and the reduction of oxides. The account of these we will give in his own words. P. 28.

"*Oxidation* ensues when we heat the subject under trial before the extreme point of the flame where all the combustible particles are soon saturated with oxygen: the farther we recede from the flame, the better the oxidation is effected, (provided we can keep up sufficient heat): too great a heat often produces a contrary effect, especially when the assay is supported by charcoal. Oxidation goes on most actively at an incipient red heat. The opening in the beak of the blowpipe must be larger for this kind of operation than in other cases."

"For *reduction*, a fine beak must be employed, and it must not be inserted too far into the flame of the lamp; by this means we

obtain a more brilliant flame, the result of an imperfect combustion, whose particles as yet unconsumed, carry off the oxygen from the subject of experiment, which may be considered as being heated in a species of inflammable gas.. If in this operation, the assay become covered with soot, it is a proof that the flame is too smoky, which considerably diminishes the effect of the blast. Formerly the blue flame was considered as the proper one for the reduction of oxides; but this idea is erroneous; it is in reality the brilliant part of the flame which produces deoxidation: it must be directed on the assay, so as to surround it equally on all sides, and defend it from the contact of the air."

The substance on which the mineral to be examined is to be supported, comes next under discussion. Charcoal is, in most cases to be used; that of the lightest wood, and most free from cracks, and even-grained, is the best. In a note the translator recommends that from the alder. Supports of platina are also occasionally used with advantage. Sometimes the substance is to be placed in a glass tube flask, or matrass. After this follows an enumeration of all the various implements, and articles of different descriptions which are useful in applying the blowpipe to mineralogical purposes. These descriptions, it appears have been in some instances curtailed by the translator. Thus after an observation of the author, that order in the arrangement of the different instruments, &c. is very advantageous, the translator adds in a note,

"Here follows a long detailed description of a table with a drawer at each side, and four in front, divided into moveable compartments of tinned iron to hold various instruments, &c. not forgetting a hook with a towel fixed to the right leg of the table. Next comes an equally elaborate description of a red morocco case to hold a travelling blowpipe apparatus." P. 42.

The next section is devoted to the description of the different re-agents, or chemical tests, employed with the blowpipe, and directions for using them. These are few in number, and applicable in a great variety of cases, to assist in reducing oxides, and effecting fusion, and for other purposes connected with these. We shall not, however, attempt to give our readers any account of these processes. This section is closed by some general rules for conducting experiments with the blowpipe; which display evidently the result of a minute practical acquaintance with all the varied forms under which these phenomena present themselves, and the various methods in which the different operations are performed; they will doubtless be found of infinite value to the young experimenter, and are given in a clear, simple,

and interesting manner. We will quote as a specimen part of the conclusion of these directions :

“ According as they are exposed to the outer or inner flame of the lamp, and fused alone, or with fluxes, mineral substances present numerous phenomena, which must be carefully noted, and form, when taken together, the general result of the trial to which each individual has been submitted. The minutest circumstance of these phenomena must be attentively observed ; because it may often lead to the detection of elements, whose presence was not suspected.

“ Whenever we would record the result of an experiment with the blowpipe, either for our own instruction, or that of others, we must always make two experiments, note down separately the result of each, and then compare the two together ; for it often happens, that something which escaped us on a first observation, strikes us on a second. The safest mode is for two persons to make and note down separately a similar set of experiments, and compare their results : if they agree, they may be considered as accurate, otherwise the cause of discrepancy must be sought for. A little difficulty sometimes attends this sort of association, from two persons not always seeing and denominating colors alike. For instance, there were certain shades which John always called yellow, or dull yellow, and which I persisted in calling red ; although we agreed as to their fundamental colours, pure yellow and pure red.”

We conceive all our scientific readers will concur in admitting the excellence of these cautions and directions.

The largest and most important part of the work now commences : this is a detailed account of the different characteristics exhibited by each species of minerals when exposed to the blowpipe. Of this part we shall not attempt any account ; but only wish to notice its great importance, and the able and luminous manner in which the subject is treated. We will, however, just give one instance, taken at random, to shew the manner in which the characteristics developed by a mineral before the blowpipe, are described.

“ 7. FELSPAR.

“ *Alone in the mattress*, transparent Felspar gives off no water. The cracked opaque felspar often affords a large portion of water, which was contained mechanically in the interstices of the mineral.

“ *On charcoal*, in a bright heat, it becomes vitreous, semi-transparent and white, and fuses with difficulty on the edge into a blebby semi-transparent glass. It is a mineral of very difficult fusion.

“ *With borax*, fuses very slowly without effervescence into a diaphanous glass.

"*Salt of phosphorus attacks it with great difficulty ; with the pulverized mineral it gives a globule which becomes opaline on cooling, and leaves a silica skeleton.*

"*With soda the solution is slow, and attended with effervescence ; it gives a transparent glass very difficult to fuse and obtain free from blebs.*

"*With solution of cobalt, only the fused edges are coloured blue.*"

Then follow two "remarks" relative to the composition, &c. of the mineral, and the difference between it and another, which "behaves" in every respect like it. A similar method is adopted with each species: these are also arranged systematically, according to the chemical method, which was fully explained by the translator in the prefatory part of the work, where also the advantages attending it are pointed out. At the end is given an account of the appearances exhibited by urinary calculi before the blowpipe, which will be no doubt highly useful to those engaged in the chemical examination of them.

The author has evidently been at great pains to procure pure specimens to operate upon. He mentions the names of Haüy, Bournon, Gillet de Laumont, Brongniart, Brochant and others, well known in the mineralogical world, as having supplied him with specimens. The circumstance of the purity of the specimens, as well as that also of the re-agents employed is obviously of the first importance towards laying down with precision the real characteristics of minerals.

His detail of facts is in many instances not confined to the appearances exhibited before the blowpipe: he sometimes extends his descriptions to many other particulars belonging to the substance under examination. Thus the description of the Amphiboles and Pyroxenes is full of interesting information respecting their composition. And upon the whole, a fund of instruction may be derived from the work besides what immediately relates to the blowpipe.

One of the most useful parts of the whole work, we consider to be, a table by the translator, exhibiting at one view the effects exhibited by a variety of substances before the blowpipe. The operator with this instrument will doubtless duly appreciate its merits; it will afford a very convenient means of reference in many situations where large books may be inconvenient: in a vertical column at the side are ranged the earths and metallic oxides; and on a line with each, are expressed the phenomena it presents with each of the different re-agents before the blowpipe, which stand at

the tops of several more vertical columns. This table is given on a sheet at p. 118. which may be easily taken out, so as to be ready for reference on all occasions.

We have now brought our remarks to a close; and only wish to conclude by expressing in the strongest manner, our recommendation of the work to all such of our scientific readers as may not yet have met with it: it is indeed a work indispensable in the collection of every chemist, mineralogist, and philosophical student.

ART. V. *Prospectus. View of London, and the surrounding Country, taken with Mathematical Accuracy from an Observatory purposely erected over the Cross of St. Paul's Cathedral, to be published in Four Engravings, by Thomas Hornor. For the Author. Royal 8vo. pp. 32, 5s. Two Plates. 1823.*

WE are induced to notice this little *Brochure*, not because it possesses any claim (nor indeed does it advance any,) to literary distinction; but from our wish to make more generally known the design which a very enterprising artist has undertaken, and the singular energy and ardour which he has manifested in conducting it.

Mr. Hornor has been for many years engaged in a branch of drawing, from which we, among others, have derived much pleasure, but which still wants a name. It is a pictorial and graphic survey, in which the eye is presented, not with the jagged lines only which form the boundaries of property, but with every bush and tree, and hedge and ditch, which can find its station in a bird's eye perspective. Having practised this mode, as he informs us, extensively in the neighbourhood of London, he had formed a collection of sketches peculiarly applicable to a general view of this district; and he has also constructed an apparatus, by which the most distant and intricate scenery may be transferred to paper with mathematical accuracy. An apparatus which, though it is not so stated, may fairly be supposed to be some modification of the *Camera obscura*. Thus prepared, he passed the whole of the summer of 1820 in the lantern of St. Paul's, immediately under the ball, and when the view which he had taken from this point was nearly completed, he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the scaffolding,

then raised for the removal of the ball and cross, to exalt his aerial *studio* about sixty feet higher. For this purpose, he obtained permission to erect an observatory, supported by a platform several feet above the top of the highest part of the present cross, and in this watch tower he commenced a new series of sketches on a very enlarged scale.

"To effect this, it was found necessary, from time to time, to adopt various contrivances to meet the numerous obstacles which opposed the progress of the work. In weather partially cloudy, portions of the scene would be in bright sunshine, and others in total obscurity, producing an incessant alternation of light and shade: it therefore became requisite to alter and modify the previous arrangements, that advantage might instantly be taken of the clear light, in any particular part of the entire circle of the View, and that an immediate transition might be made from one sketch to another. Trifling as this difficulty may at first appear, it gave rise to more trouble and anxiety than any other part of the undertaking, since the time necessarily occupied in selecting the particular sketch, independently of the requisite adjustment of the apparatus, frequently exceeded the transient period during which the object continued visible. The difficulty, also, of connecting the detached parts thus seized at the most favourable moment was so great at times, as almost to preclude the hope of completing the performance. After a variety of attempts, the obstacle was at length removed by the construction of a comprehensive key-sketch, which served to indicate the precise relation of any particular portion to the general View. The remaining difficulties were in a great measure obviated by placing the sketches (about 300 in number) in a rotatory frame, in such order that any particular one might be referred to at the moment it was required." P. 15.

To this lofty station Mr. Hornor repaired every morning during the summer of 1821, at the early hour of three o'clock, in order that his operations might commence before the ascending smoke should impede his view.

"On entering the Cathedral at three in the morning, the stillness which then prevailed in the streets of this populous city, contrasted with their mid-day bustle, was only surpassed by the more solemn and sepulchral stillness of the Cathedral itself. But not less impressive was the development, at that early hour of the immense scene from its lofty summit, whence was frequently beheld "*the Forest of London*," without any indication of animated existence. It was interesting to mark the gradual symptoms of returning life, until the rising sun vivified the whole into activity, bustle, and business. On one occasion the night was passed in the observatory, for the purpose of meeting the first glimpse of day; but the cold was so intense, as to preclude any wish to repeat the experiment.

"In proceeding with the work, every assistance was readily afforded by the gentlemen connected with the Cathedral; and through their kind attention, all possible precautions were taken for the prevention of accidents to be apprehended in such an exposed situation. But the weather was frequently so boisterous during the stormy summer of 1821, as to frustrate the most judicious contrivances for security. Indeed scarcely a day passed without derangement of some part of the scaffolding, or machinery connected with it; and so strong became the sense of danger arising from these repeated casualties, that notwithstanding the powerful inducement of increased remuneration, it was difficult on these emergencies to obtain the services of efficient workmen. This will not appear surprising, when it is known that during high winds, it was impossible for a person to stand on the scaffolding without clinging for support to the frame-work; the creaking and whistling of the timbers, at such times, resembled those of a ship labouring in a storm, and the situation of the artist was not unlike that of a mariner at the mast-head. During a squall more than usually severe, a great part of the circular frame-work of heavy planks, erected above the gallery for the prevention of accidents, was carried over the house tops to a considerable distance. At this moment a similar fate had nearly befallen the observatory, which was torn from its fastenings, turned partly over the edge of the platform, and its various contents thrown into utter confusion. The fury of the wind rendered the door impassable; and after a short interval of suspense, an outlet was obtained by forcing a passage on the opposite side. By this misfortune, independently of personal inconvenience, considerable delay and expense were occasioned ere the work could be resumed; and it became necessary to provide against similar misfortunes, by securing the observatory to a cross-beam, and constructing a rope-fence, as seen in the lower part of the vignette. Thus fortified, the work was proceeded in without any other accidents of a nature worthy to be noticed, until all the sketches which could be taken from the observatory were completed. These sketches, comprising 280 sheets of drawing paper, extend over a surface of 1680 square feet; a space which will not appear surprising, when considered as including a portion of almost every public building and dwelling-house in the metropolis, with all the villages, fields, roads, villas, rivers, canals, &c. visible from the summit of the Cathedral." P. 19.

After a general acquaintance with his subject had been thus acquired, several weeks were employed in visiting many of the particular and principal points, and in collating them on the spot with the distant drawings, for the purpose of correction. A reduced drawing was then made from the original sketches, divided into four parts, and diminished to one-tenth of their first size. From these Mr. Hornor now proposes to publish four engravings. Two, comprising the

eastern and western views, will be forty inches by twenty-five; two of the northern and southern thirty by twenty-five. They will be executed either in the line manner, or so coloured as to imitate finished drawings; and the prices, to be paid on delivery, (probably in 1824,) will be eight guineas for the first, and ten for the second.

We heartily wish Mr. Horner success in his undertaking, which (were it not that we always have the fear of a pun before our eyes,) we may truly characterize as most *arduous*. The good citizens of London, while gaping with fixed wonderment at the crow's nest which crowned their metropolitan Cathedral, little dreamed of the new Stylites who occupied its summit. Those who cannot raise their imagination to the difficulty and danger of the attempt, may obtain a more adequate conception of it by consulting the two plates given in the pamphlet. The second, presenting a section of the dome of St. Paul's, and a view of the surrounding streets, is most ingeniously contrived, by unfolding, to present a large surface, and, besides this, is most pleasingly executed.

ART. VI. *Letters to the Earl of Liverpool on the State of the Colonies. Letter I. By a Member of Parliament.* pp. 70. Underwoods.

ART. VII. *A Letter to Mr. S. C. Blyth, occasioned by the recent Publication of the Narrative of his Conversion to the Romish Faith. By a Catholic Christian.* pp. 283. Montreal. Mower. 1822.

"It has been the misfortune of England," says the author of the former of the pamphlets, of which the titles stand at the head of this article, "that she has uniformly mismanaged her colonies; it has been her reproach, that she has given less attention to their religious interests, than any of the Roman Catholic powers. She has already largely paid, and she is in danger of again paying, the forfeit of her want of political prudence, and religious principle." The truth of this charge has long been felt by every man of sound political and religious views; and it has been suppressed principally because persons of this description are always laudably cautious in giving credit to complaints against government, which too often originate in a spirit of party, and are unwilling to appear,

even for a moment, on the side of those, whose habit it is on all occasions to arraign "the powers that be." For, strange as it will doubtless appear to many of our readers, the party who, in our Colonies, have to complain of neglect, and, in many instances, of positive discouragement shewn them by the Ministers of the Crown, are the loyal members of the Church of England, who look up to the mother country for protection and support, and dread nothing so much as a separation of interests; while they who have been indulged, and courted, and listened to, are precisely the description of persons whom in this country we should vulgarly term *radicals*—men who have no tie which attaches them either to the laws, the constitution, or the religion of Great Britain, and who would eagerly embrace any safe opportunity of asserting their perfect independence. The hollow and heartless policy which has dictated this line of conduct is easily construed. Of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of all her members, the loyalty and the fidelity cannot be doubted; upon them we may, at all events, rely. The Roman Catholics and dissenters, especially the Presbyterians, cannot be confided in; we have no hold upon them beyond their interest and their fears. *Therefore we will give them all the encouragement, and bestow upon them all the favours in our power, in order to secure both parties!*

How far the government of this country deserves censure for the adoption of this short-sighted and unworthy craft, it is not our purpose to inquire. We rather believe that, in the manner in which the public business of the empire has hitherto been arranged, it has been little less than impossible that any of the responsible Ministers of the Crown should have devoted considerable time or attention to the affairs of the Colonies; and that the business of that department has been unavoidably consigned to the inferior secretaries in the offices. Be this as it may, it is high time that proper provision should be made for the transaction of all colonial business; and more especially for a confidential intercourse between those persons who have the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. And we welcome, with no little gratification, the first symptom of awakened attention to so important a subject in the form of a short Letter to the Premier by a member of the legislature. The letter, which, we trust sincerely, professes to be only the first of a series, is written with considerable force, and contains some information which has not yet been laid before the public.

It appears to have been put together in haste, and ventures upon strictures the spirit of which is hardly consistent

with its general tone of respect towards the noble and high-principled personage to whom it is addressed ; and it betrays, though pregnant with valuable matter, that deficiency of *private* intelligence and local knowledge which might naturally be expected in a writer living at such a distance from the scene of those transactions to which he alludes, and relying upon the statements of Colonial Gazettes. At page 44, for example, in speaking of the Church at Quebec, he introduces the following curious paragraph.

“ The English Bishop is, indeed, I understand, very well provided for in point of income ; and, I am told, he is sufficiently active in discharging the duties more immediately appertaining to his office : but respecting those matters which form the principal subject of this letter, *he is passive in the extreme* : whether from a love of peace, or a fear of missing promotion, it is not my business to inquire.”

Now all this betrays a total ignorance of the private correspondence of the Colonial Department for the last thirty years. *We* happen to know that the venerable Prelate who has, during that period, presided over the Canadian Church, has been unwearied in his representations, *on the very subject of this Letter*, to every successive administration, and to every society or person in this kingdom who could have influence in the affairs of the Colonies. We believe that he has more than once run the risk of offending the Secretary of State by the boldness of his remonstrances, and the urgency of his expostulations in behalf of his Church ; and little indeed can *he* know of that truly apostolical character, who could insinuate that either “ the fear of missing promotion,” or the hope of obtaining it, has ever for a moment guided his conduct. Not to know him is the misfortune of our author—the groundless insinuation might have been spared. The state of the Canadas, and especially the ecclesiastical polity of that important Colony, form the exclusive subject of the first and only Letter which has yet appeared ; and we are more than ever confirmed in our opinion that Canada is in great danger of being completely revolutionized in consequence of the measures adopted by our government, and particularly of their total dereliction of the principles upon which the Church of England was established in that country by the wisdom of the greatest statesman of modern times.

Mr. Pitt, advised undoubtedly by a right reverend friend to whom the Church is so much indebted, became early in life convinced that the only secure foundation for the mainte-

nance of legitimate authority in the State is the formation and establishment of a Protestant Episcopal Church—Protestant, because the Roman Catholics can never be well-affected to any but a Roman Catholic Crown—Episcopal, because every other form of Protestantism tends directly to democracy, and ultimately to independence. With these, and it is hoped with much higher motives, did that illustrious minister found the Established Church at Quebec, and confide its infancy to a Bishop who singularly united in his own person the various and almost incompatible qualifications for so difficult a station: an Herculean robustness of body; courtly manners; primitive disinterestedness; great learning and powerful eloquence; ardent zeal; and sound orthodoxy. The Canadian Church, established upon such grounds, and confided to such hands, rose rapidly into power, and drew into its pale thousands of those loose and unsystematic believers who, till then, scarce knew the value of a regular ministry, or the distinction between a Church and a sect. The Bishop built churches, ordained ministers, preached in person at the New Settlements, and carried into effect, in a surprizingly short space of time, the enlarged and pious views of the Sovereign and of the Premier.

During this golden age of the Canadas, the ancient French inhabitants were perfectly contented under the paternal government of Great Britain. They enjoyed a perfect toleration of their religion, and an immunity from taxation, together with as much personal liberty as is compatible with social order; and they had acquired no notions of the abstract rights of man, nor any desires after political importance. They were peaceful, respectful, honest, hospitable, and generous; and no peasantry could offer a more engaging appearance to the traveller.

But unhappily Mr. Pitt, who was an ardent admirer of the British Constitution, had given the Canadians a constitution formed upon the same model. The Governor and Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and the provincial House of Assembly, were a mimic representation of the King in Council, the Lords, and Commons; and this machinery, wholly unadapted to the character and to the wants of the people, after lying for some time dormant, began to work with a vehemence that soon defied the controul of the military men who went out as temporary governors, and awakened, in the simple bosoms of Canadian *habitans*, the evil spirit of insubordination. The Romish Bishop, a quiet and humble-minded man, with whom the Protestant Bishop had lived upon terms of the most friendly intercourse, died, and

he was succeeded by a person who possesses all the profound design, the knowledge of intrigue, and the boundless ambition which have ever distinguished the order of Jesuits. By him the rising spirit of political discontent was combined with a jealousy of the established religion, and a violent abhorrence of Protestantism; the priests, over whom he possesses absolute power, by assuming a right of removing them from their livings at pleasure, were inoculated with a rage for proselytism; and a distinction of the most invidious nature, between the Canadian and English parties, eat like a canker into the heart of society, and corrupted even the distant settlers amid their half-cleared farms and log-tenements.

"The freedom of the constitution was held up to them as something precious, beyond all that they had ever hoped for, or conceived. The dignity, the value of the elective franchise, was magnified to excess; and the new-born vanity of farmers, shopkeepers, and mechanics, and the more mischievous ambition of advocates, attorneys, and notaries, spurred them forward, as candidates, for a seat in the assembly, and soon filled the benches of that house with representatives, the majority of whom were perfectly ignorant of the business that brought them there, and the minority possessed just knowledge enough to turn the ignorance of their brethren to the purposes of their own ambition. The consequences have been such as might well have been foreseen. Half-educated, low-minded, intriguing, and factious demagogues, have forced upon the minds of their simple and uninstructed countrymen, a distrust of the government, a fixed persuasion that it is the constant object of its principal officers to infringe upon their rights and liberties, and an increasing aversion from every thing that is English." Letter I. p. 7.

Such was the state of public feeling in the Canadas, when unfortunately Sir George Prevost was sent out as governor. The military conduct of that officer has been sufficiently exposed in another Journal*: his domestic management of the Colony was no less censurable. Finding that the Canadian party gave him most trouble, his object was to obtain a temporary popularity for his own administration, and a peaceable residence for himself, by every possible species and degree of weak concession, which he dignified with the name of *conciliation*. The Catholic Bishop, being at the head of the party, was honoured with a seat in the Legislative Council, received a pension of 1500*l.* per annum, which he still enjoys, and was, either overtly or tacitly, confirmed in all the

* Quarterly Review.

usurpations of power, and of government property*, upon which he had ventured; whilst discouragement and insult (we do not repent of the term) were heaped upon the Protestant Bishop and his Clergy, and upon the loyal Members of both Houses; and the just remonstrances of his Lordship in defence of the rights of his Church, which it is his first duty to protect, were represented at home as the dictates of party spirit and political feeling!

The consequence has been, as the writer of the Letter to Lord Liverpool strongly argues, a complete dissolution of the powers of the government, a virtual ascendancy of the Romish Church.

"His (the Roman Catholic Bishop's) authority at this moment, surpasses that of any Bishop in the world (the Bishop of Rome only excepted); and the actual power and influence of the see of Rome is, at this time, in a far more imposing and more formidable attitude in Canada, than it was ever suffered to assume under the government of Catholic France!" P. 32.

"I exceedingly regret, that the expectations of his Majesty, which by his command I had the honour to express to you (the two houses of parliament) at the opening of the session, have not been realized. You will see the administration of the civil government left without any pecuniary means, but what I shall advance upon my own personal responsibility; you will see individuals labouring under severe and unmerited hardships, caused by the want of that constitutional authority that is necessary for the payment of the expences of the civil government; you will see the interior improvements of the country nearly at a stand; you will see, in short, the executive government in a manner palsied and powerless." Extracts from the Governor's speech, Letter I. p. 17, note.

The ruin occasioned by the conduct of Sir George Prevost might, in some measure, have been repaired, had it pleased Providence to spare the life of the Duke of Richmond, of whose virtues and talents we have seen a beautiful eulogium in a sermon preached on the occasion of his melancholy death by the Archdeacon of Quebec, and published, as it appears, by the desire of all the principal inhabitants of that capital. But whatever may be the private merits of the present Governor, it is too certain that he is pursuing a system of mistaken concession in politics, which may probably be dictated to him by the Government at home; and that in ecclesiastical affairs he has been the means of adding to the diffi-

* About 40,000*l.* per annum. See the Letter to Lord Liverpool, p. 12.

culties and increasing the party opposed to the Episcopal (for we can now scarcely call it the *Established*) Church, by a very natural partiality to the Kirk of Scotland, in which he was educated; so that the Presbyterian interest is strangely associated with the Papists in every attempt to invade the rights and the property of the Church of England. It has been asserted that the reserves of land, allotted for the maintenance of "a Protestant *Clergy*," in the Colony, are not to be appropriated exclusively to the Episcopal Protestants, but that *all Protestant Ministers* are equally entitled to claim a share in this liberal provision of the Crown for the establishment of religion: and it is said that the opinion of the law officers of the British empire has been favourable to this extraordinary and unprecedented construction. On this important subject the letter is particularly forcible and clear.

"The question turns upon the construction of an act of parliament. As constitutional lawyers, will they deny, that Presbyterians are *Dissenters*, in the view of the law of England?

"Will they assert that *dissenting ministers* are a *Clergy*, in the legal and parliamentary acceptance of that term?

"Will they pretend, that the *establishment* of the Church of Scotland is any thing more than *local*; or that it can have any sort of constitutional claim to the advantages of establishment in a conquered colony? I trouble not myself with what may have been thrown out at random, in debate upon the bill. I appeal to the act itself, and to the fair parliamentary construction of its terms: and I do not hesitate to assert, that in a legal and constitutional, and parliamentary sense, the words '*a Protestant Clergy*,' can only designate *the Clergy* of the Church of England, in contradistinction to the Clergy of the Church of Rome, for whom also provision is made by the act.

"Let us turn to some of the clauses. The 36th section makes a certain 'allotment and appropriation of lands, for the support and maintenance of a *Protestant Clergy*;' (the 35th section, as well as the 14th of the late King, c. 83, having *before* made a certain provision 'for the Clergy of the Church of Rome.')

"The 37th section enacts, that all rents, profits, &c. arising from such lands, 'shall be applicable *solely* to the maintenance and support of a *Protestant Clergy*, and to no other purpose whatever.'

"The 38th section makes it '*lawful* for his majesty, his heirs, or successors, to authorize the governor, &c. &c. to constitute, and erect parsonages, or rectories, according to the establishment of the Church of England,—and, by an instrument under the Great Seal, &c. to endow every such *parsonage* or *rectory*, with so much of the

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lands so appropriated, as he, &c. &c. shall judge to be expedient, &c.'

"The 39th section makes it 'lawful for his Majesty, &c. to authorize the governor, &c. to present to every such parsonage, or rectory, an incumbent of the Church of England, &c.' and enacts, 'that every person so presented shall hold, and enjoy the same, and all rights, profits, &c. as fully and amply, &c. &c. as the incumbent of a parsonage or rectory in England.'

"The 40th section makes the incumbent 'subject to the Bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, &c. according to the laws and canons of the Church of England, which are lawfully made and received in England.'" P. 33.

"His present Majesty, by his present ministers, has created the Bishop of Quebec, and the beneficed clergy of his diocese, into a corporation, to take the management of the lands reserved for 'the support of a Protestant Clergy.' Are the Bishop and his Clergy to become stewards for the property of Dissenters?" P. 37.

Never, surely, was a case more clearly made out, or the inattention (for it cannot be ignorance,) of the officers of State to the interests of the Colonies displayed in a more alarming light.

The Episcopal Protestant Church is thus placed between two fires equally destructive, and equally encouraged by the modern notions of conciliatory administration, which appear to have been adopted by the Cabinet at home, and instilled into the colonial governors. How far such a system is consistent with the intentions of those enlightened persons, who originally established the government of the Canadas, sufficiently appears from the King's instructions to the early governors, which are still formally repeated to their successors, though completely neutralized by private directions of a very different, not to say of an opposite tendency.

"You are not to admit of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the see of Rome, or any other foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the province under your government.

"And to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principle and in practice, and that the said Roman Catholic inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children may be brought up in the principles of it: we do hereby declare it to be our intention, &c. . . . that all possible encouragement shall be given to Protestant schools, &c. And you are to consider, and report to us, by what other means the Protestant religion may be promoted, and established, and encouraged in our province under your government.

"The establishment of, and proper regulation in, matters of

ecclesiastical concern, is an object of very great importance, and it will be *your indispensable duty to lose no time* in making such arrangements in regard thereto, as may give full satisfaction to our new subjects, in every point in which they have a right to indulgence on that head, *always remembering* that it is a *toleration* of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome *only*, to which they are entitled, *but not to the powers and privileges of it as an established Church* : for that is a preference which belongs *only* to the Protestant Church of England." P. 21.

Of the manner in which his Majesty's instructions are observed at Quebec, some idea may be formed from the following paragraph in a Colonial newspaper.

" Hier, sa Grandeur l'Evêque Catholique de Quebec assisté de Messeigrs. les Evêques de Salde et de Rhésine, donna, en présence d'une nombreuse assemblée de Clergé et de peuple, dans l'Eglise du Faubourg St. Roch, la consecration épiscopale à Monseigneur Bernard Angus M'Eachern, titulaire de Rosen et son suffragan pour la province de New Brunswick, et pour les Iles du Capt. Breton, du Prince Edouard, et de la Madeleine. On n'avoit pas encore vû quatre * evêques réunis dans une même Eglise en Canada. La ceremonie fut exécutée à la satisfaction de tous les assistans. Lady Dalhousie l'honora de sa présence, et l'on assure que son Excellence le Gouverneur en chef y auroit aussi assisté s'il n'eût été engagé à un voyage depuis long temps ~~promis~~ et qui ne souffroit point de délai." Appendix, p. 69.

And of the gratitude with which such favours are received, and of the admirable effects of the *conciliatory* system a pretty correct notion is derived from a passage in a letter addressed to the editor of a Quebec Journal, by a *Romish* priest, with *at least* the tacit sanction of his Bishop.

" Les Canadiens s'instruiront à la fin, si ce n'est d'une façon, ce sera d'une autre; et en s'instruisant, ils apprendront qu'on n'a consenti à leur vendre l'éducation civile qu' au prix de leur principes religieux, ou, au moins, de leur liberté de conscience. Dejà même un jour nouveau commence à dissiper les ténèbres, plus vite qu'on ne l'imagine; et, j'ose en avertir, les circonstances locales de leur position politique doivent nous faire croire qu'on *n'exercera pas toujours sur eux l'oppression que maintient l'intolérance légale dont l'Angleterre seule*, aujourd'hui, de tous les pays Européans mi-partis des deux religions, nous offre l'exemple aussi *étonnant pour notre siècle qu' affligeant pour l'humanité*. Si l' Irlande étoit aussi voisine que nous des Etats Unis, il y auroit long tems que les Catholiques n'y

* A few years ago there was but one Roman Catholic Bishop in all North America.—Ed.

seroient plus forcés de payer la dixme au clergé Protestant, &c. Appendix, p. 56.

This is speaking out; and it forms an admirable example of the effect of concession in gaining the affections and soothing the discontents of the Papists. It closely resembles the tirades of orator Hunt, and the anathemata of the society for protecting religious liberty; and it is an emanation of the same spirit, fostered by the governors of Canada, which is working the downfall of the Church of England in that Colony, and the consequent separation of the Colony itself from the mother country. He who *will* not (for there is no man who *cannot*) see this tendency, is in the last stage of mental ophthalmia.

Strong as the statements in this letter appear, we are in possession of facts and of documents which, if it were expedient at this moment to produce them, would greatly heighten the astonishment and the indignation of our readers; but we forbear for the present to enter further into this painful subject, in the hope that the bill for consolidating the two provinces, which is said to be in progress, may provide some remedy for the impending evil. That the charge of bigotry and intolerance on the part of the government, made by the Roman Catholics, is wholly unmerited, need hardly be repeated; and the conduct of the Protestant Bishop and of his clergy has been uniformly guided by a spirit of liberality and forbearance, which for many years (previous to the consecration of the present Romish Bishop,) insured them the esteem and gratitude of the then happy and contented Papists. We have heard that when his Lordship returned to England for a short period, after a residence at Quebec of more than ten years, he received numerous addresses from the *Roman Catholic* inhabitants of the province, lamenting his departure, and praying for his prosperous and speedy return; and that he was accompanied to the quay where he embarked by nearly all the *Catholic*, as well as Protestant gentlemen of the capital, who bade him farewell with tears.

This amiable and *really* conciliatory temper is strongly displayed in the letter to Mr. S. C. Blyth, by a Catholic Christian, who is evidently a Divine of no ordinary talents and theological learning, and whom, from internal evidence, as well as from common report, we suppose to be the Archdeacon of the Lower Province. Mr. Blyth, it seems, is a gentleman, of a description too common in these days, who has tried all religions, and no religion; who has been Deist, Mahometan, Baptist, and what not?—and who has, at last,

found the haven of his rest under the wing of the Church of Rome. For the benefit of his fellow wanderers in the wilderness of error, he has thought fit to publish the narrative of his *last* conversion, as a sort of "Ductor Dubitantium" adapted to modern times; and he has made it the vehicle of a furious attack upon the Church of England and her members. His able antagonist replies in a tone of great moderation and inexhaustible good humour; but at the same time with a force of argument, a power of style, a fund of ancient and modern erudition, and a chastised vein of pleasantry, worthy of the best period of the Reformation. The letter is indeed evidently written, as it professes to be, in great haste, and is consequently wanting in arrangement and condensation; but this very circumstance tends to shew that the resources of the writer are all *improvisu*, and his acquaintance with the deeper studies of his profession as intimate and familiar as it is with the lighter branches of literature. But whatever may have been the excuse for the haste of the author, there can be none for the reprehensible negligence of the printer. There are nearly *four pages* of errata, and those such *only* as *materially* affect the sense, in a pamphlet containing less than three hundred pages. We have seen some very creditable specimens of typography from the press at Quebec, but really Mr. Nahum Mower, of Montreal, deserves the severest reprehension.

As we have noticed this little publication chiefly to shew the spirit which prevails in the Protestant Episcopal Church at Quebec, we shall content ourselves with one or two short extracts, and with a recommendation to the author that he will allow it to be re-published in this country, revised and corrected by himself, and printed where its sense will not be impaired by the inadvertence or by the *intentional* blunders of a Nahum Mower.

In opening the controversy, the Catholic Christian avows the principles upon which he is induced to act, in language which amply justifies the title he has assumed.

"God above knows I am far enough from wishing to molest the prevailing religion of the inhabitants. The first planters of the Gospel had a special commission—were miraculously gifted—and made their experiment necessarily upon *Jewish* and *Heathen* subjects. The Reformers were groaning under an intolerable load of spiritual tyranny, and of conscious corruption; and by the exercise of lawful authority they relieved themselves from both. Neither precedent applies, therefore, to prove it our duty to interfere with you, if you abstain from interfering with us. We may be thankful if it shall please God, at any time, to take the veil off

your hearts, but 'it is not for us to know the times and the seasons which the Father has put in his own power.' I am not one of those proselyting zealots who, for the chance of gaining some few scattered converts, will risk the exacerbation of bigotry and prejudice, the mere unsettling of many minds, the interruption of domestic harmony, the violation of social peace, the infringement of religious order, the contravention of views obviously entertained by his Majesty's paternal government. These are things not lightly to be meddled with—barriers not unadvisedly to be thrown down. I conceive it to be the part of a Christian to balance, in these cases, both the certain and contingent harm against the probable degree of good. And there are other considerations of a local nature which strengthen these remarks. In this country, where there are many individuals of the Romish Church, whom I sincerely esteem, and where the general character of the people is entitled to the praise of all parties, I should, for one, be very slow to recommend any schemes of conversion, and backward to concur in them. We can employ our resources better in the correction of our own faults; in the promotion of the Gospel among ourselves; or in contributing to its diffusion among the heathens, by connecting ourselves with the operations of the mother country in that ample field. But if the very reverse of these maxims be found to guide the proceedings of many eager partizans on the other side; and if they are only encouraged, by our abstinence from retaliation, more frequently and more boldly to make their incursions among the fold to which we belong; then it is time for them to learn that our moderation has not been cowardice, or consciousness of a weak cause." P. 5.

But though the author of this excellent letter writes thus *suaviter in modo*, he argues *fortiter in re*; and, in touching upon the various points so long and so often debated between the Reformed and the Romish Churches, if he advances little that is positively new, there is at least great originality of style, and a liveliness of manner which beguiles the dryness of a worn-out but not exhausted subject. The severer part of his charges are drawn from the acknowledgments of the Romanists themselves, and given in their own words.

"Je vois tous les jours que la religion Romaine fait de mauvais sujets, en reconnoissant une puissance étrangere, supérieure, a celle du pays; Nos Evêques ne sont pas François, mais sujets du Pape." P. 33.

"Let us hear the opinion passed upon the last-mentioned author (St. Augustine,) by Pope Paul V. 'He has indeed some good sermons, but bad ones withal: he stands too much upon Scripture, which is a book that if a man will keep close to, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith.'" Father Paul's Letters. Letter xxvi.

“ ‘ Vanus est labor,’ says Cardinal Rosius, a legate of his Holiness, and a President in the Council of Trent, ‘ qui Scripturis impenditur : Scriptura enim creatura est, et elementum quoddam egenum.’

“ ‘ Scripturæ,’ says Cardinal Cusanus, ‘ adaptatæ sunt ad tempus, et variè intelliguntur : Ita ut uno tempore secundum curren-tem universalem ritum exponantur : mutato ritu iterum sententia mutetur. Cusan ad Bohæm. Ep. ii.’ Sylvester Prierias, Master of the Pope’s Palace, says, ‘ A doctrinâ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Romani Pontificis, Sacra Scriptura *robur trahit et auctoritatē*’—and again—‘ Indulgentiæ auctoritate Scripturæ non innotuère nobis : sed auctoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Romanorumque Pontificum *quæ major est.* Sylv. Prier. Cont. Luth.’ ” P. 229.

The subject of the idolatry of the Church of Rome is taken up with a very masterly hand.

“ Let it then (if you will) be repeated for the millionth time, that the Romanists do *not* worship them at least in the Protestant acceptation *.’ We say that you *do* worship the Saints and Angels, and above all the Virgin, in an acceptation which is not only unauthorized, but expressly forbidden,—for this it is to worship them at all. ‘ Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and *Him only* shalt thou serve †’, is a text which, added to the foregoing authorities, imperatively excludes, not only that extravagant adoration which is offered to the Virgin, but all those modifications of worship—those evasions and subtle distinctions, little calculated for the mass of mankind, with which your Latria, and Dulia, and Hyperdulia involve the sacred simplicity of Christian homage.

“ But what is the voice of remote antiquity ? Will that venerable matron be found to testify against herself as having deviated from the injunctions of Holy Writ ?

‘ Once again my call obey,

‘ Prophetess, arise, and say——’

“ The invocation of any other being than God is a strange sound to her ears. We pass the middle of the fourth century before we reach any trace of it. We find at that very point the clear, though incidental, disclaimer of the practice †. And Eusebius has preserved, in his Fourth Book, the letter of ‘ the Church of God, which is at Smyrna, unto the Church at Philomilium,’ &c. upon occasion of the martyrdom of Polycarp her Bishop, who was the disciple of St. John, in which letter the following passage occurs. ‘ But many pricked forward Necites, the father of Herod, and his brother Dalcis, to move the Proconsul not to deliver unto the Christians his body, lest that they, leaving Christ, fall a worshipping him. This they said when the Jews egged and urged them forwards, which constantly watched us lest we snatched him

* P. 55, of Mr. Blyth’s Narrative.

† Matt. iv. 10.

‡ Vide Appendix.

out of the fire, being ignorant of this, that we can never forsake Christ, who died for the salvation of the whole world, and that *we can worship none other*. For we worship Christ as the Son of God—the martyrs we love as *Disciples* and *followers* of the Lord *.—They do not say that they pay *one* worship to Christ, and *another* to the martyrs—they say that the idea of paying *any* worship to the latter could only be imputed to them by persons ignorant of their principles. And in the commemoration of his death, which it is immediately afterwards proposed to institute, the object of that institution is expressly stated to be ‘both for the remembrance of such as have been crowned before, and also for the preparation and stirring up of such as hereafter shall strive.’ No Pagan *Apotheosis*—no Romish *canonization* entered at all into the imaginations of those who appointed this observance. They abhorred the very suspicion of such a design.” P. 119.

“What then can be more pointed; and at the same time more comprehensive than the prohibitions of Scripture against image-worship. The Pentateuch and the Psalms—the prophetic books and the historical—the Old Testament and the New, are equally replete with the most distinct condemnation of images—the most lively exposure of their absurdity—the strongest delineation of their debased character, and mischievous effects. The language of these passages is usually *general*, and even when applied immediately to heathen gods, is strictly and *pointedly applicable* to the *very act itself of image-worship*, whoever may be the ultimate object of adoration: although God forbid that we should confound the worshippers of Jupiter or Baal, by means of an image, with any of the worshippers of Christ.

“See particularly Levit. xxvi. Deut. iv. 16. 23. Ps. cxv. cxxxv. 15, &c. Isa. xl. 18, &c. xlii. 8. xlv. 9—20. 1 John v. 21. and, as you admit the divine authority of the Apocryphal Books, Wisdom xiii. xiv. xv. Baruch vi. What then do you find to set against all this? You set against it the emblematical devices of the ark (Exod. xxx. 18.) the mere circumstance of costly workmanship in the temple (1 Kings vi. 12); the invitation of the Psalmist to praise God upon the harp (Ps. xviii. 5.); and the figurative declaration of the Apostle (to a *literal* compliance with which we are far, however, from having any objection,) that at the *name* of Jesus every knee should bow. (Phil. ii. 10.) What possible countenance is afforded by these passages to the system of introducing into the temple of the Almighty Spirit *objects of sense as objects of worship*—and ‘adoring Jesus Christ and the Saints *by means of images*, which you *kiss*, and before which you *kneel* †?”

“I notice separately the revival of that curious authority from Heb. xi. 21. which is founded upon a flagrant mistranslation of the passage. By whatever means it found its way into the Vul-

* Hammer's Translation.

† P. 57, of the Narrative.

gate *, there is no schoolboy who can construe the Greek Testament, but will immediately perceive that, in the original, Jacob is said (in reference to his infirm state, and as a mark of his enduring piety,) to have ' worshipped upon the top,' i. e. *leaning upon the top* ' of his staff'—not to have *worshipped the head of his walking stick.*' P. 128.

We could gladly indulge ourselves in more copious quotations, particularly since the work is not at present accessible to our readers. But our limits admonish us to desist; and we entertain a hope that Mr. Blyth's precious narrative, and this triumphant reply to it, will shortly be laid before the British public. The writer is evidently not so entirely engrossed by his zealous labours in Canada, as to preclude him from watching with a penetrating and judicious eye the progress of religious discussions in the Mother country.

ART. VIII. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay. Volume the Second.* Longman and Co.

IT is no longer a matter of doubt that the field of Asiatic literature is entirely exhausted, without having yielded to the European scholar one tithe of the fruit which it was expected to produce. The dreams of Sir William Jones have not been realized either in respect of science or letters. The poetry and history, whether of Hindostan or of Persia, have proved childish and meagre in the highest degree. The mathematics and algebra of the most learned Brahmins exhibit the mere elements of that sublime reasoning which establishes the relations of numbers and quantity. The boasted analysis of the Hindoos appears in the eye of European students as the very beginning of abstract arithmetic: and, in a word, the progress of oriental antiquity in physical and moral knowledge, as well as in works of imagination and ornamental composition, are now found to have been greatly overrated. The mine, when it was first opened, looked extremely rich, and promised to cover the western world with a treasure equally new and precious; but a deeper search has only created disappointment, betrayed the inherent worthlessness of the metal, and accused the ignorant enthu-

* Adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus, from προσεκυνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρον τῆς ῥαβδῆς αὐτῆς.

siasm of those who first directed the zeal and hopes of their countrymen to an investigation so utterly unprofitable.

This volume of the Bombay Transactions contains a variety of papers, some of which, whatever merit they may have as literary essays, are in no other respect connected with India, than from the circumstance of their having been read in the chief town of one of our Asiatic provinces. Of this class is the letter on Abyssinia, written by Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, and addressed to Mr. Forbes, the British Resident at Morha. It is entitled by the author, "A small but true Account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians," and is really a very interesting as well as a most amusing production.

Our readers are aware that Pearce, an English sailor, was, at his own desire, left in that country, by Lord Valentia, about eighteen years ago, and also that he was found in good health and spirits by Mr. Salt, who was sent in 1810, on a diplomatic mission to the court of Gondar. Pearce had already acquired a considerable knowledge of the language and manners of his new countrymen, and was on this account extremely useful to Mr. Salt, both as an interpreter, and as an authority for the interesting view of Abyssinian manners and customs which the latter gave to the public in his volume of travels. His acquaintance with the tribes which inhabit the upper districts of that wild territory, and particularly with those ferocious savages the Galla, enabled him to confirm the most revolting details that are to be found in the celebrated work of Bruce; and which were so long disbelieved in this country; merely on account of their grossness and their utter inconsistency with the habits of the more civilized nations of Europe. The eating of raw, we might almost say, of *living* flesh, is it is now acknowledged a practice of daily occurrence; though it must be added, the use of the *brindo*, or slice cut out of the buttock of an animal which is not immediately afterwards put to death, is confined to the march of their armies, in the presence of an enemy. But it is not our intention to disgust the reader with an exhibition of savage manners. The simple style of Mr. Pearce disdains the slight covering which might have been supplied by the ambiguities of a more polished language. He calls every thing by its own name; and as his communication was originally meant for the practised ear of our Arabian minister, he placed himself under no restraint, either as to his narrative or his more animated descriptions. We shall therefore rest satisfied with recommending this "small but true account" of Abyssinian manners to the attention of those zealous persons who are labouring, in season and out of season, to engraft

our holy religion upon the gross habits of barbarians, in all parts of the world : and who continue to hold themselves deaf to all the arguments, which go to prove the absolute necessity of improving the mind of man by letters, and exercising its powers on natural knowledge, before it be called to study, or even to receive the doctrines of the Christian faith.

In a letter to Sir Evan Nepean, Governor of Bombay, Mr. Pearce supplies the reader with a variety of details on this head, which leave no room for doubt that the Gospel, when corrupted by the imagination of savages, is reduced, in point of moral effect and sanctifying influence, to a level with the rudest of their native superstitions. It is painful, too, to mark the profane application of scriptural language, and the coarse and irreverent adaptation of the most sacred notions that are connected with the mystery of redemption. Even the names of the Abyssinian Christians are a scandal to the sensible mind of a European. For example, we find that one is called Walder Serlassy, the son of the Trinity ; another, Walder Isgare, the son of God ; a third, Walder Munfaskudus, the son of the Holy Ghost ; a fourth, Walder Christos, or Walder Marian, the son of Christ, or the son of the Virgin Mary. Sometimes, instead of *Walder*, they substitute Gabru ; in which case we have Gabru Serlassy, slave to the Trinity, Gabru Isgare, slave to the Son of God, &c.

“ Although they are Christians (says Mr. Pearce,) they are in some ways like Jews, and some ways like savages. For why they are like Jews is, they keep holy the Saturday as well as the Sunday, both equal alike : they also keep the three days fast of Nineveh, which they call the fast of Annernoi, or Jonah the prophet ; and have a holiday yearly for Abraham and Sarah. And for why they are like savages, they eat the flesh of an animal before it is dead, &c. The priests of their separate parishes have a great feast at the end of every fast ; they all meet in the forenoon, after taking and administering the body and blood of Christ to those who come to the Church for that purpose : they afterwards go to the house of the head priest, where they sit down according to their rank in the Church : they then kill one or two cows, according to their number, close to the door, and before the animal has done kicking, and the blood still running from its throat, the skin is nearly off on one side, and the prime flesh cut off, and with all haste held before the elders, or heads of the Church, who cut about two or three pounds each ; and eat it with such greediness, that those who did not know them, would think they were starved ; but they at all times prefer the raw meat to any cooked victuals.

“ After the chief priests are satisfied, there is a rush into the room of the inferior priests and deacons, who fall upon the *brindo*, now ‘ as cold as clay,’ which they devour (says Mr. Pearce,) more

like a pack of hounds than people of any description. When all is cleared away, the greater and middling ranks begin to drink maize until they begin to sing psalms or hymns, and at last get so intoxicated, that they at times quarrel and entirely lose their senses."

The *oftener* people die, he adds, especially those who have a good quantity of property, it is the better for them; that is, we presume, for the priests; for it would appear that the one half of the moveables belonging to the defunct is assigned to the Clergy of the Church where his body is interred.

The above description of clerical manners is sufficiently revolting, but the following account of the mode in which the Eucharist is administered in Abyssinia, cannot fail to create a more painful emotion.

"Any person who wishes to receive the sacrament, has only to go to the Church, and wait till the proper time for administering it (if on fast days, in the afternoon, and if on other days, in the morning); when they begin they stand in ranks; by turns, the greater sort of people first; he who is first to be served comes near to the two priests who stand before the altar, in the middle of the Church, and who are dressed in their holy clothes; the one holds a large cross in his right hand and a book in his left; the other holds a large bowl or dish with a spoon; he who comes near first bows to the ground, and then rises and kisses the cross, and puts it three times to his forehead and mouth, while the priest who holds it reads the book: he then opens his mouth, and the other priest puts a spoonful in twice; he then bows, and runs out of the church, holding his hand to his mouth, and will neither spit nor speak until sun-set. They so go on in turns, till they are all served; and there is no respect to persons, as any one may come, and no one asks him who he is, or where he comes from. The sacrament is a mixture of dried grapes and wheat flour, pounded and mixed with water to the consistence of paste."

There is, we find, an indescribable degree of superstition and roguery displayed by the priests in the curing of diseased persons, and in the exorcism of evil spirits. When any one falls sick, the priests and deacons, (says our author) pay him a visit, and he who first visits him claims him as his patient; when he persuades the poor fellow that he is *inflicted* with a devil, and that he will cast him out: so he writes upon parchment as much nonsense as he pleases, and makes some ugly and frightful pictures: this is rolled up, and sewed in a piece of leather, and tied about the patient's neck, or where he may feel the most pain; for which he receives five or six pieces of cloth. If this does not succeed, the Holy Sacrament is next tried as a *fitiche*, or charm; and, whether the

patient die or recover, the clerical quack demands his fee of cloth or salt, though it should be raised by contribution among the sick man's friends.

Women may become priests in Abyssinia, and wear the *skull-cap* like their male colleagues, provided they take an oath to maintain *thenceforward* a single life and chaste conversation among the brethren. In no case, however, is a female allowed to be present at the mystic preparation of the Encharistic elements: for, as Mr. Pearce observes, "although the Abyssinians have the greatest veneration for the Virgin Mary, they shew very little partiality to her sex. The Virgin Mary is indeed more worshipped than the Supreme God! and indeed the greater part of the Abyssinian Christians put their whole confidence in the blessed Virgin!"

It is humbling to find that the heathen Galla or *Garler*, as Mr. Pearce calls them, are greatly superior to their Christian or Mussulman brethren, in point of morals, and especially in their regard for an oath. "The Garler are brave, and in general true people; that is, I mean the Pagan Garler of Aszova, Carrar, and Highyer; but the Garler that are converted to Mussulmen, are as false as the Christians." The Pagan Garler never breaks his oath, nor even his word; and when he has occasion to swear, he swears in this manner—'If I turn from what I say, or break the agreement I now make, may my children, cattle, and all dear to me, die immediately.' The Pagan Garler, he adds, have no kind of religion, nor place of worship, but they have a great veneration for all large trees and waters, and utter, whenever they happen to pass such objects, certain expressions of delight, or of adoration. When a Garler dies, they have no crying, like the Christians, but only say '*Wark fudetta*, God has taken him,' and bury him behind their hut."

Mr. Pearce's remarks on the constitution, military strength, and commerce of Abyssinia, are given in his usual style of simplicity, and make known, we believe, all that is to be learned in regard to that barbarous and ill-governed country. His statements confirm throughout the least credible parts of Bruce's narrative; and those things which, for the sake of human nature, we were unwilling to believe, we are no longer allowed to call in question. The honest sailor, whose fate, we regret to find, continues enveloped in much mystery, concludes his letter to Sir Evan by assuring him that he may "depend upon this to be a real, true account, and no hearsay whatever."

The third article in this volume is a long and rather dull

essay on Persian Literature, by Captain Vans Kennedy. Of the poetry of Persia, such as it is, we have already had more than enough through the medium of French and English translations; and in respect to history, we are not aware that any work exists of an older date than the Mahomedan conquest. The first Moslem performances, too, were confined to the bare chronological narrative of battles, sieges, victories, or defeats, the death of one caliph and the accession of another; without a single reflection on the character of political events, or on the remoter causes by which they were produced. It was not till the end of the ninth century that Persia could boast of an author qualified to record the transactions of peace and of war. Abu'l Jaffar Muhammed composed in Arabic the history of his own times; and his work, which was fortunately translated into the vernacular tongue of the country, has conveyed for the instruction of the modern scholar, the earliest specimen of the language which continues to be used at the present day in the Persian dominions. Since the second or third century of the Hegira, the number of historical writers is considerable; but, as their subjects and the arrangement of their materials are almost entirely the same, it becomes insupportably tiresome to peruse even an abridgment of them, however ably it may be given. For example, they agree with one consent in the absolute necessity of beginning their books with an account of the creation of the world; after which they take up the annals of the patriarchs and prophets, and proceeding down the stream of time, they reach in due course the sovereigns and exploits of Persia. In describing these latter, the sun becomes dark, and earthquakes tear the mountains asunder, as often as the Great King takes the field, or sits down before a besieged town. All is marvellous, mighty, and magnificent. To be natural or simple is, in the estimation of the Persian historic muse, to descend from the dignity of authorship: and a plain narrative of ordinary events has at all times been held unworthy of the invincible arms and the resplendent fame, of the very meanest warriors that has at any time arisen among the successors of the Prophet.

It is well observed by Gibbon that the art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics; they are ignorant of the laws of criticism: and our monkish chronicles of the same period may be compared to their most popular works, which are never vivified by the spirit of philosophy and freedom. All the knowledge that has been obtained of Eastern nations is due to the industry of the West; to the labours of English and French travellers who have collected

the memorials of ancient times, compared the narratives of different annalists, and drawn truth, or at least probability, from amidst a confused mass of fable and exaggeration. The Greek historians are still our only guides, when attempting to grope our way in the obscurity of Persian and even of Indian antiquities: and if we wish to acquire information relative to the more recent events of western Asia, we shall gain our end much more effectually by consulting the valuable collection of D'Herbelôt, entitled the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, than if we were to examine the pages of the most laborious writer that has yet appeared on either shore of the Persian gulph. But with all our helps it must be confessed that the ancient history of the greater part of Asia remains almost entirely unknown, or clouded by fiction.

Captain Kennedy has given in a sort of prose translation, a variety of specimens from the Persian historians and poets; the effect of which on every sober mind must be a feeling of gratitude that our native literature, however imperfect it may be, is yet exempted from that miserable thralldom of buffoonery and bad taste, which has so long held in captivity the muses of the East. Hear, for instance, how a lover laments over the grave of his mistress.

“ O merciless! what fate severe is this on one so helpless! Why such wrath? Why blast a blade of grass with lightning, and on an ant thy power exert? one ant and a thousand pains of hell, when one spark would be enough? Why thus with blood the goblet crown, and all my hopes deceive! I burned with flames that by that lamp were fed; and by the breath that quenched its light I too expire. To earth's mortality can such as thou be subject? and such as thou within the darkness of the tomb repose? And where is now that *mole* that seemed a grain of musk?”

The following is extracted from a poem of the moral class, written it is said, by the incomparable Sadi, and studiously calculated to improve and enlighten the reader, on one of the weightiest concerns of life.

“ When thou art married seek to please thy wife, but listen not to all she says. From man's right side a rib was taken to form the woman; and never was there seen a rib entirely straight; and wouldst thou straighten it? It breaks, but bends not. Since, then, 'tis plain that crooked is woman's temper, forgive her faults, and blame her not. But trust not to thy wife thy secrets or thy wealth; acquaint her with them, and thou wilt know no peace, &c. &c. &c.”

So much for Persian literature; meagre and mystical at the best, when viewed in relation to its subject; florid and bombastical when examined on the approved grounds of

classical composition; and extremely indelicate when addressed to the heart or the imagination. Captain Kennedy admits that the more recent performances of Persic authors are destitute alike of genius and originality; but he claims for the older poetry the praise of feeling, discrimination of character, and considerable powers of description.

The article which stands fifth in order is also the work of Captain Vans Kennedy, and is entitled "Remarks on the Chronology of Persian history previous to the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great." This paper has the same fault as the former; it is much too long; dwells to a tiresome extent on preliminary matter; approaches with cautious reluctance to the subject which it professes to expound; and at length after merely touching upon it, ends in an impenetrable cloud of words. The great object, indeed, with most essay writers, and particularly with those who solicit a place in the Memoirs of literary or philosophical Societies is to make a figure; and having in general very little to say, they find it necessary to be very saving of their topics, and to spread their ideas over as extensive a surface as possible. The article is, no doubt, extremely well expressed, and bears upon it the appearance of some learning, and the evidence of considerable research: and yet the most careful reader will find it very difficult to make out the precise object which the Captain has had in view, or to refrain from charging him with the guilt of a misnomer. His treatise so far as we can discover, has no connection with the chronology of Persian history, previous to the conquest of Alexander; his argument being limited to the establishment of this single point, namely, that the Greek historians knew nothing of Persia Proper, until the army of the confederated republics was conducted across the Euphrates by the renowned commander who has just been named. The enquiries of Herodotus, of Diodorus Siculus, and of Xenophon were, he thinks, confined to Asia Minor; a portion of the dominion belonging to the Great King to which the annalist of Ecbatana would hardly ever deign to direct his notice: whence we are taught to infer that the silence of the Persian historians touching the things which are mentioned by the Greeks, does not impeach the accuracy of the former, because the two classes of writers are understood to have been employed in recording a different series of events, although simultaneous in their occurrence. For instance, when we find the history of Tabari, and the poem of Fervarishi, filled with a narrative of occurrences and the reigns of kings which are not mentioned in Herodotus, we are not to permit ourselves to imagine that

there is any discrepancy between the statements of the father of history, and those of the Arabian chroniclers: we are simply to call to mind that, whilst the latter had access to certain documents handed down from very ancient times, and giving an account of events which befel to the eastward of the Euphrates, the Greek author restricts himself to details which merely and exclusively concerned the unimportant provinces of the Lesser Asia.

This, we think, is the sum and substance of the Captain's Essay; which assuredly explains little and does not establish much, in regard to either history or chronology. He does not attempt to remove the great chronological difficulty which attaches to the absurd belief that some of the ancient kings of Persia reigned seven hundred or a thousand years. He holds it enough if he can prove that the Moslem historians have scrupulously related circumstances, as they received them, and religiously abstained from falsifying the facts or documents which had been transmitted to their times. Their credit is completely saved in his eyes by their acknowledgment of the very absurdity which they are called upon to record; but the absurdity itself remains unexplained both by him and by them. Tabari for instance, says, "The Moghs (ancient Persians) affirm that Jemshid reigned seven hundred years, *but God only knows*;" and this proof of candour on the part of Tabari so delights Captain Vans Kennedy that he cannot stop to enquire into the grounds of the said historical fact at all, but proceeds forthwith to laud the faithful copyist, because he has related the duration of the reign of each Persian king, according to the accounts which he had no doubt received, and which he adds, are still believed by the modern Parsees.

We have still to desiderate the use of a key to unfold the mysteries of oriental chronology. Vanity and ignorance, we are ready to allow, have unquestionably done much in throwing a cloud of mystery and exaggeration over the early events of all ancient nations: but vanity itself, as it wishes to be believed, keeps in general within the bounds of nature and probability; for which reason we cannot help suspecting that the monstrous genealogy of the Persian dynasties remains unexplained, merely because we have lost the standard by which the Moghs or Magi measured the lapse of time.

The same absurdity, we need hardly observe, is chargeable upon the records of Hindostan, and more particularly upon those of China. An attempt was made a few years ago, in a work entitled a "Key to the Chronology of the Hindus," to

establish a cypher according to which the immense eras of that people might be reduced to some accordance with Sacred History, and in general with European conceptions. If the author of the book now mentioned was right in his views, it must be acknowledged that the Brahmans have expended no small share of ingenuity in order to render their chronicles perfectly unintelligible, or, at least, to involve in the deepest mystery the plain facts and simple occurrences of ordinary life. But we have not yet we suspect, caught hold of the thread, which is to lead us through the labyrinth of Eastern chronology. The labours of Sir William Jones, as well as of the other very able men who have followed his footsteps in Asiatic researches, have produced nothing at all satisfactory on this head: their ingenuity has been wasted in expounding a riddle; and it will be found, we anticipate, when the numerals of India are better understood, that grown-up men have been condemned to examine into the works of capricious or cunning children, and failed to discover their plan and their object, because no plan had ever been formed, and no object ever pursued.

It seems to be the intention of Captain Kennedy to oppose to the respectable authority of the Greek historians, the loose traditional anecdotes contained in the more recent works of the Persian and Mahomedan annalists; and even still farther, to invalidate the narratives of the former, by producing against them the discrepancies which may be exhibited from their own writings, as well as their deviations from the statements of our Sacred Records. But if viewed in connection with the principles of a liberal criticism, this attempt will not be favourably received. The more our knowledge of ancient Persia is extended, the greater is our confidence in the veracity and information of the Greek historians; and as a proof of this, we take the liberty to refer to an able article by Mr. Erskine, on the "sacred books and religion of the Parsees," in which he estimates with much impartiality the comparative credibility of the Greek and Persian historians, and gives as we ourselves are inclined to give a very low opinion of the authenticity of the latter. Their gross fictions in regard to the reigns of the Peshdâdi dynasty are such as to preclude all belief in their narratives, even when they respect less improbable events; and their utter ignorance of occurrences which throw a distinguished lustre upon the arms and policy of ancient Persia deprives them of every claim upon our confidence or respect in all other matters which regard that country. If any event in the history of Persia might be expected to receive ample and

correct commemoration from their national writers, the invasion of Alexander, the fame of his exploits, and the influence which he exercised on the fortunes of a large portion of Asia, might have secured it for the transactions of the Macedonian conqueror. We discover him indeed, says Mr. E. but he is no longer the Alexander of the Greeks: he is the son of Darab who returns from exile to reclaim his paternal inheritance, who wars on the Chinese, and who has the sage Aristátalis for his prime minister. If such be the liberties used with a hero whose fame filled the world, what is to be expected from the history of ordinary and more obscure kings? We find, it is true, in the Mussulman historians, names that bear a resemblance to those mentioned in the contemporary historians of the West; and as we have a Sakander, and an Aristátalis, we have also an Ardesér Derasdest, or Artaxerxes Longimanus. Whether these names were borrowed in later times from Grecian history admits of some doubt. But we must judge of the authenticity of Persian story in what we do not know by the credit due to it in those events the history of which we do know: and the whole has the distorted air of a romance. It is making rather too large draughts on our historical good nature to expect us to resign the contemporary evidence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aristotle, to be guided by historians who lived two thousand years after the events they describe, or even by the venerable Ferdansi who lived only fifteen hundred years after them. That some of the events contained in the history of these dynasties may have happened, I do not dispute: I only affirm, continues Mr. Erskine, that they are not worthy of credit merely because the modern Persian historians relate them.

From the death of Alexander to the reign of Ardeskêr Babegan is near five centuries; and, as Sir John Malcolm observes, the whole of that remarkable era may be termed a blank in Eastern history: And yet when we refer to the page of Roman writers we find this period abounding with events of which the vainest nation might be proud, and that Parthian Monarchs whose names cannot now be discovered in their own country, were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms could make no permanent impression. Had they possessed any history we might have expected the annalists of Parthia to have revelled in the glory they achieved by their triumphs over Crassus, and by the repeated calamities which they inflicted on the Roman empire. As not a trace of these memorable events is to be found in the

natural history of Persia, we are inevitably led to conclude that the Parthians had no historians.

A similar conclusion has been formed upon less satisfactory grounds by Mr. C. Bellino, another coadjutor of Captain Kennedy in the Bombay Transactions. From certain inscriptions found at Persepolis and elsewhere, and which have been laboriously decyphered by more than one German scholar, it is inferred by the gentleman just named, that "the history of the Persian kings, as preserved by the Greeks is completely confirmed, and cannot be refuted by the traditional history of the modern Persians."

The name of Mr. Bellino reminds us, that he is the author of a paper in this volume, entitled an "Account of the Progress made in decyphering cuneiform Inscriptions." These inscriptions were first observed, as we have already remarked, in one of the Royal palaces at Persepolis, and afterwards among the ruins of Babylon, and at other places in western Asia. The characters employed in the monuments in question are all shaped like a wedge or the point of a spear; and when combined present to the eye a very confused though somewhat uniform mass of engraved signs. The India Company, about twenty years ago, published a tablet of this kind, that had been found near the site of ancient Babylon; and Niebuler, in his valuable travels, has preserved several copies of such inscriptions as were discovered by him in Persia Proper.

It might seem a hopeless undertaking to find any meaning in the collocation of a few wedges; the position of which is only varied by being placed more or less vertically, or by standing at a greater or smaller distance from one another. Nothing is however too difficult for genius of a certain order: and, accordingly, no sooner had the said wedge-like inscriptions appeared in Europe, than various learned treatises issued from the university of Gottingen, and also, we believe, from the scientific academies of Vienna. Dr. Grotefend is approved by our author as the most successful labourer in this barren field. He has for example, made out that the inscription on the ruins at Persepolis means, "*Xerxes fortis rex: rex regnum; mundi rector*." But it is right to add, that he proceeded on the hypothesis that the characters in question could only be meant to perpetuate some such compliment as the one now given, and that he fixed on the names of Xerxes or of Darius, merely because there were not wedges enough to complete the more lengthy appellations of Artaxerxes or Astyages.

But the whole affair is little better than a hoax, and no longer attracts attention any where south of the Rhine. As a proof of this, we have to mention that in a late volume of travels, or diary of a journey through Persia, which happened to fall into our hands, the subject is spoken of in the following terms. Describing the palace of Darius, the author informs us, that in a particular apartment there "are several long inscriptions in the unknown arrow-headed characters." With respect to these ancient characters, he adds in a note, I may mention that when at Bushire, we were furnished with some written instructions for decyphering them, according to the theory of a German professor, who conceived that he had discovered their real meaning. His theory and the reasoning on which it was built seemed plausible. Accordingly, for a time, even the celebrated oriental professor at Paris, M. Baron de Sacy, was inclined to subscribe to this theory. He had, however, altered his opinion by the time we arrived at Paris, as Dr. Lumsden found in the course of a conversation he had with him on the subject.

There is another long article in these Transactions by Captain V. Kennedy, on the "Religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbas." This philosophical ruler, desirous it should seem to unite his Hindoo and Mussulman subjects in the bond of peace, endeavoured to effect his benevolent object by inducing both parties to yield every thing peculiar to their respective systems, and to adopt in place of them, the liberal principles of simple deism, and the practice of an independent but beneficent morality. Little acquainted with the nature of man, the imperial reformer cherished the expectation that his people after having relinquished their ancient usages, abandoned their temples, their fastings and ablations, would instantly proceed to purify their hearts, and to invigorate their virtuous sentiments by an abstract study of the divine attributes, and by an unceasing contemplation of all heavenly perfections. He taught the Mussulman to undervalue the authority of the prophet, and the Hindoo to suspect the revelations of the Brahmans. He opposed the Jew to the Christian, and both of these to the believer in the Koran; encouraged their controversies; smiled on the progress of infidelity among all parties; exposed the weakness of the arguments employed by the ablest advocates of the dominant superstitions, whether of the East or of the West; and at length succeeded in banishing from his court all the external forms of religion, and all veneration for the names which had formerly been held sacred. These conferences or disputations were held in the presence of Akbar; who not

only took an active share himself, but, appears to have also employed the assistance of the ablest reasoners, prepared beforehand to strengthen his logic and to vouch for the soundness of his views. An abstract of the proceedings is said to have been made by the author of a work called the *Dabistan*, about which so much is conjectured and so little ascertained in the writings of Sir William Jones; as also by Shaik Abdul Kadur, the compiler of a book denominated the *Tareek Budaooni*, which appears to have been put forth about the end of the sixteenth century. This "Notice" of Captain Kennedy is abridged from these authorities; and contains a very interesting and well written outline both of the means used by the Emperor to accomplish his very questionable intentions, and also of the system, the tenets and the practices, which he wished to establish as the basis of Indian faith and morals. We need hardly mention that the death of Akbar put an end to *Káhism*, the name by which he chose to distinguish his innovations—a religion of abstract spiritualities, without a creed beyond the mere belief of a Deity; without priests, altars, and ceremonies. This experiment, we may add, seems to have been in force nearly thirty years; as it was in 1578 that the first ordinance in regard to it was issued from Delhi, whilst the reign of the Emperor did not terminate till the sixth or seventh year of the seventeenth century.

We have already made an extract from a very clever paper by Mr. Erskine, on the "Sacred books and religion of the Parsees." This article to which we now advance is given in the form of a letter addressed to Sir John Malcolm, and may be regarded as a supplement to the History of Persia, published some years ago by that meritorious officer. The object is to exhibit, first, a rapid view of what is known of the ancient languages of Persia; secondly, to examine the comparative value and authenticity of the details of ancient Persian history, as contained in the writers of ancient Greece and Rome on the one hand, and of Persia on the other; thirdly, to give a short sketch of the tenets of the modern Parsis, and of the works ascribed to Zoroaster or Zertusht, on which they are founded; and lastly, to indicate the proofs of the antiquity of many of their particular doctrines and observances.

In respect to the languages of Persia, which have usually been reckoned seven in number, Mr. Erskine asserts that they were merely dialects of the same tongue, as spoken in different provinces. It is to be observed, too, as worthy of particular notice, that in this enumeration of Persian lan-

guages, no notice is taken of the Zend, the language in which the books of Zoroaster are composed. Mr. Erskine thinks there is no reason to believe that it ever was a spoken language within the limits of the Persian empire; it having every appearance of being foreign to that country, and of having been confined to the service of religion, or even to the composition of their sacred volume. It is now ascertained to be entirely Sanscrit; whilst the other tongues, the Persian and Pehlevi, appear to derive their vocables from a different source, although perhaps somewhat related in principle and origin to the holy Zend. But no inquiry is more intricate, or less likely to produce a satisfactory result, than one into the origin and affiliations of the Asiatic languages; because these languages are not yet critically understood, even by the best European scholars, and are not provided with a series of written works, to exhibit their ancient form as well as the gradual changes which they must have undergone from foreign conquest, or domestic innovation.

“ The Zend-Avesta, which comprehends all the writings now extant that are ascribed to Zoroaster, is the only work known to be written in the Zend language. It is believed by the Parsis to have been composed by Zoroaster, under the influence of divine inspiration, in the reign of Gushtasp, which we may suppose to be that of Darius Hystaspes, or of some prince who lived not long before or after that monarch. Although the writings of Zoroaster are alluded to by the ancients, the name of Zend Avesta first occurs, I imagine, in the geographical work of Masaudi, fifteen hundred years after they are supposed to have been published. To me it seems probable that the Zend Avesta was compiled in the reign of Ardeshêr Babigan, the first of the Sasâni princes, and the restorer or reformer of the old religion; and that at the period of his ascending the Persian throne, being desirous not only of cherishing a natural spirit among the Persians, but of adding the sanction of religion to his government, he wished to embody whatever remained of the theological opinions of their ancestors, especially such as they still fondly clung to; and to unite the various rites, ceremonies, and usages, that were held in particular veneration into one body, with the addition of such other enactments and rules, whether of doctrine or ceremony, as it was found convenient to introduce.”

The account given by Mr. Erskine of the religious tenets of the modern Parsis, is very satisfactory, being at once full, distinct, and particular. As however the doctrines of these will-worshippers are now quite familiar to the plainest scholar amongst us, it would be waste of time to abridge this part of

the article, even were it more capable of condensation than it really is.

It gives us pleasure at the same time to find that the Parsis at Bombay, although still far under the European level of civilization, are at least the most improveable caste in India. Religion, and customs supposed to be connected with religion, are the great obstacles to the improvement of the Orientals, whether Mussulmen or Hindus. From such restraints the Parsis are remarkably free; they are in all respects more like Europeans than any other class of natives in southern Asia; and being less restrained by ancient and acknowledged law, are more prepared to adopt any change of which they clearly see the benefit. They do not, says Mr. Erskine, attend to learning of any kind; but take them all in all, they are probably the most vigorous, the most active, and the most intelligent class of natives in all India.

As to the antiquity of the religious opinions and usages entertained among the Parsis, the best, and indeed the only unquestionable authorities are to be drawn from the historical and philosophical works of the Greeks. Herodotus, Xenophon, Theopompus, Strabo, and Pausanius, afford a strong and concurring testimony in support of the ancient character of the Persian superstition. Their good and evil principles, personified in Ormazd and Ahriman; the religious anxiety manifested by them for the purity of the elements, particularly of fire and water; the practice of exposing their dead to be devoured by wild beasts; their fire-temples, and abstinence from the use of images, and indeed of every sensible representation of the Deity; their hope of a resurrection, as well as of the final ascendancy of the benevolent Demon—tenets and practices which are cherished amongst them at the present day—are all to be found in the works of the authors whom we have named above, as peculiar to the Persian nation, and characteristic of their theological views. It is clear, therefore, that for more than two thousand years the religion of the Parsis has remained unchanged. Islamism has indeed superseded it in the greater part of western Asia; but notwithstanding this sweeping revolution, it is allowed by the most competent judges that wherever the faith of Zoroaster is retained, the habits and doctrines of antiquity are supported with all the zeal of early proselytism, as well as with the most undeviating uniformity.

The last article which we shall notice, and which is written by the same learned and judicious author, bears for its title "Remarks on the Authenticity of the *Desâsir*, and on the

Account of the Mahabadi Religion contained in the Dabistan."

Such of our readers as are conversant with Asiatic researches, will remember the unmeasured praises which Sir William Jones bestows upon the latter of these two works; which, he says, "has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iran and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter." The object of the Dabistan, it should seem, is to give an account of twelve different religions, or sects of the great parent religion, which have prevailed in Asia; the first of which bears the name of Hushang, who lived many ages before Zoroaster, in the reign of Mahabad, the earliest king not only of Iran, but of the whole earth. To this primeval monarch, or to the contemporary prophet Hushang, who flourished under him, the Creator of the world delivered a book in a heavenly language, which is known by the title of *Desâtîr*, or *Regulations*, and appears to have served the double purpose of a liturgy and of a code of canons, in the hands of the officiating priests.

The high reputation of Sir William Jones gave great weight to his opinions on all subjects connected with Oriental literature. The Dabistan, accordingly, became all at once a document of unquestionable authority; and the account contained in it of the Persian sects was every where received not only as a record of the remotest antiquity, but as an authentic statement of an important historical fact. For the same reason the *Desâtîr* was immediately sought for with all the eagerness of literary curiosity and religious zeal. At length information reached the ears of the late Governor Duncan, of Bombay, that a copy of the precious "*Regulations*" was in the possession of a certain Mulla Firuz. He made haste to secure it, requesting the Mulla to shew it to no other person whatsoever; and having undertaken a translation of it, continued to prosecute his work at intervals, for several years, intending on his return to England, to present it to his Majesty, as the most valuable tribute that he could bring from the East.

The mysterious terms in which this work continued to be mentioned, as being composed in an ancient and now obsolete tongue, coupled with those notions which have been long cherished by European scholars, that something curious and unknown might possibly be brought to light by a deep inquiry into Persian and Sanscrit antiquities, had the effect of keeping up very high, though indistinct ideas of its value. But

as Mulla Firuz has been lately enabled to undertake the publication of the work, which makes it public property, he has (says Mr. Erskine,) allowed me to peruse it, and I hasten to offer you (Sir John Malcolm) such remarks as have suggested themselves, on its authenticity and merits."

Without entering into the details pursued by the author, we shall hold it sufficient to say that the religion of the *Desâtîr* is clouded and distorted by the same masses of fable which attach to the whole system of the Vedas. The cosmogony of Hushang is the same tissue of puerile absurdity that disgraces the Brahminical faith; it has the same incongruous and revolting fictions, the same infinite chronology. We are told, for example, that after the pure doctrines of Mahabad had been restored by Jyafram, a royal prophet and legislator, a period of happiness ensued that lasted exactly one *aspar*, or a thousand million of years; and we are again assured that the same good work, achieved by a subsequent reformer, was in like manner followed by a season of tranquil delight, of not less than ninety-nine *selams*, or nine millions nine hundred thousand of the years of Saturn. To say any thing more of such a system, would only abuse the patience of our readers. In a word, the *Desâtîr* is a forgery; the fabrication of a late age, and a compound of absurdities drawn from the works of Vedanti philosophers, Persian Sufis, and of Indian enthusiasts. The language, too, of the sacred book is a piece of imposture, executed with no great address, and incapable of being understood, were it not for the Persian version, with which the author thought it expedient to furnish it, when he gave it to the world.

To satisfy the reader that the religion of the *Desâtîr* is entirely Indian, we have only to mention, in the words of Mr. Erskine, that the Metempsychosis pervades the whole, a remarkable circumstance in which this sacred work differs from all other Persian systems of mythology, and agrees with those of the Brahmins. Nor is this circumstance to be considered as accidental, but rather as the ground-work and characteristic of the two schemes. All reward and all punishment, all happiness and misery in this world, are only a retribution for actions done in a former state of being. Those who are miserable now were formerly wicked; those who are now happy or powerful, had lived virtuously in a former existence. The Zend Avesta does not recognize this doctrine; it could not therefore be founded upon the *Desâtîr*.

The *Dabistân* being a mere historical account of the different religions which have appeared in Asia, and laying no claim to a divine origin, is regarded as a performance of

some credit and authenticity. His object was to procure an account of each religion from its own sacred books, and from the persons professing it; for which purpose he travelled a great deal, and saw the chief men of many different sects. From their books, when he could procure them, and from the conversation of the priests, and other intelligent individuals, he drew up a popular report of their religious persuasions; in which undertaking he is acknowledged to have been extremely industrious, failing however to support his zeal by an accurate discrimination of the materials which were put into his hands. His work is accordingly said to have all the merits and defects that might be expected from the method in which it was compiled. The history of recent sects is written with much spirit and skill; but where research was necessary, the accuracy of the wandering historian, as might be expected, is sometimes found deficient.

The account given in the Dabistân, of the Mahabad, or Hushang system of religion, partakes largely of the extravagancies which pervade the Desâtîr. We know not whether we shall be excused for inserting the following quotation, illustrating the belief of the early age now alluded to, and extracted from a volume entitled the *Akhterîstan*, of which the date is avowedly unknown. "It tells," says Mr. Erskine,

"That the Sipasis hold that the stars and heavens are shadows of the pure lights, or superior angels; that therefore they have decked out the images of the seven planets, and have made for each planet a talisman of a particular metal: these talismans they have placed in the chapels of the different planets under a fortunate ascendant, and worship them at appropriate times. After adoring the images they burn incense or perfumes of various kinds, suited to the character of the star: and these chapels they hold in great veneration, styling them the *idol-house of the luminaries*, and the *idol-house and place of lights*. On this astrological idea of each day of the week being subject to a particular planet, there follows a complete astrological system of religion and idol-worship, supposed to have prevailed in the first ages of Persian history. Each planet has a certain dress and colour, and certain insignia, with a large establishment of servants and attendants, a public table, a hospital for the sick, and public inns for travellers; the King daily repairs to one of these in succession; and the nobles and armies, with the population of the kingdom, are in waiting on the occasion, and join in the worship. The description is very minute, and seems liker the childish religious Utopia of an idle astrologer, than any thing that ever actually existed in the world, even three thousand years ago. It certainly exhibits no materials by which ancient history can be reformed."

It is rather humbling to find that the penetration of the ablest men is so easily deceived, when influenced by their wishes, or obscured by the medium through which it acts. The work, of which the discovery was hailed by Sir William Jones, as that most fortunate event, which was to throw a gleam of light over the history of Iran and of mankind, has proved to be nothing more excellent than the paltry compilation of a migrating chronicler, superstitious, ignorant, and credulous; and that precious memorial of antiquity which was to reveal the richest secrets of the olden time, to unfold the first conceptions of the human mind, the origin of nations, the source of religion, literature, and laws, and, in short, to exhibit a clear and striking picture of our race, its institutions, discoveries, improvements, successes, and reverses, from the very formation of society down to the period of European ascendancy in the East, has turned out to be an arrant fiction; the contrivance of a bungling impostor; an abstract of obsolete superstition and childish fables; conveyed, too, in a vehicle of gibberish which has neither meaning nor sound.

We observe that the third volume of *Bombay Transactions* is already before the public: and as it contains some articles of an interesting nature, as well on general as on local subjects, we shall take an early opportunity of laying an analysis of it before our readers.

ART. IX. *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, with a brief View of the Progress of Architecture in England, from the beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to the End of the Seventeenth Century; and an Appendix of authentic Documents. By James Elmes. M.R.I.A. Architect, Author of Hints for the Construction of Prisons: Treatise on Dilapidations; Lectures on Architecture, &c. 4to. pp. 716. 3l. 3s. Priestley and Weale. 1823.*

WE are very glad that a Life of Sir Christopher Wren is at length brought before the public in a tangible shape. The *Parentalia*, as is well known, exclusive of its great rarity, and the consequent high price which it maintains, is a crude and undigested mass of documents, heaped together without the slightest judgment by the drudging antiquarian diligence of

the learned Ames. Though little readable in itself, it is a mine out of which much reading may be procured. Mr. Elmes has very wisely made it his basis, and by engrafting upon it much information elicited from other sources, he has produced a work very creditable to himself, and very agreeable to all lovers of the fine arts.

As our business is principally with Sir Christopher, we shall step at once to the second part of Mr. Elmes's volume. By doing this we shall be guilty of but slight omission, for the preliminary chapter (as it might perhaps be called more appropriately than the first part) dismisses in six-and-thirty pages, the "Progress of Architecture in England from the beginning of the reign of Charles I. to the end of the XVIIth century." Christopher Wren was born at the parsonage of East Knoyle, in Wiltshire, belonging to his father, afterwards Dean of Windsor, on the 20th of October 1632. The family from which he was descended was of great respectability, and his elder paternal uncle, Matthew, Bishop of Ely, holds a distinguished place in English Ecclesiastical history, for his sufferings during the usurpation of the Commonwealth, and for the dignified loyalty with which he endured an imprisonment of nearly twenty years, which more than once Cromwell himself offered to terminate on receiving a bare acknowledgment of submission. The father of young Christopher, a man of extensive attainments both in literature and science, paid early and constant attention to the instruction of his son. Among Dr. Wren's other acquirements was a sufficient skill in architecture to induce Charles I. to approve his designs for a building projected for the Queen, at Whitehall, the estimate of which amounted to nearly 15,000*l.* It is not clear whether this building was ever completed, but the particulars of it may be found in Lord Clarendon's State Papers. Young Wren was an only son; his infancy was marked with very delicate health, and his education, therefore, was carried on for a while under his father's roof. Of his extraordinary precocity we think scarcely enough has been remarked. We have no opportunity of ascertaining the value of the "new astronomical instrument," or the "pneumatic machine," which he *invented* in his thirteenth year; but we may boldly pronounce, that the following lines, in which he dedicated the first of these to his father, are very much beyond the customary Latinity of his standing.

"Reverendo Patri Domino Christophero Wren, S. T. D. et D. W.
Christopherus Filius hoc suum Panorganum Astronomicum
D. D. XIII. calend. Novem. Anno. 1645.

" Si licet, et cessant rerum (pater alme) tuarum
 Pondera, devotæ respice prolis opus.
 Hic ego sideribus tentavi pingere motus,
 Cœlicaque in modulos conciliare breves.
 Quo (prolapsa diù) renoventur tempora gyro,
 Seculaque, et menses, imparilesque dies.
 Quomodo sol abeat, redeatque, et temperet annum,
 Et (raptum contrà) grande perennet iter ;
 Cur nascens gracili, pleno orbe refulget adulta,
 Cur gerat extinctas menstrua luna faces.
 His ego numinibus dùm lito, atque ardua mundi
 Scrutor, et arcanas conor inire vias,
 Adsis, O ! faveasque, pater, succurre volanti,
 Suspensum implumis dirige prolis iter ;
 Nè malè, præcipiti, nimidum præ viribus audax
 (Sorte sub ICAREA) lapsus ab axe ruam :
 Te duce, fert animus, studiis sublimibus hinc
 Pasci, dùm superas detur adire domos.

Dedicatio, ad Patrem, Tractatus De Ortu Fluminum.

Jurè accepta TIBI refero mea FLUMINA : pulchrè
 Derivata suum respicit UNDA caput."

Appendix, No. I. p. 3.

These spirited verses were probably moulded under the archididascalian eye of that prince of schoolmasters, Busby, to whose care, at Westminster, Wren was early transferred. At fourteen he was entered as a Gentleman Commoner at Wadham College, Oxford. The Warden, Dr. Wilkins (the flying Bishop) himself a man of most distinguished ability, introduced his young pupil to the Elector Palatine, as a prodigy in science; and Wren presented that Prince with a variety of mechanical instruments of which he claimed the invention. Before he was sixteen, he translated Oughtred's Geometrical Treatise on Dialling, into Latin; and also obtained a patent for a *diplographic* instrument, better known, perhaps, to most of our readers as a letter-copying machine. In his eighteenth year, he proceeded B.A. and about the same time wrote a treatise on the Julian year, which is still prefixed to Helvicus's *Theatrum Historicum et Chronologicum*. In 1653, he was elected Fellow of All Souls, and proceeded M.A. and during the remainder of the turbulent political scenes which were enacting under the Commonwealth, he calmly continued the pursuit of science, under the protection of the University. It is to his sagacity, during this period, that we are indebted for the great improvement if not the discovery of the barometer: and having added a correct knowledge of Anatomy to his great Mathematical acquirements, he was the author of an experiment which the French

afterwards loudly vaunted as their own—the transfusion of blood in living animals. The wonderful effects which at one time were supposed likely to be derived from the operation, were wonders for nine days only ; and man is still the victim of disease and old age in spite of the unnumbered sheep and calves which might minister to his rejuvenescence. Nevertheless, the details on this subject given at some length in the *Parentalia*, are of considerable interest : we wish they had not been omitted by Mr. Elmes.

In 1657, Wren, being at that time in his twenty-fifth year, was called to fill the Astronomical Chair in Gresham College. The Lectures were delivered every Wednesday during Term, and the audience consisted of the most eminent persons in science of whom England then could boast. To this honour was soon added the Savilian Professorship at Oxford. On the foundation of the Royal Society, immediately after the Restoration, Wren's name is found among its memorable original members, and although he continued to reside principally at Oxford, the early transactions of the new Society are indebted to his discoveries for much of their interest and value.

A lunar globe, and some drawings of objects microscopically enlarged, which had been undertaken and completed by the royal command, attracted Charles II.'s notice pointedly to Wren; and when certain great architectural improvements were projected, such as the reparation of St. Paul's and Windsor Castle, and the erection of a palace at Greenwich, he was appointed to assist Sir John Denham, in his arduous post of Surveyor General of the Works. Denham, as a Poet, has had the good fortune to have all his verses forgotten, excepting that quatrain which, as Dryden first extolled it, every body has since repeated. He has been not less fortunate as an Architect ; for not a work from his designs is recollected to exist : and yet Evelyn describes him to be “ a better poet than Architect.” We have read Cooper's-Hill, and on the strength of Evelyn's remark we may therefore believe ourselves to be fitter judges than most people of the good Knight's probable skill in building. But we shall give it in Mr. Elmes's words, “ It would have been ungrateful in Charles II. to have discharged Denham, and unsafe to have entrusted him in any great works.”

The first task assigned to Wren, under his appointment, was of a troublesome though honourable nature. Tangiers had been given by Portugal as a part of the dowry of the Infanta Catharine, and Wren was instructed to survey the works of the mole and fortifications. For this purpose a commission was drawn up under the great seal, annexing to

the duty a liberal salary and a reversionary grant of Sir John Denham's office, on his decease. Wren excused himself from this flattering labour on the plea of ill health.

Meantime the project for the restoration of St. Paul's continued to occupy his attention. Even if the present magnificent fabric had not been erected, it can little be regretted that his designs were not completed; for, however beautiful they might be in themselves, they must have been overwhelmed, like Inigo Jones's exquisite portico, by the deformity and incongruity of the old building which they were intended to patch up. The Sheldonian Theatre, at Oxford, was the first work which he absolutely executed. It was commenced in 1663, and was completed in six years. The roof is celebrated as a master-piece. He next undertook the chapel, at Pembroke College, Cambridge. In 1665, he visited the continent. In Paris he was received with marked distinction. The great works at the Louvre were then in progress, and the impressiom made upon him by the French Capital is well described in one of his letters.

"I must not," he says, "attempt to describe Paris, and the numerous observables there, in the compass of a short letter. The king's houses I could not miss; Fontainebleau has a stately wildness and vastness suitable to the desert it stands in. The antique mass of the castle of St. Germain's, and the hanging gardens, are delightfully surprising (I mean to any man of judgment), for the pleasures below vanish away in the breath that is spent in ascending. The palace, or if you please the cabinet, of Versailles, called me twice to see it; the mixtures of brick and stone, blue tile and gold, made it look like a rich livery; not an inch within but is crowded with little curiosities of ornament. The women, as they make here the language and the fashions, and meddle with politics and philosophy, so they sway also in architecture. Works of filgrand and little trinkets are in great vogue, but building ought certainly to have the attribute of eternal, and therefore the only thing incapable of new fashions.

"The masculine furniture of the Palais Mazarine pleased me much better; there is a great and noble collection of antique statues and bustos, many of porphyry, and basso relievos, excellent pictures of the great masters, fine arras, true mosaics, besides *pieces de rapport* in compartments and pavements, vases of porcelain painted by Raphael, and infinite other rarities; the best of which now furnish the glorious apartment of the queen mother at the Louvre, which I saw many times.

"After the incomparable villas of Vaux and Maisons, I shall name but Ruel, Courances, Chilly, St. Maude, Issy, Meudon, Rincy, Chautilly, Verneul, and Lincour; all which, and I might add many others, I have surveyed: and, that I might not lose the

impressions of them, I shall bring you almost all France in paper, which I have found by some or other ready designed to my hand, in which I have spent both labour and some money. Bernini's design of the Louvre I would have given my skin for; but the old reserved Italian gave me but a few minutes' view; it was five little designs on paper, for which he hath received as many thousand pistoles. I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory, and shall be able, by discourse and a crayon, to give you a tolerable account of it. I have purchased a great deal of *taille-douce*, that I might give our countrymen examples of ornaments and grotesques, in which the Italians themselves confess the French to excel. I hope I shall give you a very good account of all the best artists of France; my business now is to pry into trades and arts. I put myself into all shapes, to humour them: it is a comedy to me, and, though sometimes expensive, I am yet loth to leave it." P. 180.

Posterity cannot but be thankful for the occurrence of the Fire of London. This calamity, so terrific at the moment, called Wren's great talents into full play. He was named Deputy Surveyor General and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole city: his first attentions were directed to St. Paul's, in which he fitted up a temporary choir; and he then actively employed himself in laying out other parts of the city. His design for the whole unfortunately was rejected; but the Royal Exchange, Temple Bar, and the Monument were soon erected under his direction. In the last, the good citizens had a narrow escape from a Phoenix; which, perhaps, is the only ornament which could have crowned the pillar with less dignity than the bunch of blazing matches with which it is now terminated. Wren's own good taste directed him to a statue: the merry monarch preferred "a large ball of metal gilt."

"I cannot but commend a large statue, as carrying much dignity with it; and that which would be more valuable in the eyes of foreigners and strangers. It hath been proposed to cast such a one in brass, of twelve foot high, for 1000*l*. I hope (if it be allowed) we may find those who will cast a figure for that money, of fifteen foot high, which will suit the greatness of the pillar, and is (as I take it) the largest at this day extant; and this would undoubtedly be the noblest finishing that can be found answerable to so goodly a work, in all men's judgments." P. 288.

After a long and arduous struggle, at length, in 1672, it was determined to rebuild St. Paul's. Mr. Elmes has given a plate of the original model designed by Wren, which is said to have been his favourite. It appears to us to be far

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simpler and much less broken and subdivided than that of the Cathedral as it now stands. But it was thought to deviate too much from the ancient form of Churches; and it has been surmised, that the influence of the Duke of York was actively employed to prevent the execution of a plan which in many things was ill adapted to the ceremonies of the Popish religion, the revival of which he even at that time earnestly contemplated. The model is still preserved, or rather is allowed to rot, in a room over the morning prayer chapel of the present Church.

One of the first labours to be encountered was the preparation of the site for building :

" In order that the rubbish and old materials might not hinder the setting out of the foundations, for the purpose of proceeding with the works, Sir Christopher constructed scaffolds high enough to extend his lines over the heaps that were in the way; and thereby caused perpendiculars to be fixed upon the points below, for his various walls and piers, from lines drawn carefully upon the level plan of the scaffold. Thus he proceeded, gaining every day more room, till he came to the middle tower that formerly carried the lofty spire. The ruins of this tower being nearly two hundred feet high, the labourers were afraid to work above, which induced him to facilitate the labour by the use of gunpowder. To perform this work, he caused a hole to be dug, of about four feet wide, by the side of the north-west pier of the tower, in which was perforated a hole two feet square, reaching to the centre of the pier. In this he placed a small deal box containing eighteen pounds of gunpowder. To this box he affixed a hollow cane which contained a quick match, reaching to the surface of the ground above, and along the ground a train of powder was laid with a match. The mine was then closed up, and exploded, while the philosophical architect waited with confidence the result of his experiment.

" This small quantity of powder not only lifted up the whole angle of the tower, with two great arches that rested upon it, but also two adjoining arches of the aisles, and the masonry above them. This it appeared to do in a slow but efficient manner, cracking the walls to the top, lifting visibly the whole weight about nine inches, which suddenly dropping, made a great heap of ruins in the place, without scattering or accident. It was half a minute before the heap already fallen opened in two or three places, and emitted smoke. By this successful experiment the force of gunpowder may be ascertained; eighteen pounds only of which lifted up a weight of more than three thousand tons, and saved the work of a thousand labourers. The fall of so great a weight from an height of two hundred feet gave such a concussion to the ground, that the inhabitants round about took it for the shock of an earthquake.

" Encouraged by this successful operation, Sir Christopher pro-

posed to continue this method ; but, having engagements in the country for the king, he left the management of another mine to the care of his next officer ; who, too wise in his own opinion to obey the orders of his superior, inserted a larger quantity of powder, and neither went low enough, nor sufficiently fortified the mouth of the mine. The result, though successful, unfortunately caused a fragment of stone to be shot from its mouth into a room of a private house, where some women were sitting at work. This accident, although no injury was sustained, alarmed the neighbours to that degree, that they prevailed on the commissioners to order that no more powder should be used ; though with the original caution of the architect, it might have been continued without danger, and with a saving of much time and money. This compelled him to turn his thoughts to other methods of saving time, preventing expence, and the preservation of men's limbs and lives. His first, and successful expedient, was with that ancient engine of war, the battering-ram : to accomplish this object, he provided a strong mast of timber, about forty feet in length, which he armed at the bigger end with a great spike of iron, fortified with iron bars along the mast, secured by ferrules. This machine he suspended from two places to one ring with strong tackle, on a triangle, such as were used to weigh heavy ordnance. Thirty men, fifteen on a side, vibrated this machine to and fro, beating for a whole day against one place in the wall. This the workmen fancied was little to the purpose, not discerning any immediate effect. Wren, however, who dived into causes and effects more philosophically than most men, and knew that the intestine motion thus communicated must be successful, bid them not despair, but proceed another day. On the second day the wall began to tremble at the top, and after a few more hours perseverance it fell. He made ample use of this machine in beating down all the lofty ruins, and speedily cleared away enough to commence his building." P. 351.

Marriage, and a return to Parliament are trifles in the life of one who lives for the Arts. Wren contracted the first in 1675 with a daughter of Sir John Coghill, of Blechington, Oxfordshire. The second took place in 1689, when he was elected Burgess for New Windsor. He afterwards served for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

St. Paul's proceeded with rapidity, though the views of the great Architect were frequently thwarted by petty intrigue ; and he had the mortification of seeing money both improperly lavished and parsimoniously denied. The difference of estimate for covering the dome with lead or copper was but 450*l.*, yet the former was preferred as the cheaper material, while at the very same time Bird, the sculptor, demanded and received nearly 1200*l.* for his insane group of Queen Anne and her allegorical cortege in front of the Cathedral.

On the accession of George I. the venerable Architect, under whose care London had been re-arising for nearly forty years, was virulently beset by a cabal, at the head of which was one Benson, a person in high favour with the German court. The Commissioners lent themselves, in many instances, to this vexatious opposition. Mr. Elmes has preserved one of Wren's remonstrances against the balustrade, with which, in the end, they compelled him to crown the upper cornices. We give it below.

"I have considered the resolution of the honourable the commissioners for adorning St. Paul's cathedral, dated October 15, 1717, and brought to me on the 21st, importing, 'that a balustrade of stone be set up on the top of the church, unless Sir Christopher Wren do, in writing under his hand, set forth, that it is contrary to the principles of architecture, and give his opinion in a fortnight's time; and if he doth not, then the resolution of a balustrade is to be proceeded with.'

"In observance of this resolution, I take leave, first to declare I never designed a balustrade. Persons of little skill in architecture did expect, I believe, to see something they had been used to in Gothic structures; and *ladies think nothing well without an edging*. I should gladly have complied with the vulgar taste, but I suspended for the reasons following:

"A balustrade is supposed a sort of plinth over the upper colonnade, which may be divided into balusters over open parts or voids, but kept solid over solid parts, such as pilasters; for a continued range of balusters cannot be proposed to stand alone against high winds: they would be liable to be tipped down in a row if there were no solid parts at due distances intermixt, which solid parts are in the form of pedestals, and may be in length as long as the frieze below, where pilasters are double, as in our case; for double pilasters may have one united pedestal, as they have one entablature, and one frieze extended over both. But now in the inward angles, where the pilasters cannot be doubled, as before they were, the two voids or more open parts would meet in the angle with one small pilaster between, and create a very disagreeable mixture. I am farther to observe, that there is already over the entablature a proper plinth, which regularly terminates the building; and, as no provision was originally made in my plan for a balustrade, the setting up one in such a confused manner over the plinth must apparently break into the harmony of the whole machine, and, in this particular case, be contrary to the principles of architecture.

"The like objections arise as to some other ornaments; suppose of vases, for they will be double upon the solids; but in the inward angles there will be scarce room for one, though each of them be about 2 feet 9 inches at bottom, and 9 feet high; yet these will appear contemptible below, and bigger we cannot make

them, unless we fall into the crime of false bearing, which artisans of the lowest rank will have sense enough to condemn.

"My opinion, therefore, is, to have statues erected on the four pediments only, which will be a most proper, noble, and sufficient ornament to the whole fabric, and was never omitted in the best ancient Greek and Roman architecture; the principles of which, throughout all my schemes of this colossal structure, I have religiously endeavoured to follow; and, if I glory, it is in the singular mercy of God, who has enabled me to begin and finish my great work so conformable to the ancient model.

"The pedestals for the statues I have already laid in the building, which now stand naked for want of their *acroteria*." P. 508.

On the death of Denham, Wren, as we ought to have stated before, succeeded to his post as Surveyor General of the royal buildings. He had now held this appointment forty-nine years, and he was still unimpaired in mind and possessed of sufficient bodily vigour to superintend the works which he had begun. The influence of Benson and his cabal however, succeeded at length in procuring his dismissal. This shameful transaction is recorded in a Manuscript chiefly in his son's hand writing (although the following passage is in that of Sir Christopher) now preserved in the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum. It is entitled *Chronologica series vitæ et actorum Honⁿⁱ. Patris mei D^m. Chr. Wren, Eq. Aut. &c. &c. &c. (quem Deus conservet)* The words in which George the First's disgrace are recorded must speak for themselves, for they are most expressive.

Apl. 26, 1718. *Exauctoratus est: An. æt. octogesimo sexto, et præfecturæ operum regionum quadragesimo nono* ὅτι ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἱερός ὅς (A.A. c. 7.) ἐκ ἥδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ· καὶ ἐδὲν τῶν τῶ (c. 18.) Γαλλίῳ ἐμέλεν. We do not know why *ἕτερος* is changed into *ἱερός*, nor do we feel sure that it is so in the MS. itself. The Greek and Latin quotations throughout this volume are printed with very little attention to correctness.

Benson was removed almost within twelve months, by an address of the House of Peers, from the situation which he had thus unworthily obtained. The circumstances attending his disgrace, sufficiently prove either his rapacity or his ignorance. He formally reported that the House of Lords and the Painted Chamber were in immediate danger of falling down. The Lords in consequence resolved to meet in some other place while their house was rebuilding, until it was suggested that it might be as well to appoint other competent persons to examine its condition. This being done, the buildings, on a proper survey, were discovered to be com-

pletely sound. Benson was immediately dismissed, but instead of a public prosecution, for which the Peers addressed and to which the King agreed, he was presented with two considerable royal grants in possession, and a sinecure in reversion.

The remaining five years of Wren's life were spent in peaceful retirement at his own house at Hampton Court. Occasional attendance upon the works at Westminster Abbey, of which building he retained the charge till the last, Philosophical enquiries, and the close study of the Scriptures, in which he was deeply versed, employed his parting hours. On the 26th Feb. 1723, he was found dead in his easy chair, to which he had retired for his customary afternoon nap. His remains were interred in St. Paul's.

We wish a complete catalogue of Wren's buildings had been subjoined. We are left to enumerate them as well as we can for ourselves. We will not, therefore, answer for our accuracy in reckoning among the principal fifty-three London churches, exclusive of St. Paul's; Chelsea, and Greenwich Hospitals; the garden-front of Hampton Court; the College of Physicians; the old Custom House, the only one of his buildings which he outlived, as it was destroyed by fire in 1719; the Royal Exchange; the old Mint; Morden College on Blackheath.—In Oxford, the Theatre and the additions to Trinity College;—in Cambridge, the Library of Trinity and the chapels of Pembroke and Emanuel Colleges. To these, as matters of curiosity, may be added the following private houses.

“Marlborough House, Pall Mall, now inhabited by his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, which was built by Sir Christopher for Anne, Duchess of Marlborough, after her quarrel with Vanbrugh. Dwelling houses, bearing so much the fashion of the day, are less criterions of an architect's talents than his public works; yet Marlborough House possesses great claims to notice as a town mansion of much comfort and good taste. The large mansion on the south side of Queen square, Bloomsbury, now divided, is also by Wren, who built it for Lord Newcastle: the plans are among his drawings at All Souls College, Oxford. He also designed the Doric court, the council chamber, the audience room, drawing room, &c. of St. James's palace, which are in the same collection; as also a town-house by the Thames for Lord Sunderland; another for Lord Allaston; the large house before mentioned in St. Paul's church-yard; the fine mansion in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, now divided into four; occupied, in its pristine state, by his son; more recently, by the celebrated surgeon and anatomist, Mr. Shelden; and in my memory, by the

late Mr. Alderman Combe in the larger portion, an eminent artist in the smaller. Sir Christopher's noble front, with its majestic cantaliver cornice, have now been taken down by a speculative builder, and common act of parliament fronts 'run up,' as the modern phrase goes for such works. Besides these, there are others in the same collection unnamed, and some enumerated; as Madam Cooper's lodging, Cleland-court, St. James's; the Earl of Oxford's house, at St. James's; the Duchess of Buckingham's, in St. James's Park." P. 521.

Wren hitherto has had no competitor for the primacy among English architects. His abilities were transcendant, and as far as his study of the Roman style could lead him, it is not likely that he will be equalled. Small justice however has been done to his memory, and although we may sometimes be half tempted to smile at the enthusiasm of expression into which the warmth of Mr. Elmes's panegyric betrays him, we cordially assent to his general principles; and we are not a little indebted to him for presenting us with a book replete with interest and information.

ART. X. *Quentin Durward.* By the Author of "*Waverley*," *Peveril of the Peak*," &c. In Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. Hurst & Co. 1823.

THE author of *Waverley* has taken a trip to the Continent; and years will elapse before the list of fashionable departures announces an event of greater interest to the lovers of romance.

Quentin Durward may be considered as the first of a new series of the Scotch novels. The history and customs of our native land have been described with a copiousness and variety which would have exhausted an inferior imagination. And while his domestic work is not half done, the author bounds across the channel at a single spring, and carries half the reading public with him. We are transported in an instant to other countries, and other manners, but have the happiness still to find ourselves under the rod of the enchanter.

If this sudden migration has been produced by those sickly appetites which are ever craving after novelty, and affect to tire even of the most delicate fare—we disclaim all

communion with such perverted feelings. We are confident that the public and private history of Great Britain contains materials for many a delightful volume. And if those materials are for a time forsaken, we trust that there is an intention of returning to them hereafter, and completing the links of this wonderful chain. At the same time we are highly gratified with the commencement of our foreign tour. "The unknown" is the best of all travelling companions; and his path lies at present through a land of perils and wonders, which it will be delightful to witness and to escape.

But it is our duty to inform the public that this transition to foreign history has not arisen from caprice. Antiquarian researches are carried on upon the continent with a zeal only inferior to that which they have excited at home. And as foreign governments are not rich enough to print their ancient records, it has been seriously proposed to transfuse the spirit of these documents into popular narratives after the fashion of the *Waverley* novels. The German critics, we are credibly informed, look upon *Ivanhoe*, and *Kenilworth* as so much downright truth. And similar descriptions of past time and forgotten manners may be expected from the German press, as soon as they are fortunate enough to light upon a German Unknown. It is time therefore for the real Simon Pure to put in his appearance and his claim. The materials for an ornamented history of the continent are as familiar to him as to the foreign literati; and he has got the start of all competitors by the publication of *Quentin Durward*. It is a specimen of the author's talent for historical transmutation; and if the French or the Burgundians wish to hear something of their forefathers, they are provided with a conjuror who can tell the tale. And though antiquarians may stare, and date-collectors stand aghast, the public will not be misled upon any subject of importance. Let our romanesque historian do by the other chroniclers, as he has just done by Philip de Comines, and the world will be speedily acquainted with all that is most valuable in modern story. The gallant Henry and his trusty Sully will become as familiar to us as Raleigh, Leicester, and Montrose. We shall hear and see the chivalrous Francis, the sagacious Charles, the merciless Alva, and the gloomy Philip. And in spite of those who think that knowledge cannot be made pleasant, much real information will be communicated to the ignorant, and pure pleasure will be enjoyed by every admirer of first rate genius.

On no former occasion has the author submitted his histo-

rical merits to the severe test by which they may now be tried. When his materials were drawn together from sources almost innumerable, gleaned from occasional anecdotes, embellished with professional learning, and scattered over two or three centuries, it was impossible, for the vulgar at least, to compare his polished group with the rugged mass from which it was taken. But in the present instance Philip de Comines furnishes nine-tenths of the genuine incidents; and the perusal of a short and entertaining volume puts us in possession of the facts upon which the novelist went to work. The landscape is hung up in the open air, that its colouring may be tried by that of nature. When the general effect is so pleasing, and the general likeness so strong, to have braved such a scrutiny, is no trifling honour. And if the resemblance be not complete, it would be ill-natured and captious to complain of occasional discrepancy.

As far as characters are concerned, the imitation is all but perfect. Making some slight allowance for dramatic exaggeration, the principal personages are transferred from the chronicle to the novel with a truth which has never been surpassed. The first place is occupied by Louis XI. of France, the second (*longo intervallo*) by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and the rest by their courtiers and confidants. The opposite dispositions of Louis and Charles are the hinge upon which the story turns; and the ability, the calmness, the cold-blooded cruelty of the former are finely contrasted with the blundering boldness and brutal violence of the latter—Louis is overcharged with faults; the timidity and suspicion of his declining years are superadded, somewhat unnaturally, to the activity and courage of middle life. Charles on the contrary, is relieved of a portion of his guilt, for he was faithless as well as cruel, and not less ready than his competitor to sacrifice every one that opposed his progress. But with these slight exceptions, the conduct and conversation of the rival princes is worthy of the author of *Old Mortality*. The same may be said of their principal attendants, each of whom has that distinctness and individuality of character, in which our author is inferior to Shakspeare alone. Even the hero, Quentin Durward, a Scotch soldier of fortune, has greater claims to notice, than heroes are wont to possess; and his spirit, good humour, integrity, and address would render him a great addition to any other group. Those who are disposed to complain of the characters must confine themselves to the fair sex. Two ladies are suffered to travel through the whole of the second volume, and over no less a

tract of country than from Tours to Liege, without exciting the least interest in any breast but that of their faithful Quentin. The old one is summarily dismissed for a fool, and a fool no doubt she was. The younger, for a wandering damsel of fifteen, is very discreet; but excepting a famous scolding match with Charles the Bold, and a promise to her lover of a bottle of old Hock, she has no title to be enrolled in the annals of fame. On the whole, the dames of France and Germany are under very little obligation to the author of *Waverley*. As his acquaintance with them improves, we shall witness the effect of their charms; at present he retains his allegiance to the British fair.

Before we proceed to the agreeable task of finding fault, we shall present the reader with some extracts from the first volume. The two first are parts of a description of the court of Louis XI. at the castle of Plessis, and of the reception which he prepared for the ambassador of Charles the Bold. The third is a confidential and convivial interview with the same personage.

“ Very different was the conduct of the proud Cardinal and Pre-late, John of Balue, the favourite Minister of Louis for the time, whose rise and character bore as close a resemblance to that of Wolsey, as the difference betwixt the crafty and politic Louis, and the headlong and rash Henry VIII. of England, would permit. The former had raised his minister from the lowest rank, to the dignity, or at least to the emoluments, of Grand Almoner of France, loaded him with benefices, and obtained for him the hat of a Cardinal; and although he was too cautious to repose in the ambitious Balue the unbounded power and trust which Henry placed in Wolsey, yet he was more influenced by him than by any other of his avowed counsellors. The Cardinal, accordingly, had not escaped the error incidental to those who are suddenly raised to power from an obscure situation, for he entertained a strong persuasion, dazzled doubtless by the suddenness of his elevation, that his capacity was equal to intermeddling with affairs of every kind, even those most foreign to his profession and studies. Tall and ungainly in his person, he affected gallantry and admiration of the fair sex, although his manners rendered his pretensions absurd, and his profession marked them as indecorous. Some male or female flatterer had, in evil hour, possessed him with the idea that there was much beauty of contour in a pair of huge substantial legs, which he had derived from his father, a carman of Limoges; and with this idea he had become so infatuated, that he always had his Cardinal's robes a little looped up on one side, that the sturdy proportion of his limbs might not escape observation. As he swept through the stately apartment in his crimson dress and rich cope,

he stopped repeatedly to look at the arms and appointments of the cavaliers on guard, asked them several questions in an authoritative tone, and took upon him to censure some of them for what he termed irregularities of discipline, in language to which these experienced soldiers dared no reply, although it was plain they listened to it with impatience and with contempt.

" 'Is the King aware,' said Dunois to the Cardinal, 'that the Burgundian Envoy is peremptory in demanding an audience?'

" 'He is,' answered the Cardinal; 'and here, as I think, comes the all-sufficient Oliver Dain, to let us know his royal pleasure.'

" As he spoke, a remarkable person, who then divided the favour of Louis with the proud Cardinal himself, entered from the inner apartment, but without any of that important and consequential demeanour which marked the full-blown dignity of the churchman. On the contrary, this was a little, pale, meagre man, whose black silk jerkin and hose, without either coat, cloak, or cassock, were ill qualified to set off to advantage a very ordinary person. He carried a silver basin in his hand, and a napkin hung over his arm indicated his menial capacity. His visage was penetrating and quick, although he endeavoured to banish such expression from his features, by keeping his eyes fixed on the ground, as, with the stealthy and quiet peace of a cat, he seemed modestly rather to glide than to walk through the apartment. But though modesty may easily disguise worth, it cannot hide court favour; and all attempts to steal unperceived through the presence-chamber were vain, on the part of one known to have such possession of the King's ear, as had been attained by his celebrated barber and groom of the chamber, Oliver le Dain, called sometimes Oliver le Mauvais, and sometimes Oliver le Diable, epithets derived from the unscrupulous cunning with which he assisted the execution of the schemes of his master's tortuous policy. At present he spoke earnestly for a few moments with the Count de Dunois, who instantly left the chamber, while the tonsor glided quietly back towards the royal apartment whence he had issued, every one giving place to him; which civility he only acknowledged by the most humble inclination of the body, excepting in a very few instances, where he made one or two persons the subject of envy to all the other courtiers, by whispering a single word in their ear; and at the same time muttering something of the duties of his place, he escaped from their replies, as well as from the eager solicitations of those who wished to attract his notice. Ludovic Lesly who had the good fortune to be one of the individuals who, on the present occasion, was favoured by Oliver with a single word, to assure him that his matter was fortunately terminated.

" Presently afterwards, he had another proof of the same agreeable tidings, for Tristan l'Hermite, the Provost-Marshal of the Royal Household, entered the apartment, and came straight to the place where Le Balafre was posted. This formidable officer's

dress, which was very rich, had only the effect of making his sinister countenance and bad mien more strikingly remarkable, and the tone which he meant for conciliatory, was like nothing so much as the growling of a bear. The import of his words, however, was more amicable than the voice in which they were pronounced. He regretted the mistake which had fallen between them on the preceding day, and observed it was owing to the *Sieur Le Balafre's* nephew not wearing the uniform of his corps, or announcing himself as belonging to it, which had led him into the error for which he now asked forgiveness.

"Ludovic Lesly made the necessary reply, and as soon as Tristan had turned away, observed to his nephew, that they had now the distinction of having a mortal enemy from henceforward in the person of this dreaded officer. 'But a soldier,' said he, 'who does his duty, may laugh at the Provost-Marshal.'" Vol. I. p. 186.

" 'And now to horse, gentlemen and ladies—We will ourselves lead forth our daughter of Beaujeu,' said the King; 'and God's blessing and St. Hubert's be on our morning sport.'

" 'I am, I fear, doomed to interrupt it, sire,' said the Comte de Dunois—'The Burgundian Envoy is before the gates of the Castle, and demands an audience.'

" 'Demands an audience, Dunois?' replied the King—'Did you not answer him, as we sent you word by Oliver, that we were not at leisure to see him to-day,—and that to-morrow was the festival of Saint Martin, which, please Heaven, we would disturb by no earthly thoughts,—and that on the succeeding day we were designed for Amboise—but that we would not fail to appoint him as early an audience, when we returned, as our pressing affairs would permit?'

" 'All this I said,' answered Dunois; 'but yet, sire——'

" '*Pasques-dieu!* man, what is it that thus sticks in thy throat?' said the King. 'This Burgundian's terms must have been hard of digestion.'

" 'Had not my duty, your Grace's commands, and his character as an Envoy restrained me,' said Dunois, 'he should have tried to digest them himself; for, by our Lady of Orleans, I had more mind to have made him eat his own words, than to have brought them to your Majesty.'

" 'Body of me, Dunois,' said the King, 'it is strange that thou, one of the most impatient fellows alive, should'st have so little sympathy with the like infirmity in our blunt and fiery cousin, Charles of Burgundy.—Why, man, I mind his blustering messages no more than the towers of this Castle regard the whistling of the north-east wind, which comes from Flanders, as well as this brawling Envoy.'

" 'Know then, sire,' replied Dunois, 'that the Count of Cre-

veccœur tarries below with his retinue of pursuivants and trumpets, and says, that since your Majesty refuses him the audience which his master has instructed him to demand, upon matters of most pressing concern, he will remain there till midnight, and account your Majesty at whatever hour you are pleased to issue from your Castle, whether for business, exercise, or devotion; and that no consideration, except the use of absolute force, shall compel him to desist from this resolution.'

" 'He is a fool,' said the King, with much composure. 'Does the hot-headed Hainaulter think it any penance for a man of sense to remain for twenty-four hours quiet within the walls of his Castle, when he hath the affairs of a kingdom to occupy him? These impatient coxcombs think that all men, like themselves, are miserable, save when in saddle and stirrup. Let the dogs be put up, and well looked to, gentle Dunois—we will hold council to-day, instead of hunting.'

" 'My Liege,' answered Dunois, 'you will not thus rid yourself of Creveccœur; for his master's instructions are, that if he hath not this audience which he demands, he shall nail his gauntlet to the palisades before the Castle, in token of mortal defiance on the part of his master, shall renounce the Duke's fealty to France, and declare instant war.'

" 'Ay,' said Louis, without any perceptible alteration of voice, but frowning until his piercing dark eyes became almost invisible under his shaggy eye-brows, 'is it even so?—will our ancient vassal prove so masterful—our dear cousin treat us thus unkindly?—Nay then, Dunois, we must unfold the *Oriflamme*, and cry *Dennis Montjoye!*'

" 'Marry and amen, and in a most happy hour!' said the martial Dunois; and the guards in the hall, unable to resist the same impulse, stirred each upon his post, so as to produce a low but distinct sound of clashing arms. The King cast his eye proudly round, and, for a moment, thought and looked like his heroic father.

" But the excitement of the moment presently gave way to the host of political considerations, which, at that conjuncture, rendered an open breach with Burgundy so peculiarly perilous. Edward IV, a brave and victorious King, who had in his own person fought thirty battles, was now established on the throne of England, 'was brother to the Duchess of Burgundy, and, it might well be supposed, waited but a rupture between his near connection and Louis, to carry into France, through the ever-open gate of Calais, those arms which had been triumphant in the civil wars, and to obliterate the recollection of civil dissensions by that most popular of all occupations amongst the English, an invasion of France. To this consideration was added the uncertain faith of the Duke of Bretagne, and other weighty subjects of reflection. So that after a deep pause, when Louis again spoke, although in

the same tone, it was with an altered spirit. 'But God forbid,' he said, 'that aught less than necessity should make us, the Most Christian King, give cause to the effusion of Christian blood, if any thing short of dishonour may avert such a calamity. We tender our subjects' safety dearer than the ruffle which our own dignity may receive from the rude breath of a malapert ambassador, who hath perhaps exceeded the errand with which he was charged. Admit the Envoy of Burgundy to our presence.'

"*'Beati pacifici,'* said the Cardinal Balue.

"True; and your eminence knoweth that they who humble themselves shall be exalted,' added the King.

"The Cardinal spoke an Amen, to which few assented; ~~the~~ even the pale cheek of Orleans kindled with shame, and Balafre suppressed his feelings so little as to let the butt-end of his partisan fall heavily on the floor,—a movement of impatience for which he underwent a bitter reproof from the Cardinal, with a lecture on the mode of handling his arms when in the presence of the Sovereign. The King himself seemed unusually embarrassed at the silence around him. 'You are pensive, Dunois,' he said—'You disapprove of our giving way to this hot-headed Envoy.'

"By no means,' said Dunois; 'I meddle not with matters beyond my sphere. I was but thinking of asking a boon of your Majesty.'

"A boon, Dunois—what is it?—You are an unfrequent suitor, and may count on our favour.'

"I would; then, your Majesty would send me to Evreux, to regulate the clergy,' said Dunois, with military frankness.

"That were indeed beyond thy sphere,' replied the King, smiling.

"I might order priests as well,' replied the Count, 'as my Lord Bishop of Evreux, or my Lord Cardinal, if he likes the title better, can exercise the soldiers of your Majesty's guard.'

"The King smiled again, and more mysteriously, while he whispered Dunois, 'The time may come when you and I will regulate the priests together—But this is for the present a good conceited animal of a Bishop. Ah! Dunois—Rome, Rome puts him and other burthens upon us—But patience, cousin, and shuffle the cards, till our hand is a stronger one*.''" Vol. I. p. 198.

"Louis led his young Life-guardsman, for whom he seemed to have taken a special favour, through the side-door by which he had himself entered, saying, as he shewed it him, 'He who would

* "Dr. Dryasdust here remarks, that cards, said to have been invented in a preceding reign, for the amusement of Charles V. during the intervals of his mental disorder, seem speedily to have become common among the courtiers, since they already furnished Louis XI. with a metaphor. The same proverb was quoted by Durandarte, in the enchanted cave of Montesinos."

thrive at court must know the private wickets and concealed stair-cases—ay, and the traps and pitfalls of the palace, as well as the principal entrances, folding-doors, and portals.

"After several turns and passages, the King entered a small vaulted room, where a table was prepared for dinner with three covers. The whole furniture and arrangements of the room were plain almost to meanness. A *beauffet*, or folding and moveable cupboard, held a few pieces of gold and silver plate, and was the only article in the chamber, which had, in the slightest degree, the appearance of royalty. Behind this cupboard, and completely hidden by it, was the post which Louis assigned to Quentin Durward; and after having ascertained, by going to different parts of the room, that he was invisible on all quarters, he gave him his last charge—"Remember the word, *Ecosse, en avant*; and so soon as ever I utter these sounds, throw down the screen—spare not for cup or goblet, and be sure thou take good aim at *Creveceur*—If thy piece fail, cling to him, and use thy knife—Oliver and I can deal with the Cardinal."

"Having thus spoken, he whistled aloud, and summoned into the apartment Oliver, who was *premier-valet* of the chamber as well as barber, and who, in fact, performed all offices immediately connected with the King's person, and who now appeared, attended by two old men, who were the only assistants or waiters at the royal table. So soon as the King had taken his place, the visitors were admitted; and Quentin, though himself unseen, was so situated as to remark all the particulars of the interview.

"The King welcomed his visitors with a degree of cordiality, which Quentin had the utmost difficulty to reconcile with the directions which he had previously received, and the purpose for which he stood behind the *beauffet* with his deadly weapon in readiness. Not only did Louis appear totally free from apprehension of any kind, but one would have supposed that those guests whom he had done the high honour to admit to his table, were the very persons in whom he could most unreservedly confide, and whom he was most willing to honour. Nothing could be more dignified, and, at the same time, more courteous, than his demeanour. While all around him, including even his own dress, was far beneath what the petty princes of the kingdom displayed in their festivities, his own language and manners were those of a mighty Sovereign in his most condescending mood. Quentin was tempted to suppose, either that the whole of his previous conversation with Louis had been a dream, or that the dutiful demeanour of the Cardinal, and the frank, open, and gallant bearing of the Burgundian noble, had entirely erased the King's suspicions.

"But whilst the guests, in obedience to the King, were in the act of placing themselves at the table, his Majesty darted one keen glance on them, and then instantly directed his look to Quentin's post. This was done in an instant; but the glance

conveyed so much doubt and hatred towards his guests, such a peremptory injunction on Quentin to be watchful in attendance, and prompt in execution, that no room was left for doubting that the sentiments of Louis continued unaltered, and his apprehensions unabated. He was, therefore, more than ever astonished at the deep veil under which that Monarch was able to conceal the movements of his jealous disposition.

"Appearing to have entirely forgotten the language which Crevecœur had held towards him in the face of his court, the King conversed with him of old times, of events which had occurred during his own exile in the territories of Burgundy, and inquired respecting all the nobles with whom he had been then familiar, as if that period had indeed been the happiest of his life, and as if he retained towards all who had contributed to soften the term of his exile the kindest and most grateful sentiments.

"To an ambassador of another nation,' he said, 'I would have thrown something of state into our reception; but to an old friend, who shared my board at the Castle of Genappes, I wished to shew myself, as I love best to live, old Louis of Valois, as simple and plain as any of his Parisian *badauds*. But I directed them to make some better cheer for you, Sir Count, for I know your Burgundian proverb, '*Mieux vault bon repas que bel habit*,' and I bid them have some care of our table. For our wine, you know well it is the subject of an old emulation betwixt France and Burgundy, which we will presently reconcile; for I will drink to you in Burgundy, and you, Sir Count, shall pledge me in Champagne.—Here, Oliver, let me have a cup of *Vin d'Auxerre*;' and he hummed gaily a song then well known—

'*Auxerre est le boisson des Rois.*'

'Here, Sir Count, I drink to the health of the noble Duke of Burgundy, our kind and loving cousin.—Oliver, replenish yon golden cup with *Vin de Rheims*, and give it to the Count on your knee—he represents our loving brother.—My Lord Cardinal, we will ourselves fill your cup."

"You have already, Sire, even to overflowing,' said the Cardinal, with the lowly mien of a favourite towards an indulgent master.

"Because we know that your Eminence can carry it with a steady hand,' said Louis. 'But which side do you espouse in the great controversy—Sillery or Auxerre—France or Burgundy?'

"I will stand neutral, Sire,' said the Cardinal, 'and replenish my cup with Auvernat.'

"A neutral has a perilous part to sustain,' said the King; but as he observed the Cardinal colour somewhat, he glided from the subject, and added, 'But you prefer the Auvernat, because it is so noble it suffers not water.—You, Sir Count, hesitate to fill

your cup. I trust you have found no national bitterness at the bottom."

" 'I would, Sir,' said the Count de Creveccœur, 'that all national quarrels could be as pleasantly ended as the rivalry betwixt our vineyards.'

" 'With time, Sir Count—with time—such time as you have taken to your draught of Champagne.—And now that it is finished, favour me by putting the goblet in your bosom, and keeping it as a pledge of our regard. It is not to every one that we would part with it. It belonged of yore to that terror of France, Henry V. of England, and was taken when Rouen was reduced, and those islanders expelled from Normandy by the joint arms of France and Burgundy. It cannot be better bestowed than on a noble and valiant Burgundian, who well knows that in the union of these two nations depends the continuance of the freedom of the continent from the English yoke.'

"The Count made a suitable answer, and Louis gave unrestrained way to the satirical gaiety of disposition which sometimes enlivened the darker shades of his character. Leading, of course, the conversation, his remarks, always shrewd and caustic, and often actually witty, were seldom good-natured, and the anecdotes with which he illustrated them were often more humorous than delicate; but in no one word, syllable, or letter, did he betray the state of mind of one who, apprehensive of assassination, fiath in his apartment an armed soldier, with his piece loaded, in order to prevent or anticipate the deed.

"The Count of Creveccœur gave frankly into the King's humour; while the smooth churchman laughed at every jest, and enhanced every ludicrous idea, without expressing any shame at expressions which made the rustic young Scot blush even in his place of concealment. In about an hour and a half the tables were drawn; and the King, taking courteous leave of his guests, gave the signal that it was his desire to be alone.

"So soon as all, even Oliver, had retired, he called Quentin from his place of concealment; but with a voice so faint, that the youth could scarce believe it to be the same which had so lately given animation to the jest, and zest to the tale. As he approached he saw an equal change in his countenance. The light of assumed vivacity had left his eyes, the smile had deserted his face, and he exhibited all the fatigue of a celebrated actor, when he has finished the exhausting representation of some favourite character.

" 'Thy watch is not yet over,' he said to Quentin—'refresh thyself for an instant—yonder dormant table affords the means—I will then instruct thee in thy farther duty. Meanwhile, it is ill talking between a full man and a fasting.'

"He threw himself back on his seat, covered his brow with his hand, and was silent." Vol. I. P. 265.

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It is with difficulty that we refrain from transcribing two other dialogues, one of which occurs at the meeting between Louis and Charles, while in the other Philip de Comines is introduced in person, and most completely cajoled by the artful king. But the passages are long, and will be injured by curtailment; and we must refer our readers to the original for the gratification of their curiosity.

To the same source we shall also send them for such acquaintance as they may be desirous of forming with the life and adventures of Quentin Durward—his introduction to the courts and cabinets of princes, his valiant and honourable conduct, his romantic and successful love. Incidents are crowded together in such boundless profusion, that to sketch the story would require a volume. The author introduces us, as is his custom, to all sorts of places, and all sorts of company, monarchs and gypsies, soldiers and hangmen, astrologers and demagogues, come and go like the groupies in a magic lantern; and some notion of the general effect of their movements is the most that we can convey to our readers.

The story, through the two first volumes is conducted with more success than has usually attended this department of the author's labours. Events succeed each other naturally and rapidly. The plot and under-plot, in which Louis and Quentin are the chief actors, are interwoven with exquisite skill; and the fates of a kingdom and a love-match are embarked (without the intention or knowledge of the persons principally interested,) in one and the same adventure. The King converses *incognito* with a new acquaintance, takes the field with regal pomp against the bristled boar, receives and entertains ambassadors from a deadly enemy, consults the learned man who can read and explain the stars, contrives a piece of complicated political villany, and sends the lovers from one end of his kingdom to the other, in order to execute or to defeat the scheme—and throughout the whole of these transactions there is no pause or breathing time. Even those persons who in the concluding volume are most uninteresting and tiresome, namely, his Majesty's confidential hangmen, and his Majesty's confidential gypsies, give no just cause of offence in the earlier part of the story. The former, whom our brethren of the Quarterly will denominate the *bored* of the novel, are described with the characteristic humour of their parent. But their brutality and hypocrisy become at last insufferable, and their claim to the title we have ventured to anticipate, is much stronger than that of many

upon whom it has been conferred. The Bohemian is introduced to greater advantage, and managed with more tact; and he deserves and will obtain the public favour, in spite of the absurdities which occasioned his death.

In the third volume, the story changes very much for the worse. The alliance between Louis and Quentin is dissolved by the great maker of treaties, and their influence upon each other's fortune becomes at once unimportant and improbable. The thread of the narrative is broken—the digressions are abrupt and tedious; and the double catastrophes of the King and the Hero are as unsatisfactory and unnatural as possible. Into all these misfortunes the author is betrayed by one false step—the irresistible desire of describing the night-attack upon the Castle of Schonwaldt, and the murder of its venerable prelate.

The other deviations from historic truth may be easily excused; and if the story had gained in interest or effect by antedating the death of the Bishop of Liege, we should not have objected to the arrangement. But by this very manœuvre the story is spoiled. Louis in a fit of superstitious rashness, put himself in the power of Charles of Burgundy, and was well and honourably received. News came to the Duke of the insurrection at Liege, and the Bishop's murder; and Louis was instantly imprisoned. Thus far the historian and the novelist are of one mind; and the latter has as fine an opportunity as a reasonable man could desire to develop the characters of the rival princes. But when this task has been ably accomplished, and it behoves the King of France to be restored to liberty, Philip de Comines accomplishes the work by a very simple instrument, a contradiction of the reported death of the Bishop of Liege. The author of *Waverley* is estopped from pursuing this course; his Bishop's brains having been knocked out the week before by a butcher. And King Louis is indebted for his safety to the arrival of a mock herald at the court of the Duke, who is detected by the sagacity of the assembled nobles, stripped of his splendid armorial disguise, allowed a start of sixty yards and then coursed, caught and worried by his highness's hounds. With which merry adventure the Duke of Burgundy is so delighted that he sets his captive at liberty upon easy terms, and marches off with him to Liege in the highest good humour. This contrivance is worthy of the wild boar of Ardennes, who dispatched the *sei-disant* herald to the court of Charles; but how it came to be adopted by the author of *Quentin Durward*, is as profound a secret as the author's real name.

The circumstance occurs at such a short distance from the close of the work that the reader has barely time to recover his temper before the volume is dismissed from his hand. But in order to appease his just indignation he is treated with a passage of first rate beauty and merit, with which we shall close our critique. It is a description of the sally and repulse of the Liegeois. The real event is minutely described by the historian; and the dangers to which the principal personages, Louis and Charles, were exposed, appears to have been much greater than our author has chosen to confess. But the general features of the battle are correctly sketched; and the excellence of the picture is sufficient to obliterate all recollection of the preceding absurdities, and to atone for the *platitudes* of the succeeding catastrophe. How can we dare to breathe a word of complaint against a writer who treats the public twice or three times a year with such painting as the following passages contain?

“A dead silence soon reigned over that great host which lay in leaguer before Liege. For a long time the cries of the soldiers repeating their signals, and seeking to join their several banners, sounded like the howling of bewildered dogs seeking their masters. But at length, overcome with weariness through the fatigues of the day, the dispersed soldiers crowded under such shelter as they could light upon, and those who could find none sunk down, through very fatigue, under walls, hedges, and such temporary protection, there to await for morning,—a morning which some of them were never to behold. A dead sleep fell on almost all, excepting those who kept a faint and weary watch by the lodgings of the King and the Duke. The dangers and hopes of the morrow—even the schemes of glory which many of the young nobility had founded upon the splendid prize held out to him who should avenge the murdered Bishop of Liege—glided from their recollection as they lay stupified with fatigue and sleep. But not so with Quentin Durward. The knowledge that he alone was possessed of the means of distinguishing La Marck in the contest—the recollection by whom that information had been communicated, and the fair augury which might be drawn from her conveying it to him—the thought that his fortune had brought him to a most perilous and doubtful crisis indeed, but one where there was still, at least, a chance of his coming off triumphant, banished every desire to sleep, and strung his nerves with vigour, which defied fatigue.

“Posted, by the King’s express order, on the extreme point between the French quarters and the town, a good way to the right of the suburb which we have mentioned, he sharpened his eye, to penetrate the mass which lay before him, and excited his ears, to catch the slightest sound which might announce any commotion in

the beleagured city. But its huge clocks had successively knelled three hours after midnight, and all continued still and silent as the grave.

"At length, and when he began to think the attack would be deferred till day-break, and joyfully recollected that there would be then light enough to descry the Band Sinister across the Fleur-de-lis of Orleans, he thought he heard in the city a humming murmur, like that of disturbed bees mustering for the defence of their hives. He listened—the noise continued; but it was of a character so undistinguished by any peculiar or precise sound, that it might be the murmur of a wind arising among the boughs of a distant grove, or perhaps some stream swollen by the late rain, which was discharging itself into the sluggish Maes with more than usual sound. Quentin was prevented by these considerations from instantly giving the alarm, which, if done carelessly, would have been a heavy offence. But, when the noise rose louder, and seemed pouring at the same time towards his own post, and towards the suburb, he deemed it his duty to fall back as silently as possible, and call his uncle, who commanded the small body of Archers destined to his support. All were on their feet in a moment, and with as little noise as possible. In less than a second, Lord Crawford was at their head, and, dispatching an archer to alarm the King and his household, drew back his little party to some distance behind their watch-fire, that they might not be seen by its light. The rushing sound, which had approached them more nearly, seemed suddenly to have ceased; but they still heard distinctly the more distant heavy tread of a large body of men approaching the suburb.

"*'The lazy Burgundians are asleep on their post,'* whispered Crawford; *'make for the suburb, Cunningham, and awaken the stupid oxen.'*

"*'Keep well to the rear as you go,'* said Durward; *'if ever I heard the tread of mortal men, there is a strong body interposed between us and the suburb.'*

"*'Well said, Quentin, my dainty callant,'* said Crawford; *'thou art a soldier beyond thy years. They only make halt till the others come forward.—I would I had some knowledge where they are!'*

"*'I will creep forward, my lord,'* said Quentin, *'and endeavour to bring you information.'*

"*'Do so, my bonny chield; thou hast sharp ears and eyes, and good will—but take heed—I would not lose thee for two and a plack.'*

"Quentin, with his harquebuss ready prepared, stole forward, through ground which he had reconnoitered carefully in the twilight of the preceding evening, until he was not only certain that he was in the neighbourhood of a very large body of men, who were standing fast betwixt the King's quarters and the suburbs,

but also that there was a detached party of smaller number in advance, and very close to him. They seemed to whisper together, as if uncertain what to do next. At last, the steps of two or three *Enfans perdus*, detached from that smaller party, approached him so near as twice a pike's length. Seeing it impossible to retreat undiscovered, Quentin called out aloud, ' *Qui vive ?* ' and was answered by ' *Vive Li—Li—ege—c'est-à-dire,* ' (added he who spoke, correcting himself,) ' *Vive la France !* '—Quentin instantly fired his harquebuss—a man groaned and fell, and he himself, under the instant but vague discharge of a number of pieces, the fire of which ran in a disorderly manner amongst the column, and shewed it to be very numerous, hastened back to the main guard." Vol. III. p. 328.

"The arrival of the King, only attended by Le Balafré and Quentin, and half a score of archers, restored confidence. Hybercourt, Crevecoeur, and others of the Burgundian leaders, whose names were then the praise and dread of war, rushed devotedly into the conflict; and, while some hastened to bring up more distant troops, to whom the panic had not extended, others threw themselves into the tumult, re-animated the instinct of discipline, and while the Duke toiled in the front like an ordinary man-at-arms, brought their men by degrees into array, and dismayed the assailants by the use of their artillery. The conduct of Louis, on the other hand, was that of a calm, collected, sagacious leader, who neither sought nor avoided danger, but shewed so much self-possession and sagacity, that the Burgundian leaders readily obeyed the orders which he issued.

"The scene was now become in the utmost degree animated and horrible. On the left the suburb, after a fierce contest, had been set on fire, and a wide and dreadful conflagration did not prevent the burning ruins from being still disputed. On the centre, the French troops, though pressed by immense odds, kept up so close and constant a fire, that the little pleasure-house shone bright with the glancing flashes, as if surrounded with a martyr's crown of flames. On the left, the battle swayed backwards and forwards with varied success, as fresh reinforcements poured out of the town, or were brought forward from the rear of the Burgundian host; and the strife continued with unremitting fury for three mortal hours, which at length brought the dawn, so much desired by the besiegers. The enemy, at this period, seemed to be slackening their efforts upon the right and in the centre, and several discharges of cannon were heard from the Lust-haus.

" 'Go,' said the King, to Le Balafré and Quentin, the instant his ear had caught the sound; 'they have got up the sakers and falconets—the Lust-haus is safe, blessed be the Holy Virgin!—Tell Dunois to move this way, but rather nearer the city, with all our men-at-arms, excepting what he may leave for the defence of

the house, and cut in between those thick-headed Liegeois on the right and the city, from which they are supplied with recruits.'

"The uncle and nephew galloped off to Dunois and Crawford, who, tired of their defensive war, joyfully obeyed the summons, and, filing out at the head of a gallant body of about two hundred French gentlemen, besides squires, and the greater part of the archers, marched across the field, trampling down the wounded, till they gained the flank of the large body of Liegeois, by whom the right of the Burgundians had been so fiercely assailed. The increasing day-light discovered that the enemy were continuing to pour out from the city, either for the purpose of continuing the battle on that point, or of bringing safely off the forces who were already engaged." Vol. III. p. 335.

ART. XI. *A Collection of Poems, chiefly Manuscript, and from living Authors. Edited for the Benefit of a Friend, by Joanna Baillie. 8vo. pp. 374. Longman & Co. 1823.*

IT is hardly fair to criticize a collection of poems published by a Lady for the Benefit of a Friend, and we are ready on such occasions to waive our privilege, and leave the unenlightened public, to their own lucubrations. But our present duty is not to censure but to commend, and we have great pleasure in introducing the reader to this curious and agreeable medley. A work which comprises the names of Scott, Campbell, Southey, Wordsworth, Crabb, Rogers, Bowles, and Milman, may be expected to contain pieces of no common merit; while the minor poets among whom the Editor maintains a conspicuous station, will be flattered at seeing their labours in such exalted company. We transcribe by way of specimen, the contributions of Southey and Campbell.

"*The Cataract of Lodore, described in Rhymes for the Nursery, by one of the Lake Poets.*

"How does the water come down at Lodore ?

"Here it comes sparkling,
And there it lies darkling ;
Here smoking and frothing,
Its tumult and wrath in,
It hastens along, conflicting strong ;
Now striking and raging,
As if a war waging,
Its caverns and rocks among,

Baillie's Collection of Poems.

" Rising and leaping,
 Sinking and creeping,
 Swelling and flinging,
 Showering and springing,
 Eddying and whisking,
 Spouting and frisking,
 Turning and twisting
 Around and around,
 Collecting, disjecting
 With endless rebound:
 Smiting and fighting,
 A sight to delight in,
 Confounding, astounding,
 Pizzying and deafening the ear with its sound.

" Receding and speeding,
 And shocking and rocking,
 And darting and parting,
 And threading and spreading,
 And whizzing and hissing,
 And dripping and skipping,
 And whitening and brightening,
 And quivering and shivering,
 And hitting and splitting,
 And shining and twining,
 And rattling and battling,
 And shaking and quaking,
 And pouring and roaring,
 And waving and raving,
 And tossing and crossing,
 And flowing and growing
 And running and stunning,
 And hurrying and skurrying,
 And glittering and frittering,
 And gathering and feathering,
 And dinning and spinning,
 And foaming and roaming,
 And dropping and hopping,
 And working and jerking,
 And guggling and struggling,
 And heaving and cleaving,
 And thundering and floundering,
 And falling and brawling and sprawling,
 And driving and riving and striving,
 And sprinkling and twinkling and wrinkling,
 And sounding and bounding and rounding,
 And bubbling and troubling and doubling,
 Dividing and gliding and sliding,
 And grumbling and rumbling and tumbling,
 And clattering and battering and shattering.

And gleaming and streaming and steaming and beaming,
And rushing and flushing and brushing and gushing,
And flapping and rapping and clapping and slapping,
And curling and whirling and purling and twirling,
Retreating and beating and meeting and sheeting,
Delaying and straying and playing and spraying,
Advancing and prancing and glancing and dancing,
Recoiling, turmoiling and toiling and boiling,
And thumping and flumping and bumping and jumping,
And dashing and flashing and splashing and clashing,
And so never ending, but always descending,
Sounds and motions for ever and ever are blending,
All at once and all o'er, with a mighty uproar,
And this way the water comes down at Lodore." P. 280.

" To the Rainbow,

" Triumphant arch ! that fill'st the sky
When storms prepare to part,
I ask not proud philosophy
To teach me what thou art :

" Still seem, as to my childhood's sight,
A midway station given,
For happy spirits to alight
Betwixt the earth and heaven.

" Can all that optics teach unfold
Thy form to please me so,
As when I dreamt of gems and gold
Hid in thy radiant bow ?

" When science from creation's face
Enchantment's veil withdraws,
What lovely visions yield their place
To cold material laws !

" And yet, fair bow ! no fabling dreams,
But words of the Most High,
Have told why first thy robe of beams
Was woven in the sky.

" When o'er the green undeluged earth
Heaven's covenant thou did'st shine,
How came the world's grey fathers forth
To watch thy sacred sign !

" And when its yellow lustre smil'd
O'er mountains yet untrod,
Each mother held aloft her child
To bless the bow of God.

- “ Methinks, thy jubilee to keep,
The first-made anthem rang,
On earth deliver'd from the deep,
And the first poet sang.
- “ Nor ever shall the Muse's eye
Unraptur'd greet thy beam :
Theme of primeval prophecy !
Be still the poet's theme.
- “ The earth to thee its incense yields,
The lark thy welcome sings,
When glitt'ring in the freshen'd fields
The snowy mushroom springs.
- “ How glorious is thy girdle cast
O'er mountain, tower, and town ;
Or mirror'd in the ocean vast,
A thousand fathoms down !
- “ As fresh in yon horizon dark,
As young thy beauties seem,
As when the eagle from the ark
First sported in thy beam.
- “ For faithful to its sacred page,
Heaven still rebuilds thy span ;
Nor lets the type grow pale with age,
That first spoke peace to man.” P. 43.

There is a comparison of Mrs. Fry's reformation of Newgate, to the stilling of the sea by our Saviour, which might have been advantageously omitted: first, because Newgate is as tempestuous as ever, and secondly, because Mrs. Fry is contrasted with our Lord in a manner which may give just offence.

Mr. Sotheby and Mr. Charles Sheridan are voluminous but not successful contributors. A portrait of an aged and dying mother by Mr. Galley Knight, is in better taste, and we shall conclude these brief remarks by extracting a small portion of it.

- “ Ye who approach her threshold, cast aside
The world, and all the littleness of pride ;
Come not to pass an hour, and then away
Back to the giddy follies of the day ;—
With reverent step and heav'n-directed eye,
Clad in the robes of meek humility,
As to a temple's hallow'd courts, repair,
And come the lesson, as the scene, to share ;

Gaze on the ruin'd frame, and pallid cheek,
Prophetic symptoms, that too plainly speak !
Those limbs that fail her as she falters by ;
Pangs, that from nature will extort a sigh ;
See her from social intercourse remov'd,
Forbid to catch the friendly voice she lov'd ;
Then mark the look compos'd, the tranquil air,
Unfeign'd contentment still enthroned there !
The cheerful beams, that, never quench'd, adorn
That cheek, that gladden those who thought to mourn ;
Benignant smiles for all around that shine,
Unbounded love, and charity divine !
This is Religion—not unreal dreams,
Enthusiast raptures and seraphic gleams ;
But Faith's calm triumph—Reason's steady sway,
Not the brief lightning, but the perfect day." P. 201.

" Nor her's alone the virtues that require
Some stroke of fate to rouse their latent fire ;
Great for an hour, heroic for a scene,
Inert through all the common life between.
But such as each diurnal task perform,
Pleas'd in the calm, unshaken by the storm.
In her had Nature bounteously combin'd
The tend'rst bosom with the strongest mind ;
Sense that seem'd instinct, so direct it caught
The just conclusion, oft refus'd to thought ;
Simplicity of heart, that never knew
What meant the baubles which the world pursue ;
All these, by not a taint of self alloy'd,
All these were her's—for others all employ'd.
To seek the haunts of poverty and pain,
Teach want to thrive, and grief to smile again ;
To guide young footsteps to the right, and win
The old in error from the ways of sin ;
To ease the burthens of the human race,
Mend ev'ry heart, and gladden ev'ry face,
She liv'd and breath'd,—not from the world estrang'd,
But mov'd amongst it, guileless and unchang'd ;
Still lov'd to view the picture's brighter side ;
The first to cherish, and the last to chide." P. 203.

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A *Memoir of Central India*, with the *History*, and *Copious Illustrations* of the past and present *Condition* of that *Country.* By Sir *John Malcolm.* In two Vols. 8vo. with an *Original Map*, a *Geological Report*, and *Comprehensive Index*, is in the Press.

Mr. *Charles Dubois*, F.L.S. is about to publish in a small Volume, *An Easy Introduction to Lamark's Arrangement of the Genera of Shells*; being a *Free Translation* of that Part of his Work (*L'Histoire des Animaux sans Vertébrés*,) which treats on *Mollusca* with *Testaceous Covering*: to which are added *Illustrative Remarks*, *Additional Observations*, and a *Synoptic Table.*

Captain *A. Cruise*, of the *84th Regiment*, has in the Press, *A Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, which will appear next Month in an 8vo. Volume.

The Author of *Domestic Scenes* has nearly ready for publication, a *New Novel*, entitled, *Self-Delusion*; or, *Adelaide d'Hauteroche*, in three Vols.

The Rev. *G. Wilkins*, Author of the *History of the Destruction of Jerusalem*, &c. &c. will shortly publish in a duodecimo Volume, *An Antidote to the Poison of Scepticism.*

Mr. *Robert Meikleham*, Civil Engineer, has in the Press,

A Practical Treatise on the Various Methods of Heating Buildings by Steam, Hot-Air, Stoves, and Open Fires; with some Introductory Observations on the Combustion of Fuel; on the Contrivances for Burning Smoke; and other Subjects connected with the Economy and Distribution of Heat. With numerous Explanatory Engravings.

James Shergold Boonè, M.A. will publish in a few days, a *Poetical Sketch*, in three Epistles, addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, entitled, *Men and Things* in 1823.

Dr. Forster is about to publish, *Illustrations of the Mode of Maintaining Health, Curing Diseases, and Protracting Longevity*, by attention to the State of the Digestive Organs; with *Popular Observations on the Influence of Peculiarities of Air, of Diet, and of Exercise, on the Human System*. In one Vol. 8vo.

Mr. Earle has in the Press a Work, containing *Practical Remarks on Fractures at the Upper Part of the Thigh*, and particularly *Fractures within the Capsular Ligament*; with *Critical Observations on Sir Astley Cooper's Treatise on that Subject*, and a *Description of a Bed for the Relief of Patients*, suffering under these *Accidents* and other *Injuries and Diseases* which require a *State of Permanent Rest*, &c. &c.

The Rev. R. Warner will shortly publish the first Part of, *Illustrations Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous*, of the *Novels* by the Author of *Waverley*, with *Criticisms General and Particular*.

Historical Notices of Two Characters in Peveril of the Peak, are preparing for publication.

A *New Novel* will appear in the course of a few days, entitled, *Edward Neville, or, the Memoirs of an Orphan*. In three Vols.

Mr. Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, is engaged in preparing for the Press, a *Mathematical Work*, entitled, the *Elements of a New Arithmetical Notation*, in some respects *Analogous* to that of *Decimals*; by which, expressions producing a great variety of infinite Series may be obtained, which can by no other means be found; the Series discovered by the Moderns, for the quadrature of the circle and hyperbola, are shown to be aggregately incommensurable quantities; and a Criterion is given by which the Commensurability or Incommensurability of infinite Series may be infallibly and universally ascertained. The Work will be published in 8vo.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR JUNE, 1823.

ART. I. *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies. By Wm. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P.* 8vo. pp. 82. Hatchard and Son. 1823.

ART. II. *A Counter Appeal, in answer to "An Appeal" from William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. designed to prove that the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, by a Legislative Enactment, without the Consent of the Planters, would be a Flagrant Breach of National Honour, Hostile to the Principles of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, and highly injurious to the Planter and to the Slave. By Sir Henry William Martin, Bart.* 8vo. pp. 60. Rivingtons. 1823.

THE propriety of civilizing, instructing and converting our West-Indian Slaves; the propriety of improving their condition, increasing their comforts, and preparing them by degrees for emancipation, are points upon which Christian Philanthropists cannot disagree. The best means of effecting all or any of these works, the time and care which they may be expected to demand, and the success with which they will probably be crowned are subjects of considerable difficulty and doubt. Yet were the controversy confined within these its proper limits, we should not despair of its speedy and useful termination. A system of colonial government might be devised, which should not sacrifice the interests either of the Planter or the Slave. Experience would gradually acquaint us with its faults, and suggest the improvements of which all new systems stand in need. And without any domestic struggle, or any colonial insurrection, the West Indies might be brought into as happy and as prosperous a condition as the remaining portion of the British Empire.

Unhappily there is no disposition to proceed in this orderly

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manner. Instead of confining the discussion to the present state and future prospects of the Negroes, our orators love to declaim upon what is past never to return. Instead of taking a candid view of the difficulties and the proceedings of the planters, it is the fashion to condemn them unheard, and not listen to a single syllable in mitigation of punishment. The worst acts of the worst times are raked together with a diligence which might have been better employed, and carried one and all to the account of the present generation. Our language is ransacked for its strongest terms of contumely and commiseration, and while the latter are applied to the wretched sufferers from slavery, the former are employed in describing the disgraceful conduct of their masters.

Nor is this the mere result of individual prepossessions. Exaggeration and invective are not confined to the orators from whom they may be always expected. They are adopted on the present occasion by more sober emancipationists. They are a constituent part of their plans for Negro improvement. They furnish argument as well as eloquence to the party by whom they are adopted. The burden of Mr. Wilberforce's Appeal, and Mr. Buxton's Speech, is—do not trust the Colonial Legislators—do not expect mercy or justice from Planters—legislate for the slaves in England, or their condition never will be mended. This is the grand panacea, and it sets out with assuming that the negroes are indescribably wretched, and their tyrants incurably cruel. As long as there is a chance of accomplishing a reformation on the spot, every body perceives that it ought to be tried. Parliamentary interference can only be justified by necessity; by a complete proof that the Colonial authorities are unwilling or unable to act. Consequently Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Buxton and Mr. Brougham must accuse and convict the Planters or abandon their favourite measure. They do not come into court without bias or partiality. They desire to carry a particular scheme, and unless they can persuade us to believe some disputable assertions their desire will never be accomplished.

Those persons therefore who wish to form a correct opinion respecting the debates and pamphlets of the day, must remember that the real question is,—*where* and *by whom* shall the Negroes be protected and improved? The undertaking ought to commence with the executive government, and be steadily pursued through a series of years. It is the duty of his Majesty's Ministers to stimulate the local authorities, to ascertain and point out the errors of existing laws, and to suggest the requisite alterations and additions. It is their duty more especially to foster and superintend the

religious instruction of all orders of the West Indian population. And when their measures require the interposition of Parliament, it should be temperately and cautiously used. But to say that every thing must be done upon this side of the water, to threaten the Planters with unconditional emancipation, to pretend that their estates can be reformed without their consent and against their will, is the desperate and dangerous scheme of visionary men. We abstain from any remarks upon the eventual liberation to which the advocates of this scheme advert, because we believe that they are the best friends of Negro Freedom who for the present say least about it. And in justice to its less judicious supporters we are bound to confess that their propositions, upon this subject, are moderate if not practicable. Agreeing with them however in the end to be pursued, we most decidedly object to their method of pursuing it. Their immediate object is to take the internal government of the West Indies into the direct and exclusive care of the House of Commons, and never have we seen grosser misrepresentations and blunders, than the facts and arguments by which that system is recommended to the public.

Mr. Wilberforce's *Appeal* commences with pronouncing "the Negro Slavery of the British Colonies a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty." In support of this sweeping assertion, he refers, first, to the diminution of numbers as a proof that the slaves are ill used: but he does not venture to affirm the truth of this demonstrative fact in stronger language than, "unless I am much misinformed." The contempt in which slaves are held is another favourite topic; and under this head his evidence is a hundred years old.

"It were well if the consequences of these impressions were only to be discovered among the inferior ranks of the privileged class, or only to be found in the opinions and conduct of individuals. But in the earlier laws of our colonies they are expressed in the language of insult, and in characters of blood. And too many of these laws still remain unrepealed, to permit the belief that the same odious spirit of legislation no longer exists, or to relieve the injured objects of them from their degrading influence. The slaves were systematically depressed below the level of human beings*. And though I confess, that it is of less concern to a

* An act of Barbadoes, (8th Aug. 1688,) prescribing the mode of trial for slaves, recites, that "they being brutish slaves, deserve not, for the baseness of their condition, to be tried by the legal trial of twelve men of their peers, &c." Another clause of the same act, speaks of the "barbarous, wild, and savage

slave under what laws he lives than what is the character of his master, yet if the laws had extended to them favour and protection instead of degradation, this would have tended to raise them in the social scale, and operating insensibly on the public mind, might, by degrees, have softened the extreme rigour of their bondage. Such, however, had been the contrary effects of an opposite process, on the estimation of the Negro race, before the ever-to-be-honoured Granville Sharpe, and his followers, had begun to vindicate their claim to the character and privileges of human nature, that a writer of the highest authority on all West India subjects, Mr. Long, in his celebrated History of Jamaica, though pointing out some of the particulars of their ill treatment, scrupled not to state it as his opinion, that in the gradations of being, Negroes were little elevated above the oran outang, 'that type of man.' Nor was this an unguarded or hastily thrown out assertion. He institutes a laborious comparison of the Negro race with that species of baboon; and declares, that 'ludicrous as the opinion may seem, he does not think that an oran outang husband would be any dishonor to a Hottentot female.' When we find such sentiments as these to have been unblushingly avowed by an author of the highest estimation among the West India colonists, we are prepared for what we find to have been, and, I grieve to say, still continues to be, the practical effects of these opinions." P. 11.

He then adverts to several real evils, which we shall be glad to see redressed—the sale of slaves for the debts of their masters, the inadmissibility of their evidence against white men, the system of driving them when at work with a cart whip, and the rare occurrence of the marriage ceremony. These are customs which it is impossible to defend. But at the same time, it is very easy to exaggerate their nature and effects. The question at issue between Mr. Wilberforce and the Planters, is not whether the condition of the slaves be capable of improvement, not whether this or that particular practice should be continued or discontinued—but whether things are stationary, or better or worse. If the abolition of the slave trade has hitherto done no good, and this, strange to say, is the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, he may plausibly contend that the Planters are incurable, and that nothing can be expected at their hands. But is it a good proof of this fact to shew, that certain cruelties were committed long ago, and to add, that he has no doubt they are repeated still? We have a long account, p. 55–8. of the murder of a negro-

natures of the same Negroes and other slaves, being such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, practices, and customs of other nations." Other instances of a like spirit might be cited in the acts of other colonies.'

slave, in the year 1804, which is intended to shew that the abolition has not made the whites more considerate or more just. And when an improvement has actually taken place in the laws, and therefore cannot be dissembled or denied, we are assured upon the authority of Sir George Prevost, that it was not intended to be acted upon!!

“I must not be supposed ignorant that of late years various colonial laws have been passed, professedly with a view to the promoting of religion among the slaves: but they are all, I fear, worse than nullities. In truth, the solicitude which they express for the personal protection, and still more for the moral interests, of the slaves, contrasted with the apparant forgetfulness of those interests which so generally follows in the same community, might have appeared inexplicable, but for the frank declaration of the Governor of one of the West Indian islands, which stood among the foremost in passing one of these boasted laws for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. That law contained clauses which, with all due solemnity, and with penalties for the non-observance of its injunctions, prescribed the religious instruction of the slaves: and the promoting of the marriage institution among them; and in order ‘to secure as far as possible the good treatment of the slaves, and to ascertain the cause of their decrease, if any,’ it required certificates of the slaves’ increase and decrease to be annually delivered on oath, under a penalty of 50*l.* currency. His Majesty’s government, some time after, very meritoriously wishing for information as to the state of the slaves, applied to the governor for some of the intelligence which this act was to provide. To this application the Governor, the late Sir George Prevost, replied as follows: ‘The act of the legislature, entitled ‘An act for the encouragement, protection, and better government of slaves,’ appears to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as a political measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves.’ The same account of the motives by which the legislatures of other West Indian islands were induced to pass acts for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, was given by several of the witnesses who were examined in the committee of the House of Commons in 1790 and 1791.

“In all that I state concerning the religious interests of the slaves, as well as in every other instance, I must be understood to speak only of the *general* practice. There are, I know, resident in this country, individual owners of slaves, and some, as I believe, even in the colonies, who have been sincerely desirous that their slaves should enjoy the blessings of Christianity: though often, I lament to say, where they have desired it, their pious endeavours have been of little or no avail. So hard is it, especially for absent proprietors, to stem the tide of popular feeling and practice, which sets strongly in every colony against the religious instruction of slaves. So hard also, I must add, is it to reconcile the necessary

means of such instruction with the harsh duties and harsher discipline to which these poor beings are subjected. The gift even of the rest of the Sabbath is more than the established æconomics of a sugar plantation permit even the most independent planter to confer, while the law tacitly sanctions its being wholly withheld from them.

"Generally speaking, throughout the whole of our West Indian islands, the field slaves, or common labourers, instead of being encouraged or even permitted to devote the Sunday to religious purposes, are employed either in working their provision-grounds for their own and their families' subsistence, or are attending, often carrying heavy loads to, the Sunday markets, which frequently, in Jamaica, are from ten to fifteen miles distant from their abodes.

"These abuses confessedly continue to prevail in despite of the urgent remonstrances, for more than the last half century, of members of the colonial body, and these sometimes, like Mr. B. Edwards, the most accredited advocates for the interests and character of the West Indians." P. 25.

The state of the Colonies in 1791 and 1792, has little or nothing to do with the fact which Mr. Wilberforce undertook to prove; unless his ten-fold repetition of that worn-out tale be considered evidence of his inability to bring forward modern instances of misconduct. The *confessed continuance* with which our extract closed may serve to introduce the reader to Sir Henry Martin. This gentleman, in a plain and sensible manner, upsets the whole of Mr. Wilberforce's assertions by subjecting them to the simple test of truth. Can any thing savour less of "unrelenting cruelty" and "heathenish immorality" than the following modest and unpretending details:—

"The Negroes have moderate labour, estimated individually, even before the introduction of the plough*, at less than one half that of an English day labourer; they have ample time allowed for their meals, viz. half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; they are well clothed twice a year; they are abundantly fed by the planter, so as to need no other resources; yet they have, *for their sole use*, mountain or other land on the estates, and considerable gardens round their cottages; in both of which they have all the tropical fruit trees, as shaddock, mangoes, oranges, limes,

*The English plough is now getting very generally into use; my own land is wholly cultivated by it. I once measured the garden of a field negro on my property, it lay round his cottage, and was 120 yards in length, and 35 yards in width; and fully cropped. In proof that their cottages, &c. are esteemed their exclusive property, I hired some houses and 17 rooms, at one dollar per month for each room, from the negroes upon my own property; for the accommodation of a gang which I had purchased from an estate till houses were built for their occupation.

lemons, and numerous others, also pine-apples, melons, cassada, arrow-root, and most of the English vegetables; and they breed pigs and poultry: all these articles they consume themselves, or sell at the markets. Their treatment, as to discipline and punishment, is certainly much milder than that of the sailor or soldier. The Negroes have the best medical care; each estate has an hospital, attended twice a week invariably by a professional gentleman of the first respectability; and, in cases of dangerous sickness, or surgical operations, daily, or as much oftener, *as he may consider necessary*, for all which extra business he receives *additional payment*.

"Convenient lock-up houses are built near the hospital, for the confinement of men and women, separately, as a punishment; which is substituted for personal infliction, whenever it can reasonably be done, and, in respect to women, invariably, as far as my own actual knowledge extends. No punishment on a plantation can exceed thirty-nine lashes, (without the order of a magistrate,) and this is generally for such crimes as in England would be death. Many, or most of their punishments arise from the idle and ill-disposed robbing the gardens of the industrious; and I can affirm, that even when a few lashes (eight or ten) are necessary (where confinement for similar offences may have failed) it is really trifling, as compared to one half the number given by the cat in the navy or army; and a white person always attends the punishment. If the Negroes consider themselves ill-treated, they can (and sometimes do) complain to the sitting magistrates for the week, or to the governor, who is generally a military officer of high rank, with every motive to act impartially, and their real grievances are properly redressed. For great matters they are always under the protection of the law. They have a regale, or harvest home, when the crop is finished, and three or four holydays at Christmas, with presents of particular articles of provision *.

"They are mostly members of the Moravian Church, many of the Church of England, and some, I am sorry to say, of *no Church*, I mean Dissenters, who are generally dissatisfied, self-sufficient, and troublesome; very few, I believe, are Heathens. They all have the opportunity of attending the Parish Churches or Moravian Chapels. On Sundays I have constantly noticed both men and women, neatly dressed, proceeding in parties to attend Divine Service. The Moravian Priests receive annual presents for their religious attendance upon the Negroes †.

"After the foregoing statement, my reader will probably be surprised at the following quotation from the first page of Mr. W.'s Appeal: 'The Negro slavery in the British colonies is a system of

* * If it should be said, that I merely describe what is done upon my own property, I answer, that I certainly state such particulars *as have come under my own knowledge*; but I conceive they may be taken as a fair medium specimen of general usage."

† I paid 100*l.* last year towards erecting a new Moravian chapel near my estates."

the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty; a national crime of the deepest moral malignity; containing those essential and incurable vices which will ever exist wherever the power of man over man is unlimited.

"This violent and abusive language I can readily forgive; but the last sentence, implying *unlimited power* to be possessed by the planter over the Negro, is an assertion too ridiculous for any person pretending to write on West India affairs.

"Again, in page 21 he says, 'Licentiousness is not confined to the Negroes; the fact is perfectly notorious, that it has been the general policy to employ, instead of married managers and overseers, single young men, as the immediate superintendants of the gangs, and hence it too naturally follows, that they who from their being the depositaries of their master's authority ought to be the protectors of the purity of the young females, too often become their corrupters.'

"This is a gross and disgusting charge, and I utterly deny the *notoriety* of such a policy, *for I never even heard of it*; and, if any planters pursued it, they must be blind to their *interest*, as well as careless of their reputation, *for the general policy is, to have black, and not mongrel children* *.

"In page 24, Mr. W. favours us with his further opinion of the West India system, describing its physical evils as 'cruel, odious, and pernicious; but that the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves, is the most serious of all its vices.'

"The planters *recommend* and *urge* the Negroes to attend to their religious and moral duties, but as they dare not presume to take upon *themselves* the office of the priesthood, like our modern methodists, what more can they do? Are they to force religion and morality upon the Negroes, *vi et armis* †?

"It is affirmed, page 27, 'that the gift even of the Sabbath is more than the established economies of a sugar plantation permit even the most independent planter to confer, while *the law tacitly sanctions* its being wholly withheld from them.'

"* I give my manager five pounds for every black child born alive upon my property, and five pounds annually for each increase beyond the decrease in the whole population."

"† I conceive that English Gentlemen would not be well pleased to have *their conduct* brought under public discussion by an accusation that they did not do every thing (which their accusers might deem right) for the religious and moral improvement of their servants, labourers, or dependents.

"I can truly say, that I never heard the Liturgy more solemnly and impressively read, nor better sermons preached, both as to matter and manner, than by the Rev. Mr. Harman, rector of St. John's in the island of Antigua; the body of the church was always filled with Negroes, whose attention to the service, and punctuality in kneeling and standing, at the proper time, was truly commendable, and many made use of their Prayer Books. The clerks in all the Parish Churches are invariably men of education, which greatly adds to the effect of the church service."

"I think it was Mr. Barham who said, 'he had never met a person less acquainted with the *real state* of West India affairs than Mr. W. or who had more obstinately rejected information upon the subject.' Probably Mr. W. forgot this precept of the wise son of Sirach, '*Blame not before thou hast examined the truth, understand first, and then rebuke.*' Eccles. xi. 7.

"The above assertion respecting the sabbath, as well as the numerous other mistatements in the 'Appeal' sufficiently confirm the remark of Mr. Barham." P. 8.

"In page 42, Mr. W. accuses the Colonial assemblies for imposing fines on the manumission of slaves, by which I infer that he is ignorant of their object, viz. to prevent unfeeling persons from emancipating old or crippled slaves merely to elude the expence of their care, maintenance, and taxation; for by this act, the owners must pay into the Treasury a sufficient sum to support the freed person, or give a bond to that effect, in case they should become a burthen upon the community.

"Page 43, it is said—'In truth, West Indians must be exempt from the frailties of human nature, if living continually with those wretched beings, and witnessing their extreme degradation and consequent depravity, they could entertain for the Negroes in any unimpaired degree, that *equitable consideration*, and that *fellow-feeling which are due from man to man* so as to sympathize properly with them in their *sufferings and wrongs*, or form a just estimate of their claims to personal rights and moral improvements: and proves the criminality of committing to the Planters the destiny of the slaves.' This is a severe assertion from a person who has *no local knowledge*; and comes with very bad grace from one *so peculiarly charitable!* As far as my own experience and information extend, I can give it the most *unequivocal contradiction as to its general application*: individual instances of bad feeling and bad conduct, may no doubt be produced against Planters, as well as every other class of persons, but I affirm that a mutual and very considerable degree of kind feeling does generally exist between the Planter and his Negroes; and I utterly deny that the latter are the 'wretched and degraded beings' which he describes them; but, on the contrary, I contend that they have much shrewdness, ability, and feeling; and continually evince the utmost attachment to the Planters, and their families: it is therefore highly disgusting to hear them so traduced, and by a Gentleman, professing himself *their great friend*: but in his anxiety to disgrace and disparage the Planters, he overwhelms the Negroes in the general calumny*.

"* If proof were wanted that the Negroes do not consider themselves so ill treated as their soi-disant friends assert, continual instances might be given of Negro servants (slaves) gladly returning to the West Indies with their masters. Last year a friend of mine sent his servant back at his request. I have twice been applied to by Negroes personally, who had run away from my property, and came to solicit me to send them out again; thus voluntarily offering to return to slavery."

Their good humour, cheerfulness, and gaiety of disposition is *notorious*, I believe I may say *proverbial*.[“]

Nothing can be more direct than the contradiction between these accounts. And which are we to believe; the declamation of Mr. Wilberforce, or the evidence of Sir Henry Martin? The former adduces no recent evidence in support of his position, but endeavours to fix our attention upon past times. The latter is corroborated by the published reports of all the West Indian governors. It is needless, therefore, to add another word upon the subject. Mr. Wilberforce has failed to establish his facts, and he reasons most incorrectly from them, even if his facts were true. He admits, what every one else has long known, that the condition of the West Indies has been seriously injured by his refusal to accede to the proposal made by Mr. Dundas, in 1792. He admits that the abolitionists judged too favourably of human nature, that is to say, mistook and misrepresented the effect of their own measures. He insinuates that the importation of slaves is not yet discontinued, and makes sundry minor concessions, of which the candour would be more conspicuous and commendable if they did not assist him in supporting his wholesale denunciations against the white population in the West Indies. But what pretence is there for asking us, to trust the future welfare of those islands to a person who has made such mistakes upon the subject? If in 1792, he over-rated human nature, who shall guarantee us against as erroneous an estimate in 1823? If Mr. Dundas ought to have been listened to on the subject of the Abolition, who can refuse a similar favour to Mr. Canning or Lord Bathurst, upon the more difficult question of emancipation? If the Abolition Bills, and the Register Bills, are still ineffectual and incomplete, in spite of all the patching of Messrs. Stephen and Brougham, who will believe that it is expedient to proceed in opposition to the West Indian interest, instead of listening to their objections, and adopting plans which they will execute. The last is the most important consideration, and it is so entirely overlooked by Mr. Wilberforce and his prompters, that they can never carry their measures into effect. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate and encourage

[“] * It surprised me on first visiting the West Indies to observe the unchecked and often disputatious familiarity of the house Negroes, or servants; and at large dinners I have frequently observed them wholly engrossed by listening to any good stories, and laughing loudly at them. If singing took place, it was impossible to keep them out of the room. I mention these anecdotes to confirm my statement, and to prove that the Negroes are not in a wretched state of servitude.”

the Planters, it has been the fashion from the beginning to accuse and irritate them. Mr. Wilberforce treats the Colonies as Mr. Brougham treats the Church, with the most unbounded and undeserved abuse. And then he thinks it very hard that they do not place implicit confidence in his advice, do not submit themselves entirely to the guidance of his emissaries, do not enter heartily into all his plans, and acknowledge him as the patron Saint of a country to which he has done at least as much harm as good.

Now, putting justice, candour, and honesty, out of the question, is it *politic* in the emancipationists to alienate and traduce the Planters? If the morals of white men in the West Indies are corrupt, let proper steps be taken to improve them. If prejudices are strong, and benevolence weak, let the one be gradually excited, and the other as gradually rooted out. Until this has taken place, it is easy to produce an insurrection and a massacre, but impossible to effect a genuine reform. We believe the event to have taken place already, and contend that it rests with government to make the best of the circumstance. Mr. Wilberforce maintains that it neither has happened or will happen, and yet supposes the present a convenient season for telling the slaves, that they ought to be, and shall be, free. The information, if communicated in the name of the British Parliament, could hardly fail to produce a revolt. And if that calamity were escaped, what would be the amount of the benefit for which such a risque has been incurred? The laws adopted by our Parliament must be carried into execution by the Planters themselves, viz. by persons destitute, according to Mr. Wilberforce, of humanity and religion, persons whom he accuses of evading his Abolition and Register Bills, and who will much more easily and completely evade his Improvement Bills. Without the active and hearty concurrence of the whites, no real improvement can take place among the slaves. And our legislators, it is to be hoped, are too well aware of the fact, to sanction any system of forced or violent melioration, or to suppose that they can abolish vice and immorality by a Statute.

Sir Henry Martin recommends a much more reasonable measure.

“ The quiet and contented behaviour of the Negroes for some time past, has drawn the attention of the Planters to consider their farther amelioration, and especially as to their moral and religious improvement; for this purpose the Planters have been for some time past (and still are) employed in collecting from individual proprietors, the various plans and arrangements which they have adopted of late years upon their respective properties, for the

greater comfort and better management of their Negroes ; intending to collect from these and other sources, such information as may enable them to form a general and uniform system ; and when it has been arranged into a practicable plan of amelioration, and of religious instruction, to submit it to the legislative authorities in the West India Colonies for their approbation, and by whom it might receive such particular and minute arrangements, as may be judged, by them, most proper for final adoption in each particular colony.

“ When this plan of amelioration shall have been carried into execution, I am perfectly convinced that the Negroes will, in every point of view, be in a much better situation than they would be under emancipation, for in the latter state they could not obtain one half the comforts they possessed in the former : and, therefore, it is a most false philanthropy to attempt changing their situation : and I have but little hesitation in declaring my opinion, that the better sort of Negroes (if they were not suddenly thrown into a state of ferment and temporary enthusiasm *by the name of liberty*) *would decidedly reject the boon of emancipation, if coupled with a life of labour.*

“ I sincerely wish his Majesty’s ministers would make arrangements with the proper authorities for the appointment of several orthodox clergymen of the Church of England, or the Episcopal Church of Scotland, to proceed to the different Colonies, on sufficient stipends, to be paid from a fund established and maintained by government, which no doubt those gentlemen who seem so anxious for the religious instruction of the Negroes would most liberally assist by their donations ; and to which I conceive most Planters would largely subscribe ; but all deficiency to be made good by government. These clergymen might be sent out solely for the religious and moral instruction of the Negroes ; and their duties so arranged as not to interfere, but to co-operate with the rectors of the different parishes in the Islands. I think much good might be effected by such a measure, if judiciously conducted on sound Church principles, to the *absolute exclusion* of all persons who do not strictly maintain it.” P. 19.

Here is another proof of the extreme candour of Mr. Wilberforce’s declaration respecting Planters. Every West Indian who took a part in the recent discussion in the House of Commons, professed his readiness to support and sanction the removal of real grievances. Several members suggested the propriety of making further provision for religious instruction, and every one admitted, what is too obvious to be denied, that the interests of the slave, and slave owner, are one and the same. In addition to all this, we have the evidence, the unimpeached and unimpeachable evidence of Sir Henry Martin, to prove that preparations are actually making for the adoption of a general system of religious instruction ; and he suggests the proper steps by which such a measure

may be hastened. We are informed, likewise, that it is in contemplation to enlarge an ancient and valuable Institution, the Society for Promoting the Conversion of Negroes. The plan is heartily approved of by a large body of West Indians, who are equally well disposed towards a still greater undertaking, the establishment of one or more West Indian bishopricks. This indispensable measure bids fair, at last, for success. It will be supported by all the friends of Colonial improvement. The emancipationists, who are so keenly sensible of the misconduct of [the resident Europeans, will rejoice at the prospect of a more efficient ecclesiastical establishment. The Planters, who are jealous of the proceedings of illiterate and irresponsible missionaries, will not object to teachers or lessons that are authorised and sanctioned by the Church. The West Indian clergy will no longer be scattered over the country like sheep without a shepherd, waging an unequal warfare against the ignorance of savages, and the licentiousness of slave drivers, but will have the benefit of an acknowledged ecclesiastical head, who will be the organ of their sentiments and wishes, the director of their exertions, the friendly superintendent of their conduct, and the promoter of their utility, their reputation, and their welfare.

With the example of the East before our eyes it is impossible to doubt that great and glorious effects may be anticipated from the proposed measure. In no department has the Episcopal office in India been more eminently successful than in the attention to religious duties, which it has excited among Europeans, and in that visible alteration in the moral conduct of the community, which has been contemporary with its establishment. It has assisted in bringing about the downfall of those fears respecting the conversion of the Hindoos, which were so long and so generally entertained. It has opened paths for the gradual progress of the Gospel, which the timid have pronounced safe, and the most desponding do not deem impracticable. May we not reasonably anticipate similar effects in the West? While little, comparatively speaking, has been accomplished by the isolated exertions of a small, but very respectable body of clergy, their united efforts will be speedily and signally beneficial. Religion will occupy a more conspicuous station among the whites as well as the blacks; her claims, and her merits will be brought more conspicuously before the public: and the national sympathy will be excited and the national zeal directed by persons under no temptation to abuse it.

Without challenging the sincerity or piety of those teachers

whom Mr. Wilberforce so warmly panegyrises, we must participate in the suspicion and jealousy with which they are regarded by the European population in the West Indies. Their desire of doing good may be intense, but their means are small. They want superintendence, they want sobriety, they want education, they want an orthodox creed, and an apostolic church; and, for these deficiencies, good intention cannot atone. The universal prevalence of methodism would overturn the constitution of Britain. Much more would it revolutionize and ruin such a society as exists in her colonies. And the colonists exhibit their practical good sense by declining its proffered friendship, and declaring, that the religion which they wish to encourage among their negroes is the religion not of the conventicle but of the Church. Under proper controul and direction methodist teachers might become instruments of much good. In their proper station, that of catechists and schoolmasters, they might perform an indispensable though humble task, and perhaps perform it better than men of superior education. If their hearts are pure and their discernment clear, they will hail the arrival of a Protestant Bishop, and hasten to put themselves under his protection. Should they think fit to pursue an opposite line of conduct, should they and their supporters oppose the Establishment and thwart the exertions of Episcopacy, we shall know what to think of their religious professions, and endeavour to explain their motives to our readers and the public.

ART. III. *The Cambridge Tart: Epigrammatic and Satiric-Poetical Effusions; &c. &c. Dainty Morsels, served up by Cantabs, on various Occasions. Dedicated to the Members of the University of Cambridge. By Socius. Crown 8vo. 300 pp. 8s. Smith. 1823.*

THOSE who have heard, read, and enjoyed as much excellent waggery from the wits of Cam as it has been our own good fortune to do, may be attracted by the imposing title of this little volume. It is our duty, therefore, equally out of regard for the pockets of our readers, and from veneration for the established fame of Alma Mater for facetiousness, to warn all who may be inclined to purchase the *Cambridge Tart*, that by so doing they are preparing for themselves severe mortification. Half the "dainty morsels" herein offered to the public were not written by Cantabs; and as to the other half, such Cantabs as can write would perhaps wish that

they had never been written at all. Out of our own port-folio of scraps, we would pledge ourselves to produce a more authentic and a far more entertaining collection. As it is, we shrewdly conjecture that some enemy from the illegitimate *Academies* north of Tweed, or perhaps from one of the many Royal, Metropolitan, and Literary Institutions, which are hourly endeavouring to push our venerable mothers from their stools, has amassed this spurious assemblage of dullness, and palmed it with an evil intent upon the world, solely to detract from the fair reputation of our misused parent. Nay, the suspicion has crossed us, but we dismissed it on the moment, as unworthy both of ourselves and of its object, that some false brother on the banks of Isis being about to republish a *variorum* edition of the Oxford Sausage, had sought to heighten the rich seasoning of that exquisite dish by contrasting it with the stale and vapid refuse of which he has composed the Cambridge Tart.

Great names are first put in requisition from bygone times. Chaucer we think, however, would not recognize the masquerading *rifatto* of his Reve's Tale, in the Miller of Trumpington; and we know not by what rule or measure selections have been made from Randolph, Cowley, Bishop Corbet, Milton, Ben Jonson, Prior, Phillips, and Lord Chesterfield. Certain it is, that few if any of the productions here attributed to this sounding catalogue, bear more reference in particular to Cambridge, than any other individual page would have done, which it might have suited the compiler's fancy to transcribe from the body of their works. But this is not all. Little care has been taken to put the right labels on the right bottles; and names are grievously mismatched. Thus some pointless and not very good-natured lines (*the Georgic*) which a little trouble, if they were worth it, might perhaps have assigned to their lawful owner, are "ascribed to a gentleman of Sidney College." We also have heard them so ascribed, but every contemporary who cared to inquire, knew that the gentleman in question, to whom they were falsely attributed, had not this offence to answer for. Again, *The Devil's Thoughts* is here printed under the title of "Extemporaneous Lines ascribed to the late Professor Porson." By an odd accident, we have now lying before us the rough draft of these very lines in the handwriting of their real author, Mr. Coleridge. As they are very incorrectly printed in the Cambridge Tart, and, we believe, have been so before, we shall transcribe our MS. below, premising (as will be evident from the perusal,) that the lines in the state in which we give them had not received

the last touches of the poet ; and that *we are* by no means answerable for the irreverence of some of their allusions.

“ THE DEVIL’S THOUGHTS.

“ N. B. 1st. That he himself would not wish an Anti-diable Bard a more villainous pen to transcribe with,”

“ From his brimstone bed at break of day,
A walking the Devil is gone ;
To visit his little snug farm of the earth,
And see how his stock went on.

“ Over the hill and over the dale,
And he went over the plain ;
And backward and forward he swish’d his long tail
As a gentleman swishes his cane.

“ And how, then, was the Devil drest ?
O ! he was in his Sunday’s best :
His jacket was red, and his breeches were blue,
And there was a hole where his tail went through.

“ He saw a lawyer killing a viper
On a dung-heap beside his stable ;
And the Devil was pleas’d, for it put him in mind
Of Cain and his brother Abel.

“ An apothecary on a white horse
Rode by on his vocation :
And the Devil thought of his old friend
Death in the Revelation.

“ He saw a cottage with a double coach-house,
A cottage of gentility ;
And the Devil grinn’d, for his darling vice
Is pride that apes humility.

“ He went into a rich bookseller’s shop,
Quoth he, we are both of one college,
For I sate myself like a cormorant once
Hard by the tree of knowledge.”

(“ He met an old acquaintance of his, a Fury, with a con-
crated banner in her hand, and greeted her familiarly.”)

“ She tipp’d him the wink, but cried aloud,
Avaunt, my name’s Religion !
Then turn’d to Mister W——e,
And leer’d like a love-sick pigeon.

“ As he pass’d through Cold Bath-fields, he saw
A solitary cell ;
And the Devil smil’d ; for it gave him a hint
For improving the prisons in Hell.

" A pig came swimming with wind and tide,
Came swimming with great celerity,
And the Devil was tickled, who saw all the while
How it cut its own throat, and he thought with a smile
On old England's commercial prosperity."

(" The clumsiness of half a dozen turnkeys getting off the fetters from an acquitted prisoner, and in one-fifth of the time they had fettered and handcuffed half a regiment. O! how quick and clever men are in what they are used to. But the Devil turned libellous, and thought on the debates on the abolition of the Slave Trade, and on the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act in a single night.")

" General Gage's burning face
He saw with consternation;
And back to Hell his way did he take,
For the Devil thought, by a slight mistake,
It was General Conflagration."

The solemnity with which the following epigram is prefaced reminds us of some of the grave introductory paragraphs recorded in the *Baviad* and *Mœviad*. Did the reader ever happen to meet with any verses (except a school-boy's exercise) from the twelve books of an epic down to the distich of an epigram, which were otherwise than "*spontaneous*?"

" EPIGRAM BY PORSON.

" *A Spontaneous Effusion, made at the Request of a little Girl, who was his Favourite on a Servant, named Susan, when she was ironing Linen.*

" When lovely Susan irons smocks,
No damsel e'er look'd neater;
Her eyes are brighter than her box,
And burn me like a heater." P. 46.

Lord Byron will not be much obliged to the editor of this collection for the revival of two of his *juvenilia*. His Lordship is not of that temper which will compromise for dullness by the absence of all evil intent. If we were ill-naturedly inclined, we could not distress the adult bard more than by circulating largely his early efforts.

Of the probable Academical pretensions of the editor of this volume, the following specimen of latinity must suffice. It is printed as the motto to a " Poetical effusion by Mr. Ayliffe, Trinity College," and no charity, however extensive, can possibly refer its deformity to casual *errata*. We give it *literatim*.

" Nulla manere diu neque vivere carminant possum, quæ scribuntur aque notoribus."

P p

Of the editor's connection with *Cambridge*, we offer the following proof. The lines (and they are among the best in the whole volume,) are plainly written on an *Oxford* Professor.

" EPITAPH ON A GEOLOGIST.

" Where ~~shall~~ we our great Professor inter
That in ~~peace~~ he may rest his bones ?
If ~~we~~ hew him a rocky sepulchre,
He'll rise and break the stones,
And examine each stratum that lies around,
For he's quite in his element under ground.

" If with mattock and spade his body we lay
In the common alluvial soil,
He'll start up and snatch those tools away,
Of his own geological toil;
In a stratum so young the Professor disdains,
That embedded should be his organic remains.

" Then expos'd to the drip of some case-hard'ning spring,
His carcase let stalactite cover :
And to Oxford the petrified sage let us bring,
When he is encrusted all over :
Then 'mid mammoths and crocodiles, high on a shelf,
Let him stand as a monument rais'd to himself." P. 204.

After these remarks we are sorry to add, that on a fly leaf appended to this collection is to be found the following advertisement. " Shortly will be published, *Facetiæ Cantabrigienses : Anecdotes, Smart Sayings, Satirics, &c.* By, or relating to, Notorious Cantabs; being a Companion to the *Cambridge Tart*. Dedicated to the Students of *Lincoln's-Inn*. By Socius." We cannot but hope that the still-born demise of the present volume, may produce a miscarriage of that which is thus announced in embryo.

ART. IV. *The Rights of the English Clergy asserted, and the probable Amount of their Incomes estimated, in a Letter to the Author of "Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth, by the Clergy of every Christian Nation."* By Augustus Campbell, A.M. Rector of Wallasey, in the County of Chester. Liverpool. 1822.

ART. V. *An Appeal to the Gentlemen of England, in Behalf of the Church of England.* By Augustus Campbell, A.M. Rector of Wallasey, in the County of Chester. Liverpool. 1823.

ART. VI. *A Reply to the Article on Church Establishments, in the last Number of the Edinburgh Review. By Augustus Campbell, A.M. Rector of Wallasey, in the County of Chester. Hatchard. 1833.*

MR. CAMPBELL'S first pamphlet has been so extensively circulated that we need not give a detailed account of its contents. He examines and exposes the monstrous falsehoods with which the Radicals commenced their present attack upon the Clergy; and so ably was his defence conducted, that its validity is admitted even by the Edinburgh Reviewers. The fables of the Morning Chronicle and of its friend the Remarker upon the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy, are disowned and rejected by the upper ranks of Reform—and the lie having worked its work among the frequenters of the pot-house—men of better information are assailed with insinuations less notoriously absurd, and arguments more skilfully marshalled. The "Remarks" may be considered as the forlorn hope of the faction—exposed to certain destruction—and overwhelmed the instant they were seen. Yet did they prepare the way for the onset of Mr. Hume and Mr. Brougham, for the desperate and unremitting assaults of the Edinburgh Review, and for that general spirit of virulence and slander, with which the Church is now assailed.

We have already noticed and quoted largely from the Letter to Mr. Jeffrey and from the Letter and the Remonstrance to Mr. Brougham; and these able publications remain unanswered. The Edinburgh Review preferred an engagement with less powerful antagonists, and endeavoured in its last Number to crush and silence Mr. Campbell. It would be idle to pretend that this gentleman's pamphlets are equal to those of the three distinguished individuals to whom we have alluded. And the courageous and honourable opponents who have passed over the gigantic and mighty, and thrown all their weight upon a less distinguished combatant, deserve the fate which has befallen them. They have been manfully encountered and repelled in a quarter from which they did not expect such a reception. Mr. Campbell has most completely vindicated himself, and made a formidable inroad into his adversary's territory. And the Reviewer will now have discovered to his cost, not only that he must sit silent under the rebukes and the chastisements of our eloquent and learned theologians, but that he is at the mercy of every clergyman who can make a plain statement in plain language. Mr. Campbell pretends to no higher cha-

racter than that of a sensible, well-informed man ; but he is bold enough to brave the wit, and shrewd enough to unravel the sophistry of the whole host of reviewers and lawyers.

The principal attack upon Mr. Campbell relates to his assertion respecting the private property of the Church. He is well entitled to be heard in his own defence.

“ The reviewer wishes to prove that by my doctrine, ‘ the Legislature would be completely *estopped* from the appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Church, however enormous and mischievous they might have become, till *she*, in her corporate capacity, made her appearance to give consent to the bill ;’ and then, mightily pleased with his own picture of the Church in the shape of an old lady, he runs on, in a prodigious vein of pleasantry, about the ‘ Council of Lateran in a large red hat ;’ ‘ Lady Pragmatic Sanction in shot silk : and the ghost of Prologue’s grandmother in the German play.’ Now all this is very witty ; but wit is not the test of truth. Its object is not to elucidate, but disguise ; and whenever a man is particularly facetious in a discussion, you may depend upon it he has, as in this case, some fallacy to conceal. In order to convict me of the aforesaid *estoppement*, in the usual style of Northern criticism, he takes two unconnected passages from different parts of my book, the fifth and twelfth pages, separates them from their context, tacks them together, calls them propositions, *personifies* them, and then says they contradict each other.

“ The first proposition is,—‘ the property of the Church is as much *private* property as that of any corporation or any individual in the realm.’

“ The second is,—‘ the Church, in *her* corporate capacity, cannot be compensated by any *money* payment offered to the Clergy as individuals.’

“ ‘ Now, the truth is,’ he says, ‘ the second proposition *cuts the throat of the first*.’ This may be the truth in the Edinburgh Review, but it would not be truth in a court of justice. The *real* truth is, that the two propositions, as might be suspected from their relative positions, have nothing on earth to do with each other. The reviewer assumes that, in my second proposition, I say that the Church cannot make *any* bargain with the State, or cannot be compensated by *any* payment. But I say no such thing : I only say that she cannot be compensated by any *money* payment : and here is his want of sincerity or discernment. The author whom I was controverting, offered us a *money payment* as an equivalent for our freeholds. I told him that a *money payment* was no equivalent at all, either to ourselves or our successors. This is my case : — I leave it to the jury, in full confidence that they must acquit the second proposition of any felonious attempt *upon the throat of its companion*.

“ What, however, I do not say for myself, the reviewer says for

me. He says, that the Church, in her corporate capacity, cannot make any bargain with the State; or rather that she has no corporate capacity at all, which he proves in the following luminous way:—‘The present race of ecclesiastics have no right to dispose of the reversion of Church property.’ We admit it. ‘They have no concern at all with that reversion: and *therefore it is* that the property of the Church is not private property: *therefore it is*, that when *their* vested interests have been provided for, the Legislature has the fullest right to dispose of it, without consulting the wishes of any ecclesiastical functionaries.’ The property of the Church, says the reviewer, is not private property, *because* the Clergy cannot dispose of its reversion. *This is the sole reason*; and I should like to know whether Tenterden steeple is not as good a reason for the existence of the Goodwin sands. If it is good in one case, it is in all; and whenever a man cannot dispose of the reversion of an estate, that reversion is, *for that reason*, the property of the public.

“This, however, is not of course what the reviewer *means*, though it is the necessary consequence of what he says: but he *really does mean* that the reversion of all corporate property belongs to the public, because the incorporated members cannot dispose of it.—So that because the Master and Fellows of Downing College cannot dispose of the reversion of Sir George Downing’s estate, that reversion belongs to the public; and the Legislature has a right to take possession of the late Professor Christian’s fellowship, and apply it to the payment of a clerk in the Treasury;—a doctrine, surely, which is worse in law than the other was in logic. Corporate property, however, by the reviewer’s law, is public property, when the vested interests of the incorporated members have expired; and therefore the Church, in her corporate capacity, has no property at all. The premises are groundless, and the inference is illegal. There is not a constitutional lawyer in the kingdom that would not deny the assertion. The law of England has explicitly declared that corporate property is *private property*, for the express purpose of saving it from the claws of such men as the reviewer, either in Parliament or out.—That purpose has hitherto been answered; whether it will continue to be so, time will shew. Corporate property, by the reviewer’s doctrine, becomes public property when the corporation is dissolved. ‘Corporate property,’ says Sir W. Blackstone, Comm. b. i. c. 18, ‘reverts, when the corporation is dissolved, to the person or his heirs who gave it.’ Which are we to believe, the learned Commentator on the laws of England, or an anonymous scribe in a political magazine? ‘A corporation,’ the reviewer goes on to say, ‘is nothing, independently of the men of flesh and blood, who derive an advantage from its existence.’ If, by the men of flesh and blood, he means the people of England, he only affirms what nobody denies. I do not maintain, as the Roman Catholics do of the bread and wine in transubstantia-

tion, that a corporation is an 'absolute accident, which can subsist without a subject.' A corporation no doubt must, as Aristotle says of all *predicamental* accidents, 'have a substance wherein to reside as the subject of its inhesion : ' and the people of England is the substance in which the corporation of the Church resides.

" But if, by the men of flesh and blood, he means the incorporated members, he makes an assertion which is altogether groundless. The corporation of London has an abstract existence, independently of the flesh and blood of Sir William Curtis, and the skin and bone of some other aldermen who shall be nameless. The corporation of the Church of England has no abstract existence independently of the people of England, for whose benefit it was incorporated ; and no one says it has : but it *has* an abstract existence, independently of the flesh and blood of its present bishops, priests, and deacons. The law however which created it can destroy it, and I nowhere mean to say that it cannot ; I have not said so in the passage which the reviewer refers to, nor I believe in any other ; if I have, I retract the expression. When I call the Church a corporation, I do not mean that she is so technically, because she cannot sue and be sued as such ; but her bishops and beneficed Clergy are legally corporations sole : ' The parson, *quatenus* parson,' says Sir W. Blackstone, ' never dies any more than the king : ' and I mean that as an aggregate of corporations, the Church of England may be *figuratively* spoken of as a corporation ;—a corporation, too, whose right of property is as sacred as that of any corporation in the realm." Reply, p. 7.

" Having proved, I hope, that I was not guilty of the contradiction, respecting the inviolability of church property, which the reviewer imputes to me, I will state what I really mean. In the first place, I certainly think that the great importance of the religious instruction of the people, gives the church a claim to conditional inviolability, subject of course to investigation, and requiring a proof of its real utility ; and that the property which was given by its original owners for the service of religion, ought not to be diverted from that purpose. Furthermore, I mean, that in order to preserve, as far as possible, the property so given, from the dishonourable attempts of revolutionary plunderers, and the designs of men, who think that every species of wealth destined to the promotion of religion, is misapplied, the law has decreed, and persists in decreeing, that all church beneficiaries are corporations ; that as such, they are bound to guard, not only their own vested interests, but those of their successors, in legal perpetuity. That the Church of England, as a collection of corporations, may, figuratively speaking, be said to have ' a corporate capacity ; ' and that in that capacity, she has an unquestionable legal right to be consulted upon any alienation, or change, which the Legislature wishes to make of her property. I mean to affirm, moreover, that a forcible seizure of the reversion of that property, without securing to the *future clergy*, as well as the *present*, an adequate provision, would be illegal, unjust, impolitic, and,

I humbly think, irreligious. That it would be illegal, I affirm, upon the authority of Sir William Blackstone, who says, 'that a beneficed clergyman is a corporation sole with a *legal perpetuity*; and that, in his corporate capacity, he never dies any more than the king.' That it would be unjust, I infer, from its flagrant interference with the rights of private patrons, and the prospects of men who have gone through a long and expensive education, in order to fit themselves for that particular profession.

"And as for its impolicy, I think, in the present state of popular feeling, there can be little doubt of that. The press has done its work: there has been created, by the means of reviews, journals, speeches, pamphlets, and placards, a general excitement in the lower orders, against the privileges and property of the higher. There is, in the physical force of the community, a natural passion for self-appropriation; and this natural passion has been raised, by the poisonous doses of the press to a perfect calenture. The reviewer must be aware, that the jealousy and malignity, the envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, which is felt by some men against the clergy, is felt by the Spencean philanthropists against *all proprietors whatsoever*. The Bishop of Durham, or even Dr. Philpotts, cannot be a more loathsome object to the sensitive optics of any man, that ever wrote in the Edinburgh Review, than the Earl of Lonsdale is, to those of a thorough-paced radical. It is not *church* property alone that he hates, but *all* property. It is not a *spiritual* master alone that he abhors, but a master of any sort or kind. Such men as these are active, and determined: they have the numerical majority on their side; they have the will, if ever God for our sins gives them the power, not only to tear the priest from his altar, and the monarch from his throne, but to sweep the nobility, gentry, and freeholders of the realm, as if they were a swarm of locusts, from the face of the land. If the Legislature once sets the example of spoliation, a gate will be opened, through which the flood of revolution will pour with a fury, which they who opened it, will find, when it is too late, to be irresistible."

P. 18.

Mr. Campbell proceeds to consider the charge of misappropriating Queen Anne's Bounty. The accusation is made after the 'terrible' example of Mr. Brougham. Its truth is placed by Mr. Campbell in a very pleasing light.

"The reviewer proceeds, from the consideration of my pamphlet, to abuse the Church, and malign the governors of Queen Anne's bounty. In doing which, he connects the Churches of England and Ireland, by so studied an implication, that it is difficult to separate them; which, however, as I don't wish to answer for the sins of two Churches, I must try to do, we being no more responsible for the sins of the Church of Ireland, than we are for those of the Church of Rome. 'The Church of England,' says he, 'has been like the daughter of the horse-leech: her cry has been,—

Give, give A brief history of the application of the hereditary revenue of the Crown, and subsequently of parliamentary grants, to the augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, will show as much *rapacity*, on the part of the Clergy, and as wasteful an expenditure of the property of the people on the Church, *as was ever exhibited in the darkest times of Romish superstition.* Upon my word, the impudence of this would be surprising, if any thing could surprise a man accustomed to the assurance with which assertions are made, now-a-days, respecting church property. At and since the Reformation, the Church has been deprived of nearly two-thirds of her ancient revenues, calculated at nearly 6,000,000*l.* per annum. According to Camden, the suppressed monasteries were, six hundred and forty-three; colleges, forty; chantries, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four; hospitals, one hundred and ten. 'Some compute,' says Rapin, 'that the lands taken from the monasteries would amount, at twenty years' purchase, to 30,503,400*l.*; those formerly belonging to St. Alban's, being worth 200,000*l.* a year,—and those to Glastonbury, 300,000*l.*' In the Edinburgh Review, (No. 67, p. 69,) the rent of the great abbey lands, is supposed to be 2,500,000*l.* a year.

"The revenues severed from three thousand public colleges, and the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, are estimated at nearly one-fifteenth of the national income. So that, as the reviewers themselves allow (vol. ii. p. 204), of eleven thousand seven hundred livings, six thousand were under 80*l.* per annum, many of these 20*l.* 30*l.* and even 2*l.* and 3*l.* per annum *. Selden himself cries shames upon the sacrilege, and Lord Bacon declares, that 'all Parliaments since the 27th and 31st of Henry VIII., stand obliged to God in conscience, to do something for the Church; for since they debarred Christ's wife of a great part of her dowry, it were reason that they made her a competent jointure.' A pretty leech truly! At any rate, the State put enough salt upon her at the Reformation, to make her disgorge her wealth, and fattened the laity upon the spoil. Not content with these alienations, Henry VIII. *after having remitted* the first fruits and tenths, *resumed them*, and united them to the Crown, in order that he might succeed the Pope in *every thing*, temporals as well as spirituals. And, that he might plunder the Clergy more even than the Pope did, he got an Act passed, by which the payment of first fruits and tenths was not, *as it had been*, a *fixed* payment, but a *variable* one, increasing with the increase of the benefices; which Act, however, was found to be too unjust ever to be put into execution: the Church, in short, was too poor to bear it, and it never was enforced. And yet, because this payment which had been once remitted, and resumed again by an avaricious King, was applied by

* Before the Reformation, the Bishops had a conditional power of augmenting the stipends of impropriated benefices: after it, that power ceased; so that frequently a layman takes 500*l.* or 600*l.* a year, out of a parish in tithes, and pays the officiating minister 4*l.* or 5*l.*

a religious Queen to the augmentation of poor benefices ; and because, in consequence of its inadequacy to that end, Parliament has granted one million to obviate the evils arising from the 'scanty incomes, miserable pittance,' and worse than 'servile emoluments' of the Clergy, ~~the~~ reviewer has the boldness to assert that the rapacity of the Clergy, and the profusion of the State, have been as great as ever they were in '*the darkest times of Romish superstition*,'—can exaggeration, and misrepresentation, and contradiction, go beyond this?

"The remission, however, of the first fruits and tenths, has always been considered, and justly so, as a most noble and judicious act of wisdom and liberality, on the part of Queen Anne. But then it was an act of wisdom and liberality, to an Established Church, which is enough to call down upon it the whole weight of the reviewer's scorn and contumely. In the estimation of some people, every ecclesiastic must be a knave, and every act done by an ecclesiastic, a trick and a fraud. 'The Queen,' he affirms, 'in her religious and tender concern, was completely *over-reached* by the Clergy; her professed object was to increase the provision of the poor clergy: the real and only immediate effect of it was to release the rich Clergy from a charge, to which by law they were liable a provision was made in the statute of Henry VIII. for *revising*, from time to time, the valuations under which the first fruits and tenths were paid. It was *not improbable* that the Clergy were apprehensive, as the nation was then (in 1703) engaged in an expensive war, *that such a revision might be made*; and in *persuading* the Queen to renounce her hereditary revenue, for the sake of her poor Clergy, *they contrived* most effectually to *secure themselves* by the following ingenious clause, the last in the statute in question.' This clause was, that the first fruits and tenths should be paid according to the ancient *fixed* valuation, and should be subject to no future *variation*, but continue *as they had ever done* since the time of Queen Elizabeth. Now really one would think, from the above account, that the Clergy passed the Act themselves in convocation, and that the Lords and Commons had nothing to do with it: '*they persuaded the Queen*,' we are told;—'*they secured themselves,—they inserted the clause*,' as if they were the only agents. The reviewer, however, asserts that they were *probably apprehensive of a revision*. Now from what source does he collect this *probable apprehension*? from history, tradition, or inspiration? When I look to history, I find, so far were they from having any reasonable apprehension of a revision, that they had a *chance* of getting rid of the burthen altogether. 'Some of the Whigs,' says Burnet (times are strangely altered), 'particularly Sir John Holland and Sir Joseph Jekyll, moved that the Clergy might be *entirely freed from that tax*, since they bore as heavy a share of other taxes; and that another fund might be raised of the same value, out of which small benefices might be augmented: but this was violently opposed by Musgrave, and *other*

Tories.' This does not look like any very great intention, on the part of government, to revise the valuation of Church benefices.

"There was, however, another very powerful reason against the probability of this event: namely, that such a revision would have been unjust, not to the Clergy, for that is nothing, but to the Laity which is of more consequence. The *argumentum ad misericordiam* from the Clergy, might, as the reviewer observes, have been scouted; but an *argumentum ad justitiam* from the Laity, is a weightier concern: the lay advowsons were estates, and had been bought and sold for a valuable consideration, upon the faith that they were, by a prescription of one hundred and fifty years, free from such a revision. Put the clergy out of the question, therefore, and the laity would have taken good care to prevent the adoption of any such measure. So much for history. As for tradition, I believe in it as much as I do in the inspiration of the Edinburgh Review. The fact is, the reviewer has no authority for this charge of fraud, trick, cunning, and avarice, against the Clergy of Queen Anne, but his own assertion, and on that authority alone I hope I may be permitted to withhold my belief.

"Having considered the original appropriation of the grant,—I will now proceed to consider its subsequent distribution. The reviewer facetiously calls it a '*clerical little go*,' and presents to the delighted imagination of his readers, the lottery-wheel in Guildhall, ejecting a promiscuous heap of indiscriminate blanks and prizes.

"The fact however is simply this;—The augmentation of benefices in proportion to their population, was perfectly hopeless. From an income of 13,000*l.* applicable to five thousand five hundred and ninety-seven livings under 50*l.* a year, no augmentation adequate to the wants of a population of two, three, four, five, or ten thousand people, could be in the least available: therefore the governors, in the first instance, considered the income alone, and decided that all livings under ten pounds a year should first receive a bounty of 200*l.*; then all livings under twenty, and so on;—and that private benefactions in favour of livings of 45*l.* a year, should be met with a bounty of 200*l.* on the part of the board. It was then decided that crown livings under 10*l.* should, in the first place, be augmented by lot preferably to all others; and then, in order to avoid the appearance of partiality, and obviate the interminable discussions that must necessarily have arisen from a host of such powerful and conflicting claims as would present themselves, it was determined that the distribution by lot should be extended to all livings under a certain value. Now, although this was an imperfect plan, yet it was the least objectionable one that could be adopted. In proportion to the population they could not augment effectually: in proportion to the income they might; and the plan by lot was really the only feasible one. The reviewer presents his readers with a few bad cases of this lottery; the worst, no doubt, he could find, though he pretends they were stumbled upon by chance. But after all his diligence and ingenuity, I think it will appear, upon a slight exa-

mination, that his selections are unfortunate. Usk, he says, with one thousand three hundred and thirty-nine people, has had *one* augmentation; Wilkirk, with twenty-eight people, has had *three*. I will tell him why. The rule of the governors is this, and it is a judicious one;—they *now* consider ~~not~~ the income *only*, but the income and population jointly. If the population is under five hundred, they augment the income till it amounts to 100*l.*; if under one thousand, they augment it to 110*l.*; if under two thousand, to 120*l.*, &c. &c.

“Now, by this rule, Usk *could not have more than one augmentation*: its population is under two thousand, and its income 110*l.*; they gave it, therefore, one augmentation, and they could do no more. The income of Wilkirk, after all its augmentations, is, I fancy, only 65*l.* a year. There must be some rule, and this perhaps is the most judicious one. Allendale, in York, with an income of 107*l.* has had but one augmentation, for the same reason. As for Sollington and Ruthewick, I suppose they are in the moon; for I can neither find them in Ecton's *Thesaurus*, Bacon's *Liber Regis*, nor in the parliamentary returns. Hardham has received 1200*l.* but its original income was only 24*l.*; and it now may be either 48*l.* or 72*l.* according as the money is rated at, two or four per cent. Lollington has also received 1200*l.*—its income was the same. St. Swithin, in Winchester, has had 600*l.* and 200*l.* to meet a benefaction—but still its income, in 1808, was only returned at 80*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* a year. Callogh has received 800*l.*, 200*l.* to meet a benefaction—its original income was certified at 9*l.* Butterwick (the reviewer's Ruthewick I suppose), with five augmentations, and a population of sixty-two, has received 1,000*l.*: its income was 18*l.*—and now cannot be more than 58*l.* a year.

“Of the instances which the reviewer has selected, some are so absurdly mis-spelt, that it is difficult to find them; while others have not their incomes mentioned in the parliamentary returns, and therefore I can say nothing about them. But the reason why the small parishes had such ‘a wonderful run of luck,’ as he calls it, is because their incomes were so wonderfully low; on which account they were put into the wheel till their fortune lifted them up into something like an adequate salary. The more populous parishes, such as Monmouth, &c. had generally from 80*l.* to 120*l.* a year, on which a man, by the help of surplice fees, might manage to exist, and they were therefore not put into the wheel at all: wisely, I think—foolishly, others think; but surely not wickedly. It might have been (though it was *not*) a mistake, but it could not surely be a crime.” Reply, p. 23.

After so perspicuous and satisfactory a statement, Mr. Campbell need not apologize for the unskilfulness of his hand, or the cursory nature of his investigations; but it is with reason and justice he claims a right to say

“That any person who wishes to know the *whole* truth of any matter relating to the Church of England, must not look for it in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*.” Reply, p. 35.

The length of the foregoing extracts renders it impossible to subjoin a proportionate comment. For all and each of his publications, but more especially for the first and the last, Mr. Campbell is entitled to our best thanks : and we would humbly submit to the Legislature and the Government a question which those pamphlets have repeatedly suggested to ourselves.—While the Church is assailed with such persevering rancour, while a stupid and vulgar Remarker, and a facetious and learned Reviewer combine to deceive both rich and poor with such falsehoods as Mr. Campbell has brought to light—would it have been safe to set the Church property of the two kingdoms afloat by the compulsory commutation of Irish tithes? Is there not a large and active party resolutely bent upon the subversion of the Establishment? Have they not confessed and boasted, that they regard the new Tithe Bill as a prelude and preparation for a more decided change? Such men are not to be silenced by argument, or satisfied by compromise and concession. They should be told in intelligible terms, that their plans are understood and will be resisted. They should be made to feel, that from the respectable body even of the Opposition and the Dissenters, they must expect no encouragement and no support. They should learn by experience that the Church is surrounded by able defenders—and that her ruin cannot be easily or silently accomplished. We hail the rejection of the compulsory clause as a proof that a majority of the Senate are sincerely attached to the Church ; and the individuals by whose exertions that rejection was procured have rescued our most sacred institutions from imminent and deadly peril.

ART. VII. *Accredited Ghost Stories. Collected by T. M. Jarvis, Esq.* 12mo. 244 pp. 6s. Andrews. 1823.

“INASMUCH” observes the very pious, learned, and truly judicious Increase or Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel, at Boston, in New England, in the commencement of the fifth chapter of his snug and convenient duodecimo, entitled *Late Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possession*, “Inasmuch as things which are preternatural, and not accomplished without diabolical operation, do more rarely occur, it is pity but that they should be observed.” It is upon this or some equally sound principle, the premises of which nobody will deny, that Mr. T. M. Jarvis, has invaded the spiritual world ; and, in a most praiseworthy manner, has set about collecting all the *accredited* Ghost Stories which his reading could supply.

Unfortunately this reading appears to have been somewhat narrowly limited; for although he begins with Ficinus, who died in 1499, and who on the very morning of his death, as Baronius informs us, galloped in a white dress on a white horse, to frighten his friend Michael Mercato, into a course of divinity, and continues the series of narratives down to the Radiant Boy, and the late Marquess of Londonderry, the stories which he has amassed amount only to twenty seven in number: a scanty list it must be confessed, for a period of more than three centuries. Now of stories *accredited* on equally strong grounds with most of those with which we are here presented, we could almost pledge ourselves, that, either from imagination or memory, or a little mixture of both, we would at one sitting, round a blazing winter's hearth, furnish at least thrice the number.

A Ghost Story is like a pun. It must either be extremely good, or in the other full extremity of badness. Here, as in poetry, mediocrity is the only quality which cannot be tolerated. A Ghost who appears to disclose a murder (and who does not recollect a score of these?) is of all others perhaps the most legitimate. It is a good Ghost also, which like that of Mrs. Veal, sits chatting for two hours, in an easy chair, in a striped and scoured gown, declines drinking tea very much as the Commendatore declined the glass of wine proffered by Don Giovanni, puts her discourse "in much finer words" than her friend can remember, and all for a purpose of sufficient importance to justify the visitation; for "Drelincourt's Book on Death," which the spirit took occasion to recommend, "since this happened was bought up strangely." These two classes of apparitions are plain and intelligible. The only spectres which we cannot abide, are those who most indecorously ring bells, and break crockery, who knock, groan, grunt, squeak and scratch, who throw stones, damage windows, and teach the furniture to dance quadrilles, and not content with divers other ludicrous and indecent antics, most unbecoming spiritual dignity and solemnity, never quit a room without leaving behind them a sulphureous smell, which is very offensive and disagreeable to the company. All these are practices to which, as our readers must well know, one division of supernatural agents is much given; and as we hold staunchly to the French adage,

*Jeux de main
Sont jeux de vilain,*

we are convinced that in such transactions, a spurious and cacodæmoniacal race usurps the rightful privileges of

the genuine Ghost, and violates the received and established laws of the constitutional Hades.

Mr. Jarvis's relations are free for the most part from these visionary improprieties and impertinences; and he has shewn his judgment, in not including in his work every species of accredited idology which stands upon record. Thus we have no drummer of Lungershall, disturbing Mr. Mompasson's peace of mind, by fastening his horse's hinder leg so firmly in his mouth, that it required many men with a lever to get it out again, and by beating "roundheads and cuckolds, the tattoo, and several other points of war." No candlestick is swept off the table, nor spit carried up the chimney; no cheese is crumbled on the floor, nor hay cocks hung on trees; there is no whistling, trotting, nor snorting, such as rung in the ears of the unhappy George Walton; no apparition pulls two teeth out of a godly man's head on his wedding night, as occurred to young Mr. Earl of Colchester; nor appears in the shape of his friend Mr. Liddal to discourse cases of conscience. But we are falling into our own trap; we must confine ourselves to what there is; and we shall for this purpose be content with selecting one story, the substance of which we have often heard repeated, but never with its details so minutely given. Its extraordinary interest must excuse us for extracting it at length.

"Sir John Sherbroke and General Wynyard were, as young men, officers in the same regiment, which was employed on foreign service in Nova Scotia: they were connected by similarity of tastes and studies, and spent together in literary occupation much of that vacant time which their brother officers squandered in those excesses of the table which, some forty years ago, were reckoned among the necessary accomplishments of the military character. They were one afternoon sitting in Wynyard's apartment: it was perfectly light, the hour was about four o'clock; they had dined, but neither of them had drunk wine, and they had retired from the mess to continue together the occupations of the morning. I ought to have said that the apartment in which they were, had two doors in it, the one opening into a passage, and the other leading into Wynyard's bedroom: there were no means of entering the sitting room but from the passage, and no other egress from the bedroom but through the sitting room; so that any person passing into the bedroom must have remained there, unless he returned by the way he entered. This point is of consequence to the story. As these two young officers were pursuing their studies, Sherbroke, whose eye happened accidentally to glance from the volume before him towards the door that opened into the passage, observed a tall youth, of about twenty years of age, whose appearance was that of extreme emaciation, standing beside it. Struck with the appear-

ance of a perfect stranger, he immediately turned to his friend, who was sitting near him, and directed his attention to the guest who had thus strangely broken in upon their studies. As soon as Wynyard's eyes were turned towards the mysterious visitor, his countenance became suddenly agitated: 'I have heard,' says Sir John Sherbroke, 'of a man's being as pale as death, but I never saw a living face assume the appearance of a corpse, except Wynyard's at that moment.'

"As they looked silently at the form before them—for Wynyard, who seemed to apprehend the import of the appearance, was deprived of the faculty of speech, and Sherbroke, perceiving the agitation of his friend, felt no inclination to address it—as they looked silently upon the figure, it proceeded slowly into the adjoining apartment, and, in the act of passing them, cast its eyes with a something melancholy expression on young Wynyard. The oppression of this extraordinary presence was no sooner removed than Wynyard, seizing his friend by the arm, and drawing a deep breath, as if recovering from the suffocation of intense astonishment and emotion, muttered, in a low and almost inaudible tone of voice, 'Great God! My brother!'—'Your brother!' repeated Sherbroke, 'What can you mean, Wynyard? There must be some deception: follow me:' and, immediately taking his friend by the arm, he preceded him into the bedroom, which, as I before stated, was connected with the sitting room, and into which the strange visitor had evidently entered. I have already said that from this chamber there was no possibility of withdrawing, but by the way of the apartment, through which the figure had certainly passed, and as certainly never returned. Imagine, then, the astonishment of the young officers when, on finding themselves in the centre of the chamber, they perceived that the room was perfectly untenanted. Wynyard's mind had received an impression, at the first moment of his observing him, that the figure whom he had seen was the spirit of his brother. Sherbroke still persevered in strenuously believing that some delusion had been practised. They took note of the day and hour in which the event had happened; but they resolved not to mention the occurrence in the regiment, and they gradually persuaded each other that they had been imposed upon by some artifice of their fellow officers, though they could neither account for the reason nor suspect the author, nor conceive the means of the execution: they were content to imagine any thing possible, rather than admit the possibility of a supernatural appearance. But, though they had attempted these stratagems of self-delusion, Wynyard could not help expressing his solicitude with respect to his brother, whose apparition he had either seen or imagined himself to have seen; and the anxiety which he exhibited for letters from England, and his frequent mention of his fears for his brother's health at length awakened the curiosity of his comrades, and eventually betrayed him into a declaration of the circumstances, which he had in vain determined to conceal. The story of the silent and unbidden visitor was no sooner bruited

abroad than the destiny of Wynyard's brother became an object of universal and painful interest to the officers of the regiment; there were few who did not inquire for Wynyard's letters before they made any demand for their own, and the packets that arrived from England were welcomed with a more than usual eagerness, for they brought not only remembrances from their friends at home, but promised to afford the clue to the mystery which had happened among themselves. By the first ships no intelligence relating to the story could have been received, for they had all departed from England previous to the appearance of the spirit. At length the long wished for vessel arrived; all the officers had letters except Wynyard; still the secret was unexplained. They examined several newspapers; they contained no mention of any death, or of any other circumstance connected with his family that could account for this preternatural event. There was a solitary letter for Sherbroke still unopened: the officers had received their letters in the messroom, at the hour of supper: after Sherbroke had broken the seal of his last packet, and cast a glance on its contents, he beckoned his friend away from the company, and departed from the room. All were silent. The suspense of the interest was now at the climax; the impatience for the return of Sherbroke was inexpressible: they doubted not but that letter had contained the long expected intelligence. At the interval of an hour Sherbroke joined them. No one dared be guilty of so great a rudeness as to inquire the nature of his correspondence; but they waited in mute attention, expecting that he would himself touch upon the subject.

"His mind was manifestly full of thoughts that pained, bewildered, and oppressed him: he drew near the fire place, and, leaning his head on the mantelpiece, after a pause of some moments, said in a low voice to the person who was nearest him, 'Wynyard's brother is no more!' The first line of Sherbroke's letter was 'Dear John, break to your friend Wynyard the death of his favourite brother:' he had died on the day and at the very hour on which the friends had seen his spirit pass so mysteriously through the apartment.

"It might have been imagined that these events would have been sufficient to have impressed the mind of Sherbroke with the conviction of their truth; but, so strong was his prepossession against the existence, or even the possibility of any preternatural intercourse with the souls of the dead, that he still entertained a doubt of the report of his senses, supported as their testimony was by the coincidence of vision and event. Some years after, on his return to England, he was walking with two gentlemen in Piccadilly, when, on the opposite side of the way, he saw a person bearing the most striking resemblance to the figure which had been disclosed to Wynyard and himself: his companions were acquainted with the story, and he instantly directed their attention to the gentleman opposite, as the individual who had contrived to enter and depart from Wynyard's apartment, without their being conscious of the means.

"Full of this impression, he immediately went over, and at once addressed the gentleman: he now fully expected to elucidate the mystery. He apologized for the interruption, but excused it by relating the occurrence which had induced him to the commission of this solecism in manners. The gentleman received him as a friend; he had never been out of the country, but was the twin brother of the youth whose spirit had been seen.

"The reader of the above story is left in the difficult dilemma of either admitting the certainty of the facts or doubting the veracity of those whose word it were impossible even for a moment to suspect. Sir John Sherbrooke and General Wynyard, two gentlemen of distinguished honour and veracity, either agreed to circulate an infamous falsehood, which falsehood was proved by the event to be prophetic, or they were together present at the spiritual appearance of General Wynyard's brother." P. 26.

We would willingly add to this the apparition of Major Blomberg to the governor of Dominica, a story which is equally unexplained with that which we have copied; but our limits warn us to conclude. If the incredulity of any of our readers should be staggered by the veritable history which we have transcribed above, we would again resolve him into scepticism by a very comfortable paragraph to be found in the excellent writer from whose work we commenced this article, "Men had need be exceeding wary what credit they give unto, or how they entertain communication with such spectres. I do not say that all such apparitions are diabolical. Only that many of them are so. And as yet I have not met with any τεκμηρια whereby the certain appearance of a person deceased may be infallibly discerned from a mere diabolical illusion."

ART. VIII. *The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay. By the Author of Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life.* Cadell. pp. 404.

WE should be unjust to the merit of our Northern neighbours in refusing to acknowledge that they have trod in the steps of their great Coryphæus with success, and that since the secession of Miss Edgworth from the department of novel-writing, its highest honours have been achieved by Scots authors. Among the many excellencies which constitute their claim to public favour, none appears to us more worthy of notice, than the sound healthy tone of feeling which pervades

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their works, and the rational and right-minded view which they take of the moral and external condition of mankind. The train of thought and feeling which their writings inspire is equally remote from fat-headed, contented optimism, and from the atrabilious sensibilities of those writers whom, for want of a better term, we may define as the Manichean school. In the hands of the latter gentlemen, "this goodly frame the earth seems a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy the air, this brave o'er-hanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, appears no other thing than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours," and man is handled with little more mercy than the poor cock whose feathers Diogenes plucked off to represent a lord of the creation. The heroes of their tales are either ill-starred Pilgrimages, the devoted butts for all the persecution which the leisure of their neighbours can afford, or sulky querulous egotists, yelling and dashing themselves against their fleshly cage at the slightest untoward accident, and full of Utopian aspirations and practical selfishness.

Instead of the Fleetwoods and Caleb Williams's, of this school, and other such fungous excrescences of a perverted imagination, the Scots writers present us with men and women; and in lieu of libelling mankind, do their best to cheer and improve it.

The present tale, as will appear from the abstract, and from its very title, is of a more melancholy nature than is usually the case with the Scots novels; but second to none of them in the sound tone of feeling to which we have alluded, as well as in elegance and pathos, and superior to them all in its moral and religious tendency.

The plot of the story is simple and unincumbered with involved incident, as is, perhaps, more consistent with its nature and intention. It opens with a beautiful description of the happiness of an humble family at Braehead, a village near Edinburgh. Walter Lyndsay, the father of it, is represented as a man exemplary in the discharge of his social and domestic duties, and in birth and acquirements far superior to his employment as a printer's foreman; and maintaining by his industry an aged mother, as well as a wife and family of four children. Of these, Laurence the only son, escapes to sea at an early age, and Esther and Marion, the two younger daughters, are afflicted, the former with blindness, and the latter with idiotcy. These dispensations of Providence are, however, borne with resignation and cheerfulness by Mrs. Lyndsay and her elder daughter Margaret, the heroine

of our story; but a more bitter and hopeless misery awaits them. In an evil hour, Walter Lyndsay becomes a disciple of infidelity and sedition, and their effects become soon manifest in his altered and morose manners, and his neglect of his business. Suspicion being excited against him from other causes, he is thrown into prison on a charge of treason, and being released from want of evidence, abandons his family for the cast off mistress of one of his reforming friends, while Margaret, the firmness and tenderness of whose character have already been developed by these trying circumstances, narrowly escapes the brutal violence of another of the same tribe. The aged grandmother, already on the brink of the grave, does not survive the shock occasioned by the discovery of her son's conduct; and Mrs. Lyndsay and her daughters are forced by his desertion to remove to a narrow lane in Edinburgh, where by dint of industry, frugality, and the resource of a small school, they support themselves respectably, reconciling their minds to unavoidable privations and irksome employment, with a religious patience, which the author has described in his happiest manner.

“ But all within their house and their hearts was unchanged and unchangeable. Herein lie the great and eternal sources of joy and sorrow, alike to the lofty and to the low; and when at night the little room was made snug, and clean, and comfortable—the fire beeted—the shutters closed—work in hand—with tale or song—and the rain driving, or the snow falling without—blessed in that widow's dwelling was the lot of humble and unrepining virtue,—and had some wandering sage been on a pilgrimage to search out Happiness, he might have found her even there sitting with her sister Sorrow, by the fire-side in that obscurest tenement.

“ The winter had set suddenly in with extreme and unusual severity, and deep long-lying snow blocked up the lane, till it was dug through, and heaped up against the wall higher than the ground windows. Provisions and fuel were dear; and it was a severe season even for those families who were not the very poorest, and who had enough to do to procure the bare necessities of life. It was a bad time for attempting to open the smallest school even with the very lowest children's fees; but the attempt had been made, and about a dozen scholars came to the house with their Bibles, seams, and samplers. That number, if their parents could pay the merest trifle a quarter, was sufficient to keep the family of their teacher alive, along with what they could otherwise earn. And there is a pride among the very poorest of the poor to pay such debts; for parents, who think of educating their children at all, are not likely to wish to do so at the expence of their own honesty, and at another's loss.

"Before Christmas the Lyndsays were known and respected, not only in their own lane, but throughout several adjacent streets. The parents of the children soon saw that they learned there nothing but what was right and good. When at school, they were kept warm at a fire-side, and out of the way of all harm; and even those parents, who were themselves too careless of human duties, or of their duties to their Creator, could not but be pleased to see their children more quiet and decent in their manners, less fractious and disobedient, and disposed during the long winter nights to find amusement in what was instruction, and pleasure in reading over their lessons in that Catechism and that Bible which they themselves perhaps had too much neglected. Even the idle, the base, and the dissolute respected the inmates of the floor of that house, and gradually abstained from offering them any of those insults which thoughtless and unfeeling brutality so often takes a satisfaction in heaping upon those whom they suppose pure enough to feel, and too helpless to repel them. Much meanness, duplicity, coarseness, and vice were daily before their eyes, and often carried into the hearts of this harmless and industrious family; but the minds even of the young, as long as they feel the happiness and the sanctity of innocence, remain pure amidst pollution—to them contact is not contagion—much is seen and heard which they do not understand; and from the sins that Nature in her greatest purity must know, there is found a preservative in the simple joy of that virtue which is strong in the consciousness of being pleasant in the eyes of God.

The very cares and troubles, and anxieties of her little school, were all of a kind to lead away the thoughts of the widow from her own misfortunes. The teasing ways of the careless and obstinate imps forced her to exert herself, and even called out at times exercises of patience, and occasioned slight irritations of temper, that made her wonder with a sigh how she who had suffered such great evils could be affected by trifles like these. By degrees she felt an interest—a pride—even a selfishness in her humble and useful trade; and the very airs of the schoolmistress, so necessary to uphold her authority among these urchins, fortified her heart against the intrusion of formidable recollections. So powerful over misery are the occupations of utility or innocence! Margaret, too, delighted in her little school room. She saw, with deep satisfaction, that it was restoring her mother to peace of mind; and as for herself, she, in whose heart love did by nature overflow, soon bestowed it on one and all, even the least winning of her childish pupils. Above all, not an hour in the day was left unoccupied; and thus, after a bustling morning and busy afternoon, came on a joyful evening and a tranquil night." P. 72.

Their spirits are cheered by the return of the lost son from sea, in favour with his officers, and unchanged in

affection and good principles. He is accompanied by his friend and mess-mate Harry Needham, a joyous and generous youth like himself, between whom and Margaret an attachment arises, almost unsuspected by themselves. Poor Harry however is drowned in a party of pleasure on the sea, from which Margaret narrowly escapes with her life; and scarcely has her young mind recovered the shock, when her father, of whose abode and circumstances his family have been long unapprized, summons them in penitence to his death-bed, where he is lying in the utmost destitution and penury: and his wife and daughter, having soothed his last moments by their tenderness, extend their good offices to the partner of his guilt, who is also in a dying state. But a new trial soon awaits poor Margaret, in the death of her two sisters, who are carried off in succession by the typhus fever, and of her mother, who wasted by sorrow and a rapid decline, soon follows them to the grave. The desolate condition of the orphan is alleviated by the kindness of Miss Wedderburn, an accomplished and benevolent girl, at whose instance her mother receives Margaret into the house as a governess to her younger daughters. Here her beauty and merit attract the affections of Richard Wedderburn, the son of her patroness, whose honourable proposals she rejects from motives of gratitude and delicacy to his mother, and accompanied by the friendship and attachment of the family, leaves the house to reside with an old maternal uncle in Clyderdale. Here follows the most unmixedly happy part of poor Margaret's life; her relative Daniel Craig, a man of naturally kind feelings, but soured by disappointed affection into a morose and solitary miser, is softened by the influence of his adopted daughter into a social old man, and closes his life respected and loved by the neighbours who had shunned him before. By his death Margaret is left in possession of the small patrimony on which he resided, which together with her hand, she bestows after a very short acquaintance, on Ludovic Oswald, a young soldier of fortune, son of the minister of her parish. By this solitary act of folly she prepares for herself the severest trial which has yet fallen upon her. Hannah Blantyre, a young woman whom Ludovic had seduced in earlier life, and married without the knowledge of his friends, returns unexpectedly with her child to assert her marriage, and claim her husband. The latter, who had deserted her during his last campaign, and believed her dead, abandons his home in a paroxysm of despair and shame; and Margaret, on whose mercy the unwelcome intruder is thrown, exerts herself to bestow every care which

the dying state of Hannah requires. After a considerable interval subsequent to the death of the latter, the repentant Ludovic is discovered in the hospital of Edinburgh, enfeebled by wounds and hardships suffered in a campaign against the Maroons, and in a state of extreme danger. Restored to life, though not to health, by the care of the woman whom he had always loved with sincerity, he is re-married to her, and lives for a few years afterwards, a happier and better man than in his days of youth and health.

"He could not, wished not, to forget that he had been a man of many sins; and he held the uncertain tenure of his life from God with a sacred fear. He did not deliver himself up to a wild enthusiasm—he did not fling himself helplessly upon Divine mercy, without humbly striving to feel and act as religion required—he did not trust in the promises held forth to sinners, without knowing that better thoughts had gained an ascendancy over those that had so long been too familiar—he did not vainly conceive that all alliance had been broken off between himself of other years, and himself of the present season—he still knew that hauntings from the past were with him still, to tempt and try—and he humbly suspected even his penitence, lest it might be only remorse for guilt, or regret of pleasure. But deeply convinced that his frailties clung to him still, and that the seeds of sin were smothered, not utterly crushed, in his nature, he made small pretence before man to superior piety, and so much the more humbly did he prostrate himself before God." P. 398.

After his death, Margaret, long weaned from the world and its vanities, devotes herself to benevolence and the education of her children. Her brother Laurence, almost the only person in the story whose lot has been invariably happy, marries Lucy Oswald, the sister of Ludovic, and obtains promotion by his merit; and Richard Wedderburn, long reconciled to his disappointment, and on the strictest terms of friendship with Margaret and her family, also marries a woman worthy of him.

It must be owned that the first impression conveyed by this tale is but a cheerless and gloomy one. Distresses and deaths seem multiplied in almost an unnecessary manner, particularly in the "fell swoop," of lover, father, mother, and sisters, which takes place within as short a time as the death of the three sisters in "*Lights and Shadows of Scottish life*:" and it may be said of both books, that their lights are but of a cold autumnal nature, just sufficient to deepen their shadows by contrast. We are however forewarned by the very title of the story before us, that it is to be a detail of sorrow and suffering; and it is our own fault if we peruse

it in a train of mind averse to the solemn contemplation which it is evidently the Author's purpose to excite. The beauties of pathos and imagination which "Margaret Lyndsay" displays, are not designed for the gratification of an idle moment, but to convey in a lively manner more than one high and important lesson. The ascendancy which the immortal part of man may and ought to maintain over the mortal, the power which religious resignation and a calm conscience may exert over the most untoward circumstances and the most depressing afflictions—such are the truths in the illustration of which the Author has employed unusual powers of fancy, eloquence and feeling. Religion is freely yet unobtrusively introduced in the cordial, graceful and becoming character which truly appertains to her, as the best friend and comforter of mankind, the instructive source of fortitude, disinterestedness, and benevolence, the promoter of all the minor charities and attentions which sweeten life, and the bestower of that permanent buoyancy of mind which struggles effectually against its evils. Justice is also done to those kindly feelings which in a degree redeem the corrupt nature of man, and which the cynics who libel the world without wishing to mend it, would teach us to distrust; and the capabilities of human nature in the most humble circumstances, and under the roughest exterior, are shewn with truth and clear-sightedness. We particularly allude to the conduct of John Walker, and to the whole episode of old Daniel Craig, which last we consider as the most masterly and striking feature in the book, and shall therefore quote at length from it.

"The heart of the old man, that had for many years been locked up almost in a frost, now thawed, and dissolved under the gracious warmth of affection. Had he striven to do so, he could not have resisted the power of Margaret's perpetual smiles; but instead of that, he was never happy when she was out of the room. He had found suddenly, when no such hope could have been even dreamt of in sleep, a new object of natural delight to cheer his declining age. More beautiful was Margaret Lyndsay—more tender—more cheerfully sedate—more sincerely loving than even she had ever been, who had left his bosom in her falsehood, and carried over her faith to another husband. Age had stilled all that passion in his soul, age and the grave. But every man has within him the feelings of a father; and here was a daughter rising up before him, in his old age—a flower seen, for the first time, in its perfect beauty; and as he prayed devoutly to God, long to bloom unfading, when his grey hairs were still in the airless cell of death. This strong natural delight visiting him at last changed his whole character, or rather restored and revived it;

so that, in a month or two, Daniel Craig was seen in neighbours' houses, on market days, and even at a fair, with a countenance almost as much enlivened with happiness as any other in the merry village." P. 258.

"Daniel Craig was now one of the best esteemed men in his native parish. The few friends of his youth that still survived met him in his own house, or in theirs, with unrestrained cordiality; he frequently entered doors which he had never darkened before; he took an active and useful part in the concerns of the Kirk Session; and not one of his brother elders was more frequently at the Manse, or seen oftener with the Minister. He accompanied Mr. Oswald on his visitations; and he who had for thirty years been seemingly blind, deaf, and insensible to all the weal or woe of others, now said prayers by the bed of the sick, and gave alms to the poor. 'Nobody ever doubted that he had a gude heart; and now ye see that loving lassie, or leddy rather, his niece yonder, has just warmed its blood, like a daughter sent to him in his auld age—and she has made her uncle a Christian.' Such was the general feeling over the parish; nor was the old man himself ignorant how the happy change had been produced upon him—for never was child dearer to parent than sweet Margaret Lyndsay now to him whose life she had blessed and renewed.

"At threescore and ten, the morning and evening shadows are alike solemn—as they fall upon the bright fields rejoicing in the freshness of the dewy prime, or upon the dim landscape reposing in the gradual hush of the sinking sunlight. So was it now with Daniel Craig. He calmly counted the days as they glided by over the garden-dial now true to the changing heavens; and especially on each Sabbath that wound up the week, he felt that he was so many steps nearer and nearer to his grave. That feeling gave him a tranquil happiness; and he looked over his beautiful Farm, with a sort of gratitude to the very clover lea-fields, the green meadows irrigated by a hundred little natural rills, and the deep loamy soil that sent forth the tall wheat—when he thought that they would sustain the life and the happiness of Margaret Lyndsay when he was gone, and perhaps too a sweet family of rosy-cheeked urchins, that would know his tombstone among others, in the cheerful church-yard gatherings, on future Sabbath-days.

"Thus passed on the sunny summer among the silent shades of Nether-Place. 'I am oure happy now,' said Daniel, 'oure happy to live lang here; and I humbly trust that I am mair fit for the great change.' The mortal body will not wait away from the dust, for all the deepest happiness of the immortal soul; and one Sabbath morning, Daniel having been longer of making his appearance than usual, Margaret went into his room, and found the old man lying asleep upon his bed, with a smiling countenance—but it was in that sleep from which there is no awaking, but in another region of thought and life.

"Margaret had borne every affliction that could search the nerves round the core of her heart; and youth, innocence, love,

and religion as native to that heart as mere human affections, had sustained her in them all, without any diminution of her happiness, although with a great change of its character; and, therefore, it was not likely that this loss should overwhelm her with such strong grief, as she had experienced at other dearer deaths. But the old man's face could not be looked at by the grateful and loving Orphan, without the fast flowing tears of holy nature; and she kissed the cold cheeks of him to whom the tender expression of human affections had for so many solitary years been wholly unknown; and with her own gentle hands she closed his eyes. But for him, she might have been a dweller under the roof of paid and mercenary charity; and but for her, he might have died in his loneliness, sullenly, and without those pious feelings that are best cherished by the breath of merely human love. The old man's latter days had been happy; and the shadow of death had fallen upon him at last, a few hours after a cheerful and fatherly conversation with one he loved, beside his own hearth, while the Bible had furnished the last words uttered to his deafened ear." P. 279.

Whether a decidedly melancholy plot be not the most consistent with the objects to which we have alluded, may be doubted; at least such seems the opinion of the Author, who seldom or never attempts humour, and whose characters, though in one or two instances admirably drawn, are chiefly subservient to the thread of the story. His great end may best be expressed in the language of Campbell.

“ ‘ Yes ; to thy tongue shall seraph words be given,
And pow'r on earth to plead the cause of Heaven ;
The proud, the cold untroubled heart of stone,
That never mused on sorrow but its own,
Unlocks a generous store at thy command,
Like Horeb's rocks beneath the prophet's hand.
The living lumber of his kindred earth,
Charm'd into soul, receives a second birth ;
Feels thy dread power another heart afford,
Whose passion-touch'd harmonious strings accord
True as the circling spheres to Nature's plan ;
And man, the brother, lives the friend of man ! ’ ”

Pleasures of Hope, P. 16.

Such an employment of talent would reflect honour upon any individual, and if report err not in attributing the present tale to the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, we may congratulate him on a work so well calculated to uphold his high literary character, and so consistent with the nature and objects of his dignified office.

ART. IX. *The Christian and Civic Economy of large Towns.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Glasgow. 1823.

OUR readers are aware that the above miscellany is a periodical work written solely by Dr. Chalmers, and that the object of it is to enlighten the present generation, in regard to the best means of managing the poor, as well indeed as of regulating all eleemosynary establishments whatsoever. There are three Numbers of the *Civic Economy* now before us, of which the respective titles are; *On the likeliest means for the abolition of pauperism in England*:—*On the likeliest Parliamentary means for the abolition of pauperism in England*:—*On the likeliest parochial means for the abolition of pauperism in England*.—It is these topics of course, which recommend to our attention this, the latest portion of Dr. Chalmers' labours, on *Christian and Civic Economy*.

We find that the author, in order to qualify himself for pronouncing an accurate judgment on the practice and on the effect of our system of poor laws, spent some time last year in different parts of England; and that much valuable information was communicated to him in Dorsetshire, Essex, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, and London. As the benevolence of his views has never been questioned, and as the practicability of his scheme had already been sufficiently proved by the success which crowned his exertions at Glasgow, he appears to have been every where well received; readily and frankly informed on all the points to which his enquiries were directed; and respectfully listened to, whenever he thought proper to tender his advice in return. It is our intention to give a summary view of what he learned as well as of what he recommended, during his visit amongst us; but before we proceed to this abridgment, we shall state, in a few words, the amount of his achievements in diminishing, and as applies to several parishes, effectually abolishing pauperism, in the populous city where he exercises his ministerial functions.

Glasgow, from the character of its inhabitants, who are chiefly engaged in trade or manufactures, approaches more nearly than any other town in Scotland, to that condition of things which, at first rendered necessary, and which in some measure justifies at the present day, our establishments for the relief of pauperism. Assessments for the poor had accordingly long been imposed in that city; where, as in all other places in which a fund for the indigent is raised by legal authority, the burden was becoming more and more

heavy every year. The amount of rates at Glasgow was not less than 12,000*l.* per annum ; which, with the sums collected on the Sundays at the doors of the several Churches, might be taken at the average of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. The people, beginning to view such relief as a right secured to them by law, were fast becoming clamorous and shameless ; assailing the magistrates with memorials and remonstrances, und demanding to be placed on the same footing, as to the regularity and amount of their allowance, as the working class in England. As the *theory* of the poor laws in Scotland is not materially different from that of the system which obtains among ourselves, or is, at least, so much the same as to warrant an assessment upon the real property of a parish, for the maintenance of all the impotent and necessitous householders who may belong to it, our neighbours in the North found themselves placed decidedly within the influence of that vortex which has, of late years, drawn in and destroyed so much of wealth and of good feeling in many parts of England. To avert the evil with which they were thus threatened, it was thought worth while to make an attempt to return to the more simple method of parochial charity, which had been followed throughout all Scotland, previous to the introduction of this authoritative assessment, and to supply the wants of the poor as formerly, from the Sunday collections, as well as from those more private sources of individual philanthropy, which are never closed in cases of real distress. With this view, Dr. Chalmers entreated to have his parish disjoined from the other city parishes of Glasgow, and to have the entire command of the small parish fund now mentioned ; that, namely, which is contributed by the voluntary donations of the parishioners themselves at the church door : and with these scanty means and facilities he undertook to provide for all his parochial poor ; to relieve the Town's Hospital of all burdens as connected with his people ; and to allow, at the same time, the whole amount of the assessment levied within his parish, to go in aid of the general disbursement for the poor in the other parts of the city.

This was a bold challenge ; and it was accepted. Dr. Chalmers, we are told, has one of the poorest parishes in Glasgow, containing about 9000 inhabitants, nearly all of them belonging to the labouring class of society, and, at the time he undertook their reformation, greatly overrun with radicalism and other political and religious impurities. But he never despaired of success ; and he has succeeded beyond all human hope and calculation. He not only provides for

all the poor among his nine thousand mechanics, but he has already, on the bare revenue of his Sunday collections, built four substantial school-houses within the bounds of his parish; by means of which the children of his parishioners are blessed with a good education at a very small cost; and where they are taught, as one of the fundamental principles of religion and social morality, that it is their bounden duty to "learn and labour truly to get their own living," in that state of life, into which it may please God to call them. He is even enabled to pay out of the same fund a salary of 25*l.* to each of his four masters; and during all these wonderful exertions of real and ardent patriotism, the weekly contributions of his hearers, so far from falling short of his liberal schemes, have always maintained a balance of several hundred pounds in his hands. His example has been followed by several other parishes in Glasgow, with the same good effect. The magistrates, who formerly charged themselves with the legal maintenance of the poor, and expended year after year from ten to fifteen thousand pounds on a partial relief of their wants, have voluntarily resigned their office of almoners, and left the whole labour of charity to the clergymen of the city, and to their lay deacons and elders. The same system we are here informed has been extended to a part of Edinburgh; and the same happy results continue to crown the endeavours of these best of reformers. Compulsory pauperism is rapidly disappearing. The poor are supported by the gratuitous contributions of the poor themselves; and the labouring classes are taught that no individual has any claim for maintenance but upon his own industry, prudence, and perseverance.

It is natural to enquire, what are the means which are employed for effecting this remarkable improvement, and to ask upon what principle are the people of Scotland induced to relinquish a legal claim, in order to make way for a scheme which throws the burden of relieving the indigent upon the very class to which the indigent in general belong. In reply to these questions it may be observed, in the first place, that, as the practice of assessing property for the maintenance of paupers is comparatively recent in that country, and confined even now to the large towns, the labouring people are not yet accustomed to depend upon parochial aid, as an ascertained right, and, of course, do not feel that they have any particular interests in establishing it. Instead of having had their eyes fixed upon a large revenue levied by the authority of parliament, their sole reliance, in the event of sudden and unavoidable distress, has always been placed on

that small gratuitous fund which is raised at the church doors, and to which every man, however poor, who goes to church, makes it a point of honour to contribute his mite.

But, we must add, the principal means by which the progress of pauperism in large towns, has been checked, are a minute investigation into the circumstances of all persons who solicit parish assistance; into the ability of their relatives to assist them; into the amount of the private charity which is administered by their neighbours, and even into the extent to which this private aid may, upon a right understanding of the case, be carried by the benevolent householders around. For this purpose, every parish is divided into a number of districts or wards, every one of which is placed under the superintendence of an elder or deacon, who lives in the middle of his charge, and who receives, in the first instance, all the petitions for parochial relief which the poor are desirous to forward to the *session*, or consistory, composed of the minister, and all the elders and deacons of the parish, who ultimately decide on every claim. As every individual in the district is known to the deacon, who is usually a prudent well-doing person of the same rank with the parishioners among whom he dwells, there is not only very little room for fraud or imposition, in the statement of facts upon which the petition is founded; but as in most situations, a great deal may be done by engaging the sympathy and good offices of the neighbours, this representative of the session will endeavour to secure the necessary aid from the inexhaustible resources of private benevolence, and to draw relief to his claimant from hands and hearts doomed to the same labours and pains with himself, and which, in such circumstances, are soon taught to feel that it is more blessed to give than to receive. There is much humanity among the poor towards the poor, when their good feelings are not intercepted by the operation of a public and legalized system, of which the professed object is to relieve their wants; but which, notwithstanding its cumbrous and expensive apparatus, does not effect half as much as they would do for one another without it. This is a consideration which cannot be too frequently kept in view, in all discussions on the subject of the poor-laws. The labouring classes would not only not suffer any thing from the abolition of these laws, but they would even, in that event, be better provided for, when in sickness or want; and they would unquestionably be more virtuous in their feelings, and more independent in their principles. The truth is, as Dr. Chalmers well observes, that it is upon their sympathies one with another that we

would mainly devolve the solution of all the difficulties connected with pauperism—sympathies which are never wanting when they are not seduced from the exercise of them by the deceitful glare of public and proclaimed charity; and which, when restored to their natural play, amongst neighbours and kinsfolk, by the abolition of pauperism, will be sure to guide us ultimately forward unto a better served and better satisfied population than before.

It has been objected to the system pursued by Dr. Chalmers at Glasgow, and which he recommends very earnestly to our imitation, in this part of the empire, that it subdues pauperism only by starving the poor; and that the purses of the rich are saved at the expence of labourers and mechanics. As to the first point, he clearly makes out, to our satisfaction, that the poor are much better cared for when, in ordinary circumstances, they are left to the humanity of one another, than when they are made the objects of a compulsory charity; whilst, as to the second, he questions the policy of subjecting any one class to the *legal obligation* of supporting any other class, and would rather direct the munificence of the wealthy to plans whereby the lower orders might receive education at once good and cheap, and find a ready asylum for the blind, the deaf, and the insane. But it is only with the former head of the objection that we are at present concerned; and, in reference to it, we are most ready to admit that Dr. Chalmers has both the weight of principle and the strong argument of experience to bear him out in his philanthropic views. He produces a number of cases, for the purpose of confirming and illustrating his assertion, that the poor are better provided for when entrusted to the exercise of mutual kindness, than when their natural sympathies are tampered with by the intrusions of a legal and compulsory establishment of rates and overseers.

“ The first that occurs to us is that of a weaver, who, though he had sixpence a day as a pension, was certainly put into circumstances of difficulty when, two winters ago, in a season of great depression, the typhus fever made its deadly inroads upon his household. His distress was in the highest degree striking and noticeable; and it may therefore look strange that no sessional movement was made towards the relief of so afflicted a family. Our confidence was in the sympathies and kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood; and we felt quite assured that any interference of ours might have checked or superseded these to such a degree, as would have intercepted more of aid than is ever granted by the most liberal and wealthiest of all our public institutions. An outcry, however, was raised against us—and we felt compelled, for our

own vindication, to investigate, as far as we could, the amount of the supplies that had been rendered, and actually found that it *exceeded at least ten times* the whole sum that would have been allowed, in the given circumstances, out of the fund raised by assessment. It reconciled us the more to our new system, when given to understand that the most liberal of all the benefactions was called forth by the simple information that nothing had been done for him by any of the legal or parochial charities—nor did we meet with any thing more instructive in the course of these inquiries, than the obvious feeling of each contributor, that all he had given was so very insignificant. And it is just so, that the power of individual benevolence is greatly under-rated. Each is aware how incommensurable his own offering is to the necessity in question, and would therefore desiderate or demand a public administration of relief, else it is feared that nothing adequate has been done. He never thinks of that arithmetic by which it can be computed that all the private offerings of himself and others, far outweigh that relief which, had it issued from the exchequer of a session or an almshouse, would have arrested those numerous rills of beneficence that are sure to flow in upon every case of visible destitution or distress from the surrounding vicinity.”

The principle illustrated in this particular case is, we doubt not, of sufficient power in ordinary times and circumstances, to extend its salutary influence over the wide field of human suffering and misfortune. In the lower classes of society the humane feelings are so much the more sensitive and energetic, that among the tens of thousands who are doomed by their daily labour to earn their daily bread, a great majority even of the industrious and prudent are at all times placed on the very verge of that penury which, as affecting individuals, may at no distant period reclaim the offices of charity which they have been enabled to perform in behalf of others, in similar circumstances. Among working people, the interval between competency and destitution is short, and the space narrow; and he who knows that, although at the beginning of a year he may be perfectly able to provide for his family, he may, before it has run half its round, be reduced by illness or accident, to solicit help from his kindred, and even from those who are connected with him in no other way than by occupying a dwelling in the same line, or the same village, will never be disposed to shut his heart, or close his eyes, to the privations of those around him who are already enduring what he cannot always hope to escape.

Dr. Chalmers presents, in the Appendix to his Speech pronounced before the General Assembly, several striking examples of this kindly spirit, which partakes at once of an

enlightened selfishness and a natural generosity. His experience has produced the most perfect conviction that there is, among the lower orders of the community, such a fund of mutual help, and such an infinity of resources, that, except on very particular occasions, they are their own best almoners, and require no aid from legal assessment or charity workhouses. The whole efficiency of his plan, he tells us, lies in the natural treatment of the people, who, when emancipated from the delusions of public charity, betake themselves to their own expedients; and find in the shifts and the sympathies, and the numberless resources that do cast up throughout every assemblage of human beings, more than an equivalent for all that has been withdrawn from them. So thoroughly, indeed, is he persuaded of the evil of public charity for the relief of indigence, that he would count it a heavy misfortune to his parish were an annuity granted to it for the purpose of being expended on the poor. Humble as our expenditure has been, says he, we find that about one half of it has been occasioned by cases of immorality, and the dissolution of relative ties—and should we be doomed to the cruel necessity of receiving a thousand a year from any quarter whatever, and laying it openly out on the necessities of our population, we should only anticipate therefrom a greater number of exposed infants and deserted families.

To show what may be effected by vigilant superintendence and judicious council on the part of the minister's lay-assistants, Dr. Chalmers mentions the following occurrence, which took place some time before he entered upon his charge at Glasgow.

“ A family of six lost both parents by death. There were three children unable to provide for themselves, and the other three were earning wages. On an impression that they were not able to maintain themselves, application was made by them to their elder, for the admittance of the three youngest into the Town Hospital; where, at the average of in-door pensioners, their maintenance would have cost at least twenty pounds a year. He remonstrated with them on the evils of thus breaking up their family—on the duty of the older to see after the education and subsistence of the younger branches—and on the disgrace it would bring to them, by consigning their younger brothers and sisters to pauperism. He assured them that they would find comparatively little difference in the sum which it required to maintain them when they all remained together; and offered them a small quarterly allowance, so long as they should feel it necessary, would they try the experiment of keeping together, and helping on each other to the best of their ability. They gave heed to this right moral suasion; and applica-

tion for the stipulated quarterly sum was only *made twice*. Thus, by a trifling expenditure, a sum at least fifty-fold was saved to the Town Hospital. But the worth of such management to the habit and condition of the family, cannot be estimated in gold. Who is there that does not applaud the advice and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We hold no sympathy either with the heart or the understanding of him who should censure such a style of proceeding—and our conceptions lie in an inverse order from his altogether, of the good, the better, and the best in the treatment of human nature."

But it is our object, in this article, not so much to set forth what is done in Scotland under this renovated system, as to consider the practicability of it as applied to the circumstances in which the poor laws have placed the greater part of England. As human nature is the same in all countries, it is to be presumed that the love of self-preservation; the affection of kinsman for kinsman, of the child for the parent, and of the poor man for his neighbours; and, lastly, the feeling of compassion in the minds of the wealthy towards the indigent and unfortunate, are as strong and active in this portion of the empire as in any part of the civilized world. These natural and virtuous sentiments, according to our author, will, if properly called forth, supply a sufficient set of means for abolishing pauperism in England, and for creating an adequate substitute for all the relief which is effected by the operation of our poor laws. In illustrating this position, he arranges before our eyes a great variety of facts, collected chiefly during his late tour through our more populous counties, which go to prove that some of the worst effects of our pauper system are made manifest in the thoughtless and improvident habits of the lower orders; in their want of affection and care for aged parents, whom they see without pain sent to end their days in a workhouse; in the dissolute manners of the female sex, whose illegitimate children are thrown upon the charge of the parish; and in the alienation which subsists between the rich who pay, and the indigent who consume, the parochial rates.

The tendency of a legal and compulsory charity to impair the virtue of economy, and to supersede that anxious foresight and arrangement which are natural to man, is admitted even by those who would not yet consent to the entire abolition of our eleemosynary system. The following anecdote will throw some light on the manner in which it applies to Saving Banks. A poor woman at Clapham, whose daughter had begun to put her little savings into one of those deposi-

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tarious, thus addressed the provident damsel. "Why, how foolish you are! It is all a contrivance of the rich to save their own pockets. You had much better enjoy your own money, and when you want, they will take care of you." The daughter, it is added, listened to the counsel of her mother, and immediately withdrew her stock from the bank. This is only one ascertained instance of the working of a principle which, we fear, must have a very extensive influence among the ignorant and thoughtless. Under the misplaced and officious care of a system such as ours, the poor man, it is not unjustly alleged, has ceased to care for himself, and relatives have ceased to care for each other; and thus, says Dr. C. the best arrangements of Nature and Providence for the moral discipline of society have been most grievously frustrated. Life is no longer a school where, by the fear and foresight of want, man might be chastened into sobriety—or where he might be touched into sympathy by that helplessness of kins-folks and neighbours, which, but for the thwarting interference of law, he would have spontaneously provided for. The man stands released from the office of being his own protector, or the protector of his own household; and this has rifled him of all those virtues which are best fitted to guard and dignify his condition. That pauperism, the object of which was to emancipate him from distress, has failed in this, and only emancipated him from duty. An utter recklessness of habit, with the profligacy and the mutual abandonment of parents and children, to which it leads, threatens, according to Dr. Chalmers, a speedy dissolution to the social and domestic economy of England. And instead of working any kindly amalgamation between the higher and lower classes of the land, the whole effect of the system is to create a tremendous chasm between them, across which the two parties look to each other with all the fierceness and suspicion of natural enemies—the former feeling as if preyed upon by a rapacity which is altogether interminable; the latter feeling as if stinted of their rights by men whose hands nothing but legal necessity will unlock, and whose hearts are devoid of tenderness.

To bring back the social feelings, and the affections of kindred to their right tone, it is only necessary to remove the cause which has created the jarring and dissonance of which the philanthropist complains. The generosity and warmth of heart which had so long distinguished the English character, are not, even in the lower classes, subjected as they have been, for nearly two centuries, to the operation of a deteriorating principle, either extinct or entirely suppressed. They

manifest still, even under the heavy pressure which bears them down, their native force and elasticity; and would, there is no doubt, as soon as the load of a compulsive charity were withdrawn, re-ume their wonted influence over the public mind, and secure for virtuous poverty and sudden misfortune a larger and better provided asylum than ever acts of parliament and the decess of magistrates have been able to erect. The poor would once more find their natural solace in the love of their own families, the help of their kindred, and in the unwearable benevolence of a sympathetic neighbourhood. It may very safely be presumed, to use the words of our author, that this home principle, when once set free from disturbance, will settle as deeply, and spread as diffusely through the families of England, as it is found on an average to do through the species at large. It is unfortunate, he adds, for the character of its people, that the fruits of this universal instinct are not so conspicuous as are its aberrations. To meet with the former, we must explore the habitations of private life, and become familiar with their inmates. The latter are blazoned forth in the records of crime, or have a place in the registrations of parochial charity. The advertisements which daily meet our eye of run-a-away husbands, or abandoned children, and those cases of aged parents who have been consigned by their own offspring to the cheerless atmosphere of a poor house, mark not the genuine developments of nature in England, but those cruel deviations from it to which its mistaken policy has given rise. There can be no doubt that after this policy is reversed, nature will recover its supremacy. Those affections which guarantee a mutual aid in behalf of kinsfolk in every country of Europe, will again flow here in their wonted activity. The spectacle of venerable grandsires at the fireside of our cottage families, will become as frequent and familiar in this as in other lands: and a man's own children will be to him the best pledges that the evening of his days shall be spent under a roof of kindlier protection than any prison-house of charity can afford. Let pauperism be done away, and it will, exclaims Dr. C. be nobly followed up by a resurrection of the domestic virtues. The national crime will disappear with the national temptation; and England, when delivered from these, will prove herself to be as tender and true to nature, as any other of the great human family.

We cannot attempt to give even an abridged view of the facts upon which Dr. Chalmers makes out the depraved condition of our people, particularly in the manufacturing districts, and upon which also he connects that depravity with

the operation of the poor laws. He maintains, that with the decline of pauperism there would be an instantaneous growth of sobriety; and he is farther confident of a very great abatement in that species of profligacy which has deluged the parishes of England with illegitimate children.

“ There is nought which more strikes and appals the traveller who is employed in a moral or philanthropic survey of our land, than not the gradual but really instant transition which takes place in regard to this habit, when he passes out from the unassessed parishes of Scotland. The mischief done by the allowances of pauperism, is not merely that they hold out to crime a refuge from destitution, but that they in a certain measure shield it from disgrace. A family visitation that would otherwise be felt as an overwhelming calamity by all its members, falls lightly upon their feelings; and one of the greatest external securities to female virtue is demolished, when the culprit, protected by law from the need of bringing a bane and a burden upon her relatives, is thus protected from that which would give its keenest edge of bitterness to their execrations. There can be no doubt that if you withdraw the epidemic bounty which is thus granted to vice, you would at least restrain its epidemic overgrowth, which is now so manifest throughout the parishes of England—that, you would inlist the selfishness of parents on the side of the purity of their own offspring. The instant that it was felt to be more oppressive, would it also be felt to be more odious; and as an early effect of the proposed reformation, should we witness both a keener popular indignation against the betrayers of innocence, and a more vigilant guardianship among families. As it is, you have thwarted the moral and beneficent designs of nature—you have expunged the distinction that it renders to virtue, because you have obliterated the shame and the stigma affixed by it to vice—you have annulled the sanctions by which it guards the line of demarcation between them. Perhaps the far most impressive evidence that could be given of the woful deterioration which the poor laws of England are now working on the character of its people is to be gathered, not from the general statements of a political arithmetic on the subject, but from the individual displays that are afforded either in parish vestries or in the domestic habitations of the peasantry; the unblushing avowals of women and their insolent demands, and the triumph of an imaginary right over all the tremors and delicacies of remorse which may be witnessed at the one, and in the other the connivance of parents, and sisters, and natural guardians, at a prostitution now rendered creditable, because so legalized as at least to be rendered lucrative. Instances do occur of females who have so many illegitimate children as to derive a competency from the positive allowance given for them by the parish.”

In Scotland no parochial assistance is given to the mothers

of illegitimate children; in consequence of which apparent severity, there are both fewer of that class of infants brought into the world, and those which do, from time to time, bear witness against the illicit intercourse of their parents, are much better brought up than they would be in a poor house. There is, as Dr. Chalmers observes, a sensitive alarm sometimes expressed lest, on the abolition of legal charity, there should be no diminution of crime, while the unnatural mothers, deprived of their accustomed resource, might be tempted to relieve themselves by some dreadful perpetration. It might serve, he adds, to quell this apprehension, and to prove how nature hath provided so well for all such emergencies as that she might safely be let alone, to consider the following plain but instructive narrative, from the parish of Grutney, contiguous to England, and only separated from it by a small stream.

“ The Rev. Mr. Morgan, its minister, writes to me, that ‘ to females who bring illegitimate children into the world we give nothing—they are left entirely to their own resources. It is however a remarkable fact, that children of this description with us are more tenderly brought up, better educated, and of course more useful members of society, than illegitimates on the other side of the Sark, who, in a great many instances, are brought up solely at the expence of their parishes.’ ”

In painting the evils attending our system, Dr. Chalmers has perhaps used colours somewhat too strong, and laid them on in such a way as to produce all the effects of a striking contrast to the revived scheme which is again pursued in many parts of Scotland. But we are not disposed to palliate the disadvantages which attach to our method for relieving the poor. On the contrary, we are ready to acknowledge that there has been of late, throughout a large portion of England, a growing impression on the minds of the more influential class of the community, that a considerable improvement might be introduced not only into the administration of our poor laws, but also into the principles upon which they were enacted. Some important changes have already been effected in the management of our pauperism, sanctioned by the provisions of an act passed in the year 1819, and commonly known by the name of the Select Vestry Act. One of the main points gained by this statute is the limitation of the power vested in the hands of justices, whereby they were entitled to summon overseers, at the instance of an applicant, to shew cause why relief should not be granted. The whole ground of claim is now, in all ordi-

nary cases, submitted to the vestry; the members of which are empowered to exercise such a degree of discretion, both in their inquiries into character, as also in their investigations into the private means and resources of every petitioner, as has had the effect of reducing to a very great extent the expenditure of all the parishes in which the new act has been enforced.

In proof of what we have just advanced, we select from the pamphlet now before us a few instances of reduced outlay, which appear to be solely attributable to an improved administration of the existing laws. In the parish of St. Mary's Within, Carlisle, the expenditure of the year 1819-20 was 3,030*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; and in 1821-22, it was brought down to 1,436*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* Its select vestry was established in June, 1820.

In Manchester, the whole expenditure of the money raised in the name of poor rate, was in 1816-17, 66,525*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; and in 1821-22, it was 39,044*l.* 6*s.*

Mr. Marriot, of Prestwich, near Manchester, informed our author that in the township of Pilkington, the gross disbursements under the poor rates, were from five to six thousand pounds; they are now reduced to about twelve hundred. This, says Dr. Chalmers, is one of the most remarkable cases that we have met, of a great reduction having been effected by a firm yet mild and friendly, and on the whole popular administration.

In Stockport, the whole expenditure in 1816-17 was 11,377*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; and in 1821-22, it was 5,446*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*; and the cost for the poor alone has been nearly reduced to one-third. It appears, however, from the Appendix to the Parliamentary Report, that this statement is not perfectly accurate, though the reduction is unquestionably great.

The assistant overseer of the in-parish of St. Cuthbert, in Wells, writes to Dr. Chalmers that the poor rate there has declined in three years from 1,820*l.* to 900*l.* and the expenditure from 1,830*l.* to 795*l.*; being considerably more than a half.

In the parish of St. Peter, West Cheap, London, the expenditure has been reduced from 478*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* in the year 1818, to 161*l.* 10*s.* in the year 1822.

In St. Vedast, the quarterly rate has been reduced from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 9*d.* in the pound. In 1815-16, the expenditure for the poor alone was 1,622*l.* 1*s.* from which sum it has been gradually brought down to 566*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.*

From the parish of Westham, Essex, Mr. Gurney writes that the rate in 1818, for one whole year, was 8*s.* in the

pound, amounting to 11,846*l.*; and that now the rate amounts only to 5,818*l.* the reduction being mainly due to strict and judicious management. We give the following in an abbreviated form.

	1818.	1821.
Thatcham (Berks)	£3742 7	£1552 9
Englefield	596 19	200 16
East Hendred	1265 3	616 6
Cheadle Bulkeley (Cheshire)	1096 0	458 7
Macclesfield	5165 12	2686 18
St. Erth (Cornwall)	1047 9	471 6
Melbourne (Derby) ...	1727 11	811 4
Stanton and Newall	1133 14	418 16
Cullompton (Devon)....	2075 8	836 2
Bourton (Dorset)	2273 13	477 1

A comparison of the above sums will afford the most satisfactory proof that good management, even under the present laws in regard to pauperism, will prevent much abuse, and save much money. But, in the eyes of Dr. Chalmers, there is no effectual cure for the numerous evils which cling to our system, but a total abolition. All expedients and palliatives are pronounced fallacious: they cover the wound, but do not restore soundness: they conceal the deformity, but give neither strength nor health. Under the strictest administration of pauperism, and even in those cases where there is no fraud on the one side, or mistake on the other, there is still, he maintains, a most grievous misleading both of the recipients, and of society at large. The very existence of a public charity misleads them. It misleads many thousands annually from their own economy, who otherwise would never have been reduced to a dependence on charity at all. It misleads parents and children, and remoter kindred, from the exercise of their relative duties. It misleads the benevolent of all ranks from that sympathy they else would have felt, and from that liberality they otherwise would have exercised. In a word, it is his opinion that all classes, the rich and the poor, are blinded, deceived, and injured, by the existence of an established public charity; that the latter class in particular sustain more evil than they receive good from its operation: and he is therefore perfectly satisfied that the wholesome reaction that would ensue, on the abolition of pauperism, would greatly overpass all the apprehended disadvantages; and that were the legal relief of indigence utterly swept away, there would be less of suffering, as well as less of sin in our borders.

We need hardly add, after what we have just stated, that

Dr. Chalmers argues the necessity of an entire and speedy abolition of our poor laws, with the whole apparatus of work-houses, rates, and overseers. He does not indeed recommend a sudden and immediate repeal of all the statutes by which pauperism is established. On the contrary, to indulge the alarmed humanity of those who foresee in such a measure the eventual starvation of thousands of indigent labourers, rather than from any apprehension of such an issue entertained by himself, he proposes that every pauper who at present derives aid from the parish, shall continue to enjoy his privilege till the hour of his death; and that the improved system shall only apply to future applicants, whom, according to the views of the author, the parochial administrators would then confide to the charity of love, rather than to the charity of law. Such is his confidence in the natural principles upon which society is founded; in the good sense, and kindness of the English character; and, above all, in the powerful feelings which in the mind of every rational being watches over his self-preservation, that he would, without the warning of a single year, demolish the whole fabric of our pauper system, and commit the poor to the voluntary benevolence of their neighbours, their kindred, and children. By one of the provisions of the act formerly mentioned, the select vestry of every parish are authorized to send away every Scotsman or Irishman who shall apply for parochial relief; and as this part of the statute has been extensively acted upon; there are thousands of Irish in our large towns, who are thereby placed in the very predicament into which all the labouring people of England would be thrown by the sudden abolition of pauperism: and yet, so far from witnessing any particular distress in those families which were thus deprived of the national charity, it has been observed that a more vigilant industry had actually improved their outward estate, and that the aged and destitute members of their brotherhood were at least as well provided for as formerly. The act, we repeat, which empowered the removal of the Irish and Scotch, either on their continuing paupers, or on their application to be admitted as such, was virtually, in reference to them, an instantaneous abolition of pauperism. And yet it was only a very small fraction of them indeed that consented to be removed. But the interesting fact is, says Dr. C. that, generally speaking, of the vast majority who remained, and who had been suddenly dismissed from their wonted parish allowance, there was the same aspect of comfort and sufficiency among them as before. They continued to do without it, and, to all appearance, did as well. They

were thrown, and that with a sudden hand, upon their own expedients—and these availed them for all of which they had been bereft.

In the chapter on the "*Likeliest Parliamentary Means for the Abolition of Pauperism in England*," there is a great variety of very sensible and temperate observations. The author recommends that, whatever acts may be passed on the subject, the introduction of the new system shall not be rendered imperative, but merely allowed to such parishes as may, by a large majority of voices, express a desire to avail themselves of it. In the case of the Enclosure Act, it is permitted to every parish in England to enclose and divide its common; but the law, so far from being enforced any where, cannot be acted upon at all without the concurrence of a large body of the proprietors. Parliament expects the consent of four-fifths of the persons interested, in number and value, before granting a special act in reference to any particular parish.

Dr. Chalmers recommends a similar rule in regard to the abolition of legal pauperism. Let the consent of four-fifths of the householders, who are not paupers themselves, be required by parliament, before any movement towards the new system can be made in a parish; and let the experiment, burdened with this condition, proceed voluntarily and slowly, in the presence of the whole nation, that its efficacy may be determined, without incurring the slightest risk of disturbing public repose. At the onset, as the author remarks, the more unwieldy parishes will have no interest in this regress from a legal to a free system of charity, unless in so far as they shall be the interested spectators of what is going on—looking intently on the whole way of those adventurers who have slipped cable before them, and perhaps waiting their arrival at a safe and prosperous landing-place, ere they shall have acquired the courage to think of an imitation. We do not want, says he, the whole of England to be thrown adrift at the bidding of a yet untried hypothesis. But we want England to put herself to school; and when looking attentively to those trial parishes she is in fact learning the first lessons, and acquiring the sound rudiments of a sound education.

The condition that a very large proportion of householders must be in favour of the new scheme before it shall be lawful for them to attempt it, will not only at first confine the experiment to a few manageable parishes, but will also, from the almost unanimity which it implies, secure a hearty co-operation in following out the proposed reformation. A

large concurrence in the expediency of the measure is the best guarantee for a resolute and powerful agency to carry it into effect: and there is certainly no fear that any parish which has thus singled out and made a spectacle of itself, will not acquit itself well, and at length demonstrate to all its neighbours, that without a poor-rate, and without any painful sacrifice at all, it can boast a happier and a better population than any of those who are around it. It is for this reason, says Doctor Chalmers, that we would not have parishes to be selected for the experiment by parliamentary commissioners, or any constituted body whatever. We would have parishes to offer themselves: and the single event of their doing so, with that full complement of names and signatures which the General Act shall require is, of itself, the best ground on which the selection of experimental parishes can be made.

As to the nature of the change in contemplation, we have already mentioned that it is not meant to affect the condition and privileges of those who shall happen to be permanent paupers at the time it is introduced. There shall be no dismissal of any one who would not have been dismissed under the existing system. All, in short, who are actually paupers in any parish at the period the new scheme is attempted, shall, while they are paupers, have the very same rights and securities which they now enjoy; and the change of treatment, whatever it may be, shall apply exclusively to those who ask for parochial relief, whether for the first time, or after having been for some time thrown back upon their own resources, and accustomed to subsist without it. In reference to new applicants, it is to be understood that the power of justices to order relief from the parish funds, shall be altogether taken away: that the vestry shall be in all cases the ultimate and only place of application: so that the decision of its members, both as to relief and as the amount of it, shall be final. In a word, as the charity of the new system is one of love and not of law, the interference of the legislature is never to be solicited except to liberate the parish functionaries from the restraints, compulsion, and penalties, to which they are at present subjected.

In regard to the fund out of which the new applicants are to be met, (the *rates* being reserved exclusively for paupers actually on the list when the reformed method shall commence) the author holds it essential to a sound and abiding reformation, that no compulsory revenue shall ever be raised for the poor—that the power which the church-wardens and overseers have of *making a rate*, either with or without

the concurrence of the inhabitants, for the purpose of meeting any fresh applications, shall henceforth cease—and that, if any fund be judged necessary, in order to provide for new cases, it shall under a public and parochial administration, be altogether a gratuitous, and in no shape a legal or compulsory one. For the purpose of constituting such a fund, he proposes that the minister and church-wardens shall be empowered to have a weekly collection at the church-doors; that “what is now gathered in the name of Sacrament money” should be made over to it;—that donations from individuals may be received—in all which ways, he adds, the revenue of a Kirk Session in Scotland is mainly upheld.

But Dr. Chalmers has no fears as to a deficiency of funds; on the contrary, his apprehensions are all turned to the hazards attending a redundancy. The vestries, he is sure, will have more money at their disposal than they will be able to give away without doing mischief: and he accordingly exhorts them, again and again, to eschew the manifold evil of excessive liberality at the outset. He recommends, of course, some change in the constitution of the vestries, and particularly a considerable addition to the number of their members; including not only the clergyman and church-wardens, but such active and humane persons of proper station, as might be pleased to undertake the charge of superintending the affairs of their poorer brethren in their immediate neighbourhood. But, on the whole, he very wisely avoids details in regard to these points, not being perfectly master of a variety of circumstances, in our habits and parochial relations, which, in the event of any change, would influence naturally the precise character of the practical arrangements to be adopted.

The Doctor labours sedulously to remove from his scheme the opprobrium of a sweeping and revolutionary tendency. He found when in this part of the country, a great desire for amending the present poor laws; but there was a wish equally strong and universal that the change should be *gradual*, and, in fact, that the existing system should be improved in practice without being much altered in principle, and still less that reform should be carried the length of complete abolition. In reply to these suggestions the Doctor observes that there are two ways in which a process of improvement may be *gradualized*; namely, either by a series of successive approximations in the general law to a state that shall at length be perfect and unexceptionable; or by the application at once of the best possible law to a few of the simple and manageable parishes, and thence the suc-

cessive adoption of it by the larger and more unwieldy parishes. He, as might be expected, prefers the latter; thinking it better to experiment with a good principle on a small scale, than to rest satisfied with the uncertain advantage which may be obtained from watching and checking the operations of one that is avowedly bad. Nor would the legal permission for which he pleads to introduce a reformed system, either interfere with a judicious management of pauperism on the old scheme, or unduly accelerate the projected innovation, like the enclosing and dividing of commons, to the principle of which it has been compared, the new method, being simply allowed not enforced, would in all probability be tried with so much caution that even the failure of it would produce no bad effect. It would not by its immediate operation suspend the beneficial efficacy of any of those regulations which the experience of near two centuries has engrafted upon the practice of our poor laws: it would not repeal Gilbert's Statute, nor the wise Act of Sturges Bourne; it would not throw upon casual charity those who have been accustomed to legal relief, and whose need of that relief had probably arisen from the mere knowledge that their want of industry and of foresight would not be visited upon them, in helplessness, sickness and unprotected old age; it would only admonish the rising generation that they were to have no reliance but upon their own endeavours, no resources but such as they themselves should create, and no guarantee against poverty, besides an active and vigilant economy, the gratitude of children, the love of kindred, and the unrestrained humanity of benevolent neighbours.

There is not therefore any ground for those fears which are entertained by many patriotic individuals, as arising from the opinion that the only way of proceeding against pauperism is by imperative enactments which behoved to be instantly and simultaneously followed up by a change of administration all over the country. Dr. Chalmers is perfectly aware of the mischief that such a movement, at once sudden and general, would occasion, and that out of a conflict and variety of sentiment thus spread over the whole land, there might be formed an hostility greatly too fierce and formidable for the safety of the nation. It was, says he, the method of bringing into play the elements of a mighty agitation; and spreading out the question on an arena wide enough, and conspicuous enough, for the great master demagogues of the land. Those writers who live upon the discontents of the people would instantly seize upon it as the fittest topic for keeping up that fermentation, in the whirl and briskness of

which all their prosperity lies. In this way every attempt upon the poor laws, and every suggestion to repress the evils of a legal and compulsory alimant, have been regarded as pregnant with disaffection among the lower orders, and even as the forerunners of a complete revolution of the state and government.

We do not indeed think that every part of Dr. Chalmers's projected system would be either perfectly practicable in England, or of unmixed advantage any where: but it cannot be denied that there is a plausible and promising character belonging to it considered as a whole, and that it would be productive of much good in our large manufacturing towns especially, even though the more Utopian views connected with it, were never either acted upon, or fully realized. His pamphlets, at all events, contain many valuable hints, which may be improved by less ingenious men than the author; and a statement of principles which may be developed and applied hereafter, in more auspicious times; when the poor shall have been convinced that their best interests are most closely connected with their own character and doings; and that virtue, happiness, and independence, can only be secured by industry, self-denial, and self-command.

ART. X. *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the Age of Nineteen; with Anecdotes descriptive of their Manners and Customs. To which is added, some Account of the Soil, Climate, and vegetable Productions of the Territory Westward of the Mississippi.* By John D. Hunter. pp. 458. 12s. Longman & Co 1823.

WE could wish for a few more details respecting the present situation and abode of the author of these Memoirs, who, if he had been more communicative on these points, would certainly have had more right than he now possesses to challenge implicit confidence. That he should publish in London rather than in New York is scarcely a matter of surprise: all then we require is to be more minutely informed of the method and progress of his education in civilized habits, the length of time since his first reclamation from barbarism, and the post to which he has since elevated himself in American society. Since we are left in comparative

ignorance on these heads; we must be content to give his narrative as we find it. Our reader will be just as well able as ourselves to determine on its authenticity; of which, however, we by no means intend to express any disbelief.

With the place of his nativity, and the circumstances of his parentage, John Hunter professes total unacquaintance. He, with two other white children, a boy and girl, was taken prisoner at a very early age by a party of the Kickapoo Indians, and he has only occasional and very indistinct recollections of the terrific circumstances which preceded his capture.

"There are moments when I see the rush of the Indians, hear their war-whoops and terrific yells, and witness the massacre of my parents and connections, the pillage of their property, and the incendious destruction of their dwellings. But the first incident that made an actual and prominent impression on me happened while the party were somewhere encamped, no doubt shortly after my capture; it was as follows: The little girl whom I before mentioned, beginning to cry, was immediately dispatched with the blow of a tomahawk from one of the warriors: the circumstance terrified me very much, more particularly as it was followed with very menacing motions of the same instrument, directed to me, and then pointed to the slaughtered infant, by the same warrior, which I then interpreted to signify, that if I cried, he would serve me in the same manner." P. 5.

The boy, after this tragedy, was carried off in another direction, and Hunter was left alone among the Indians. His march continued for several days, till he reached a camp, situated on a considerable river, but in what particular district he was unable to determine. Here he was adopted into the family of one of the principal warriors, and experienced much kindness from the Squaw his wife.

The first years of his captivity were distinguished only by occasional changes of encampment. Hunter became easily reconciled to his new habits, and appears to have grown up in favour with his captors. During one of their migrations, the Kickapoos, to whom he belonged, were attacked and taken prisoners by a party of wandering Pawnees. The warriors were killed and scalped, the women and children annexed to the suite of the conquerors. From them, by a similar fortune, he was soon transferred to the Kansas, who marched him to their town, situated on a river of the same name, several hundred miles above its confluence with the Missouri, which is three hundred and fifty miles above the entrance of the latter river into the Mississippi.

A Squaw, who had lost her son in a recent engage-

ment, immediately adopted Hunter in his stead, and he was in consequence treated with great regard and tenderness. He very much preferred his new to his original masters, with whom he represents them to be strongly contrasted; and it is well that they are so, for the Kickapoos are "treacherous, deceitful, cunning, not tenacious of a good character, exceedingly remiss in their social habits and intercourse, and are held in humble estimation by the neighbouring tribes." The first white trader who Hunter ever saw came to the Kansas towns in the fall ensuing after his capture. He had been strongly prejudiced against them by his Indian education, and the impression which they left behind them was in the highest degree unfavourable. Meantime he learned to ride, and acquired the language of his protectors. His only lessons of morality were drawn from a venerable warrior, Tshut-che-nau, (the defender of the people,) and in truth the veteran was no bad preacher.

"He would often admonish us for our faults, and exhort us never to tell a lie. 'Never steal, except it be from an enemy, whom it is just that we should injure in every possible way. When you become men, be brave and cunning in war, and defend your hunting grounds against all encroachments. Never suffer your squaws or little ones to want. Protect the squaws and strangers from insult. On no account betray your friend. Resent insults—revenge yourselves on your enemies. Drink not the poisonous strong-water of the white people; it is sent by the Bad Spirit to destroy the Indians. Fear not death; none but cowards fear to die. Obey and venerate the old people, particularly your parents. Fear and propitiate the Bad Spirit, that he may do you no harm;—love and adore the Good Spirit, who made us all, who supplies our hunting grounds, and keeps us alive.'" P. 21.

The Kansas were at war with a neighbouring tribe, the Mahas, whom they defeated in a decisive and bloody battle. Twenty-five of their enemies were brought in prisoners. In every Indian town is a painted post, which is considered when once reached as an asylum, until the fate of the captive is determined in a council of war; but in reaching it is much danger and difficulty. The Squaws, particularly those who have lost connections in the war, assemble with the children, and attack with briars, stones, clubs, and fire-brands, the unhappy victims who pass between their ranks. On the present occasion some were horribly mangled in gaining the place of refuge. Two only who had instigated the war were selected for capital punishment, and they expired amid protracted and remorseless tortures with every mark of constancy and fortitude.

Soon after this battle Hunter's adopted mother was accidentally drowned, and the loss appears to have affected him deeply. He was now sufficiently old to accompany a hunting party, and with about thirty hunters and eleven boys he ascended the Kansas river, and bending to the right, arrived in a district abounding in buffaloes, elks, deer and bears, and watered by a river known to the traders by the name of La Platte. Here his summer was passed. From one of his encampments on the Dripping Fork river, he visited a beautiful stalactitic cave, which tradition represents as the aperture through which the first Indian ascended from the bowels of the earth and settled on its surface. At a remote period of time this cave was used as cemetery; and it is still regarded with great veneration and dread. In consequence of reports of hostile parties in the neighbourhood, a return to the Kansas towns was determined upon. In effecting this, great difficulties were to be encountered. They learned that their own tribe was at war, and in order to secure themselves from the numerous enemies who intercepted their route, they were compelled to stop at the settlements, and solicit the protection of the Osages.

Here again Hunter was adopted into a distinguished family. A considerable time was passed among this tribe, and from the skill with which he learned the use of the rifle, he received the appellation which he has retained during his subsequent life. His first sight of a missionary was during this residence: and his account of him is well worth attention.

"During our stay, I saw a number of white people, who, from different motives, resorted to this nation: among them was a clergyman, who preached several times to the Indians through an interpreter. He was the first Christian preacher that I had ever heard or seen. The Indians treated him with great respect, and listened to his discourses with profound attention; but could not, as I heard them observe, comprehend the doctrines he wished to inculcate. It may be appropriately mentioned here, that the Indians are accustomed, in their own debates, never to speak but one at a time; while all others, constituting the audience, invariably listen with patience and attention till their turn to speak arrives. This respect is still more particularly observed towards strangers; and the slightest deviation from it would be regarded by them as rude, indecorous, and highly offensive. It is this trait in the Indian character which many of the missionaries mistake for a serious impression made on their minds; and which has led to many exaggerated accounts of their conversion to Christianity."—P. 42.

In a fight with the Pawnees, Hunter's party took eighteen scalps; one was gained by his own hand: the first and last essay, as he states, of the kind. It greatly raised his reputation on his return. The young Squaws danced round him with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. They ornamented his head, arms, and legs, with feathers, stained porcupine-quills, and deer-sinews, and chaunted the song of victory, to the accompaniment of their rude instruments. In the next fight, though equally victorious, he was less fortunate, and received a musket ball in the knee, which confined him for several weeks.

One of his excursions during his abode with the Osages lasted nearly sixteen moons. It led him to the borders of the Pacific. On his return he joined a trading expedition up the Missouri, and from dissatisfaction with the conduct of a Spaniard who conducted it, Hunter, in company with ten others, abandoned the party at the Great Falls. On their return they mistook the route; and their sufferings in the depth of winter were excessive. They remind us, though in minor degree, of Captain Franklin's narrative.

It was soon after his return from this excursion that the circumstances occurred which occasioned his renunciation of savage life. A party of hunters, to which he was attached, visited the main encampment of Colonel Watkins, a trader on the Arkansas. Here they were most hospitably treated, and in return, having partaken too copiously of whiskey, they stole six of his horses, and killed and scalped a neighbouring French trader. On revisiting their camps they continued drinking and distributing spirits to their comrades till, infuriate with liquor, they resolved to massacre the whole of Watkins's party. Hunter dissembled his repugnance to the bloody scheme, for the slightest suspicion would have been the signal for his instant death. His resolution however was fixed as soon as the attack was proposed, and he concealed his determination so well, that he was intrusted with the post of night guard.

"The whiskey being exhausted, and the Indians retired to rest, under its stupefactive influence, I silently and cautiously removed all the flints from the guns, emptied the primings from the pans, took my own rifle, and other equipments, and mounting the best horse that had been stolen on the preceding day, made my escape, and gave the alarm to Watkins and his party.

"I made considerable noise in taking my horse, and disengaging the others from their fastenings, so as to prevent their use, in case the Indians should discover my absence, and determine on pursu-

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ing me. Our dog heard me, and gave the alarm ; at least I suppose such was the case, as it barked very loud, at first pursued me, and then alternately broke off and renewed the pursuit with increased ardour, as though it had been recently urged on and encouraged. The distance from our camp to Watkins's was between twenty-five and thirty miles ; more than half of which was through thick briars and brush-wood, where there was neither path nor trail to direct me. It was before the dawn of day, and quite dark when I left them, in consequence of which, and the expedition I made, I lost every thing I had except my rifle.

" On arriving at the crossing place of the Brushy Fork, I left the main, or Wells's trace, which, to avoid a rocky hill, led circuitously round and over a tremulous swamp. I apprehended, in case I followed it, that my horse might be swallowed up, and that I should be overtaken by my pursuers, and destroyed. I therefore took my course over an almost impassible acclivity, which detained me nearly as much time as Wells's trace would, had it been passable for a horse.

" When I had passed this hill, and struck the path I had just left, it had become light, and, not discovering any one in pursuit, much against my own inclination, but in obedience to a necessary policy, I shot the dog, reloaded my rifle, and then continued my flight as fast as my horse could possibly carry me.

" The dog had hitherto been a constant source of annoyance and apprehension to me, on account of the continual barking it kept up which, if the Indians were following, as I had reason to believe was the case, served to pilot them in their pursuit.

" Relieved from my perplexing companion, I varied my course at the first stream of water I came to, by following its channel a short distance downward ; and then striking off to my left, I soon crossed the prairies, and arrived at Watkins's camp, before any one had left it in pursuit of game, as heretofore had been the daily practice.

" From the darkness of the night, the interruption and roughness of the way, and the haste I had made, I had lost my apparel, was badly lacerated, bleeding, and much exhausted.

" The powerful agitations under which my mind laboured, my gestures and features, and the manner and unusual hour of my arrival, spoke in a language not to be mistaken, that something extraordinary had, or was about to happen, and filled the whole party with surprise and the deepest anxiety. In very few words I informed them of the murder of La Fouché, and the danger they themselves were in. The hunters in general were exceedingly alarmed, and proposed an immediate retreat ; but Colonel Watkins, who was a brave and courageous man, would not listen to it. He instantly ordered the preparations to be made to repel any attack that might be made on them, and I was requested to join in the defence, should one become necessary : but I refused, stating that it was sufficient for me to have betrayed my countrymen,

without augmenting the crime by fighting against, and possibly killing some of them. Colonel Watkins replied that they were not my countrymen; that I was a white man; and what I had done, and what he requested me to do, were no more than my duty to the white people required me to perform.

"My prejudices against the whites generally were at this time as great as ever they had before been: my attachment for the Indians and Indian mode of life was ardent and enthusiastic; I therefore could not, or rather would not, understand this new relationship. I now hated the very looks of Colonel Watkins, who, before, had appeared so amiable and good; despised myself for the treachery of which I had been culpable, and almost regretted the part I had performed. This change in my conduct and feelings could not escape the notice of Watkins; who, sensible of the obligations he was under to me, and having, previously to my arrival, nearly completed his arrangements for descending the Arkansas, ordered instant preparations to be made for a decampment. I descended the river with this party, nearly to its junction with the Mississippi." P. 104.

Morbidly dissatisfied with the part which he had taken, Hunter not long after quitted Colonel Watkins: and passed a considerable time in entire solitude, supporting himself chiefly by his rifle, and finding amusement in observing the habits of the animals by whom he was surrounded. He mentions some that are sufficiently curious to deserve notice. When the buffalo discovers a snake, he retreats to some distance; and then running with great rapidity, "alights with its collected force upon it," repeating the manoeuvre until the enemy is destroyed. In one instance he teased a rattle-snake till it bit itself, and died from its own poison. This, however, was not done in true Indian spirit. The rattle-snake, from the warning which it gives to its intended victim, is held by the natives in much veneration for its generosity, and therefore is seldom destroyed by them. But his most singular adventure was the following.

"In one of my excursions, while seated in the shade of a large tree, situated on a gentle declivity, with a view to procure some mitigation from the oppressive heat of the mid-day sun, I was surprised by a tremendous rushing noise. I sprang up, and discovered a herd, I believe, of a thousand buffaloes running at full speed directly towards me; with a view, as I supposed, to beat off the flies, which at this season are inconceivably troublesome to those animals.

"I placed myself behind the tree, so as not to be seen, not apprehending any danger; because they ran with too great rapidity, and too closely together, to afford any one of them an opportunity of injuring me, while protected in this manner.

"The buffalos passed so near me on both sides, that I could have touched several of them merely by extending my arm. In the rear of the herd was one on which a huge panther had fixed, and was voraciously engaged in cutting off the muscles of its neck. I did not discover this circumstance till it had nearly passed beyond rifle-shot distance, when I discharged my piece, and wounded the panther. It instantly left its hold on the buffalo, and bounded with great rapidity towards me. On witnessing the result of my shot, the apprehensions I suffered can scarcely be imagined. I had, however, sufficient presence of mind to retreat and secrete myself behind the trunk of the tree, opposite to its approaching direction. Here, solicitous for what possibly might be the result of my unfortunate shot, I prepared both my knife and tomahawk, for what I supposed a deadly conflict with this terrible animal. In a few moments, however, I had the satisfaction to hear it in the branches of the tree over my head. My rifle had just been discharged, and I entertained fears that I could not reload it, without discovering and yet exposing myself to the fury of its destructive rage. I looked into the tree with the utmost caution, but could not perceive it, though its groans and vengeance-breathing growls told me that it was not far off, and also what I had to expect, in case it should discover me. In this situation, with my eyes almost constantly directed upwards to observe its motion, I silently loaded my rifle, and then creeping softly round the trunk of the tree, saw my formidable enemy resting on a considerable branch, about thirty feet from the ground, with his side fairly exposed. I was unobserved, took deliberate aim, and shot it through the heart. It made a single bound from the tree to the earth, and died in a moment afterwards. I reloaded my rifle before I ventured to approach it, and even then, not without some apprehension. I took its skin, and was, with the assistance of fire and smoke, enabled to preserve and dress it. I name this circumstance, because it afterwards afforded a source for some amusement: for I used frequently to array myself in it, as near as possible to the costume and form of the original, and surprise the herds of buffalos, elk, and deer, which, on my approach, uniformly fled with great precipitation and dread." P. 110.

At length, after many moons, a party of five Frenchmen intruded upon his hermit life, and he accompanied them, after some persuasion, to a white colony in the adjacent country, called Flee's Settlement. Here he acquired a few words of English, and first adopted European costume. His time was now passed in hunting excursions; and, after having been swindled by a rascal, who, depending upon his ignorance of numeration, called 27 dollars, which he paid for furs, 650, he still found himself master of 1100, when he went on his first visit to New Orleans as a boatman. By this time he had become somewhat more reconciled to civilized habits,

and having placed himself at a school in the neighbourhood of Cape Girardeau, he assumed his present name, John Dunn Hunter. The two first from a Missouri gentleman, from whom he had received much kindness; the last from the appellation which he had already acquired among the Indians.

At this and other schools he studied more than two years and a half: at first, as he very naively states, with some difficulty, on account of his intractable disposition. After having acquired a sufficient knowledge of Yankee English, and having received instructions in Christianity, he was strongly urged to journey as far as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, and there give his Memoirs to the public. We know not, however, for we are not told, which of these modern *Athenæ* he selected, nor do we learn what are his present pursuits and objects.

The remainder of the volume is occupied with Miscellaneous Notices of the Indian Tribes, and of the country west of the Mississippi. Their mythology is of that sort, which, with little variation, though under different names, is professed by most barbarians. Of the Great Spirit

“ They believe, in general, that, after the hunting grounds had been formed and supplied with game, that he created the first red man and woman, who were very large in their stature, and lived to an exceedingly old age; that he often held councils and smoked with them, gave them laws to be observed, and taught them how to take game and cultivate corn: but that in consequence of their disobedience, he withdrew from, and abandoned them to the vexations of the bad spirit, who had since been instrumental to all their degeneracy and sufferings.” P. 214.

Their Elysium is an immortality in a delightful country, abounding with game, and blessed with a cloudless sky. Its joys will be proportioned to individual merit, and, after those slain in battle, the expert hunter will partake of most plenitude of blessedness. No particular days are appropriated to devotion, although particular seasons appear to be so assigned; such as the breaking out of war, the restoration of peace, the gathering of harvest, the return of the new moon, or any extraordinary visitation.

“ Their manner of worshipping the Deity differs, however, on different occasions. Shortly after a council has determined on war, every individual that is able to walk, and the old men sometimes borne by others, assemble in a grove, or some other place rendered sacred by the occasion, and offer up their prayers to the Great Spirit for success against their enemies.

“ Sometimes the devotional exercises are pantomimic and pro-

foundly silent; at others, ejaculatory and vociferous. At the conclusion, some one of the old men or prophets addresses the assembly; states the cause of their grievances; and enjoins the warriors to merit success, by being brave, and placing their confidence in the Great Giver of Life. Afterwards all return to their homes. These meetings vary in their duration from three hours to a whole day." P. 216.

At the harvest home, the new moon, and the commencement of hunting the buffalo in spring, lamps, formed out of shells, and supplied with bear's grease, are kept burning all the night preceding and following their ceremonies. Hunter could never learn the reason of this practice. We remember that Herodotus veils his unacquaintance with the origin of the similar *Λυχοναμία* of the Egyptians, by referring it vaguely to the *ἱεὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος*, (ii. 62.) It is, in fact, an obvious mode of expressing joyous feelings; and we are as little inclined to connect the Indian of the Mississippi as the Egyptian, with the Chinese, because this last people, in common with both the others has its feast of lanterns. We beg pardon of M. de Guignes for our scepticism.

The priests of these tribes are, by virtue of office, prophets and physicians also. Their canonicals are somewhat grotesque. On the head is worn a high beaver-skin cap, the tail of which, curiously ornamented with stained porcupine quills, hangs down the ecclesiastic's back. His robe is of buffalo's skin, decorated with various coloured feathers, and dyed porcupine quills. On his breast, suspended from the neck, is a dressed beaver skin, stretched on sticks, and painted with hieroglyphics, in various colours. His forehead is painted black, his cheeks blue, with stripes of red obliquely cut, and downwards from the alæ of the nose. The beard is eradicated, except two small bunches on the upper lip, midway between the nose and the angles of the mouth, and two correspondent bunches on the sides of the chin, directly under those of the upper lip. All these tufts are painted in manifold colours. These prophets, after long fastings, and severe penance, swallow narcotic drugs, and enveloping themselves in as many layers of skin as are sufficient to produce most copious perspiration, sleep in public till the effect of these potions is exhausted. Then waking to a state of half delirium, they proclaim their dreams, and by the adoption of equivocal language, and confining themselves to probable and seasonable prediction, they, for the most part, maintain their reputation.

We should do little justice to the many curious particulars

which abound in this division of the volume, if we were to extract them piece-meal. So full an account of savage life can scarcely be attained from any other source, and it is only the warning which we receive from the narrowness of our limits, which induces us to abstain from entering largely upon it. Selection here would be a task of much difficulty, and we must be content to refer our readers to the work itself.

ART. XI. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature of the Year 1821.* 18s. Rivingtons. 1822.

AMONG the literary works of the day, there is unquestionably none of greater importance, viewed in relation to its effects upon posterity, than an Annual Register of our history, literature, and politics. A record of the more prominent events which befall a nation; an inquiry into the causes which may have produced them; and, above all, a description of the temper with which they were received, not only stamps the character of an age, but hands it down for the benefit or amusement of those, who are doomed to walk over the same ground, to discharge the same duties, and, perhaps, to imitate the same follies. Nor is the object of such a work confined to a mere outline of facts in regard to history, or to a meagre detail of critical qualities in reference to the literary performances of the passing generation. It aspires to a much higher end. It gives the very form and pressure of the times; for it exhibits an instructive picture of the manners, the sentiments, and general pursuits of the people, in all ranks of society; it unfolds the character of their minds in those great walks of life which give exercise to political feeling, to taste, morals, and religious principle; it marks the traces of their progress through the various stages of luxury and refinement; sets forth the condition of the arts, as well as the various fluctuations of trade, agriculture, and commerce; it places before the general reader the numerous topics of controversy and dispute which engaged the zeal or called forth the talent of the learned; it supplies to the man of science an epitome of the discoveries which, at every succeeding epoch, have enriched the field of human knowledge; it affords to the statesman a guide through the labyrinth of political relations, and a key to the dark intrigues and mystical pretensions which have so often obscured the proceed-

ings of rival parties ; and in a word, it furnishes to the student of human nature those valuable materials which enable him to form a correct estimate of what man has been, and a reasonable conjecture of what he may yet be, amid the sundry changes which the intercourse of society and the spirit of governments may hereafter assume.

That these important objects may be fully accomplished, the conductor of an Annual Register should never forget that he writes for posterity, and that he ought, therefore, as far as possible, to lay aside all the feelings and predilections which connect him with his own times. Among all the extravagancies and tricks of partizanship which he may have to record, let there be no traces of his own weakness in these respects ; let him register the occurrences of his day, as if he knew not the men, and had no interest in the cause with which they may happen to be associated ; remembering that, when a few years shall have passed away, his labours will be valued by the readers of all parties, in proportion to the candour and equanimity with which they have been performed.

These common-place remarks have been suggested to us, on the present occasion, by the very uncommon merits, in all the particulars just mentioned, of the work now before us. Its main excellence, no doubt, consists in the impartiality and temperance with which it is executed. We can perceive no bias in the conductor but towards truth ; and no ardour but in the cause of justice. He writes with the genuine spirit of an historian ; and seems throughout to feel the responsibility which he owes to the judgment of future generations, as well as to the opinion of all the moderate and unprejudiced among his contemporaries. This good disposition appears to the greatest advantage in the "History of Europe" for the year 1821. The facts are every where distinctly and fully brought forward ; the motives of the actors, so far as they could be ascertained, are candidly interpreted ; and the results are stated without being burdened with any comment on the part of the author, expressive either of triumph or peevishness, of exultation or disappointment. He possesses, in short, the valuable talent, which is extremely rare in a writer of annals, of withdrawing himself entirely from the view of his readers, and of fixing their attention exclusively on the events and characters which he makes to pass before them.

The principal topics in the history of 1821 are the proceedings in Parliament consequent upon the investigation into the character and conduct of the late queen ; and the transactions in the South of Italy, which threatened to involve Europe in a general war. The issue of both is well

known: and yet, in regard to the latter, we are much inclined to adopt the opinions expressed by the conductor in his preface, and to maintain that

“ With respect to the affairs of Italy, it may reasonably be doubted whether the calm thus produced can be of very long duration: the restless spirit that has of late been busy with so many of the ancient monarchies of Europe, is hardly to be laid by this species of exorcism. Statesmen, like other men, are apt to look only to the existing exigency; but if the rulers of the present day extend their regard much beyond the hour that is passing over them, they must feel their position to be one of great and increasing difficulty. What the issue may be, it is impossible to say. We make no pretensions to that clearness of political vision which enables our modern speculators to point out so precisely, both what ought to have been done in the way of prevention to these dangers, and what remains to be applied for the purpose of cure. To shew the insufficiency, or the error of past counsels is a very cheap quality of penetration, when we have the experience of consequences to assist our sagacity; and, perhaps, there is hardly more of depth in the wisdom which contents itself by vaguely insisting on a *change of system*, as the sole and sure remedy for all existing evils. There are diseases in which art can do nothing. With respect to the political distemper, now prevalent in so many parts of the continent, we doubt very much whether its progress has in fact been affected either one way or the other by the conduct of governments; and we think it possible that no exertion of skill or vigilance on their part will materially delay the crisis of it. We do not know whether the metaphor of distemper is the most accurate that we might have used. The disorder in question might, perhaps, be more justly referred to one of those great periods of constitutional change which seem to occur in the moral world as in the human microcosm, and like them merely mark the gradations of our necessary progress through that course of being which nature has assigned to us. The parallel, however, can hardly in any shape be safely taken, even as a matter of illustration; since it is plain that, philosophically speaking, there exists no ground whatever of analogy between the two cases.”

It may appear absurd to make a quotation from an Annual Register which is itself avowedly a compilation of extracts. We are, notwithstanding, inclined to give a paragraph or two, from a speech pronounced by Mr. Canning, on the affairs of Naples, in order to shew how slavishly the opposition on some occasions are content to imitate the worst parts of their own doings, as also to give a specimen of the style in which the business of Parliament is recorded in this able work. In reply to Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Canning observed,

"There could be no doubt to any who had heard the debate of that night, and listened to the speech of the gallant general, that the line of policy intended to be recommended to this country was war. The gallant general had advised an armed negotiation. Did he mean to propose such a negotiation without intending to push it to a war in case of failure? What would be the degradation of this country, if, after assuming a menacing tone, it retracted its pretensions, and shrunk back into tame acquiescence, as soon as that menace had failed. 'If I know myself,' said Mr. Canning, 'there sits not within these walls a man who is less disposed than myself to view with distrust an extension of principles of freedom and good government throughout the continent of Europe. I see that the principles of liberty are at work, and I should be the last to restrain their operation; but there is a difference between excusing an action when done, and using such means as should excite to that action; and England may be inclined to be satisfied with a result, and yet scarcely approve the measures by which such result was brought about. I trust I shall never arrive at that state of calm contemplation in which the gallant general had talked of the murder of Charles the First as a lawful proceeding. I hope that no liberality of principle which may imbue my mind will ever induce me to look at that transaction with any other feelings than those of the horror and disgust which its atrocity is calculated to excite. But could I even bring myself in my closet to doubt of the enormity of the crime, certainly I never would in this House or in public, give vent to such an opinion; least of all would I proclaim it aloud to a people in the act of struggling for the attainment of independence. The time may come when other nations may have to claim that candour and indulgence which the gallant general has so liberally extended to the history of his own.'"

"Reverting to the question before the House, Mr. Canning continued thus:—It is said there are means by which this country can aid the Neapolitans without committing itself to the issue of their struggle; that it might at least give the sanction of its opinion to the cause of freedom. Now, it is upon this point more than any other, that I am at issue with the gentleman opposite. If it is right that, with a view to favour the progress of liberty, we should make war against those powers who are now called the oppressors of the earth, in God's name let that course be decidedly taken; let there be no mistake about it; let it be done openly and avowedly; but to adopt such a policy and to follow it secretly, and by bye ways, would only prolong the struggle, aggravate the difficulty, and probably defeat the end. Of all modes of support which England could extend to other countries, a constructive support is the most unfair. If Naples, upon the faith of a constructive promise, embarked herself in a contest in which she would not otherwise have engaged—what disgrace, what eternal infamy would have been cast upon England, should she fail to fight the cause, as if contending for her own existence.

"The question of support, therefore, is in fact one of war. And is it not romantic to talk of embarking the country, not on account of duty, alliance, or obligation, but merely as a matter of feeling and sympathy, in a war in which she has neither interest nor concern. Is there any instance of such a step in our history? Yes, one there is, continued Mr. Canning, one glorious instance, that of Spain. If there is any part of my political life in which I glory, it is that, in the face of every difficulty, of every discouragement and prophecy of failure, mine was the hand which committed England to our alliance with Spain—to an alliance with a country robbed of her government, and writhing for the time under the fangs of the conqueror. But did I ever name, or argue, that alliance as other than an alliance for better or worse, for life or for death? Did I ever consent to that compromise which had been spoken of—the going a little way and viewing what could be done, and then, if convenient, giving up the cause? Did I not contend that England was bound to maintain the war even to exhaustion, unless freeing herself she freed her ally along with her? And is it to the government that has done this that is now imputed a fear of the word 'insurrection'—a determination to ally herself with none but despots, and to fight in association with none but slaves? Perhaps there are those connected with the government who feel as warmly, and whose hearts beat as high in the cause of liberty, as the honourable member himself; but it is the duty of government not to indulge their feeling at the hazard of casting an indelible shame on the nation; for I maintain it is a delusion, a mockery, to attempt to draw a distinction between an armed negotiation and an open declaration of war; and to hold out a *little* aid, a *little* counsel, and a *little* instigation, with a reservation that more should not be expected, and that in case of failure, even that little should be withdrawn."

The most interesting portion of the "*Chronicle*" is that which gives an account of the King's Coronation. The details of this splendid pageant are set forth with much liveliness; as well as with the greatest fulness and accuracy. The whole passes before the imagination of the reader, in the animated colours, the spirit-stirring vivacity, and imposing grandeur which belonged to the original; and so much greater is the power of reality than of fiction, that in perusing this description of the magnificent ceremony in question, we were more moved and delighted than we ever were with the happiest effort of the author of *Waverley*.

The "literary and scientific" department has, we think, been rather hurriedly filled up. The selection is not the best that might have been made; and even the mechanical part of the work shews undue marks of haste. A note, bearing the initials of Dr. Brewster, of Edinburgh, appears as a com-

munication from the editor of the Register; and there are, perhaps, some other trivial mistakes of a similar kind. But these are trifles light as air, compared with the excellence of the volume at large, which is, without dispute, the most complete record of national events, public business, miscellaneous information, of foreign trade, domestic commerce, and, in a word, of all those occurrences, pursuits, and interests, which engage the attention of the recluse, employ the energy of the ambitious and enterprising, amuse the leisure of the aged, and create sympathy or action in the minds of all men. It is a work indeed, in the success of which we feel more than a common interest, because it not only maintains good principles, and advocates with great ability a very important cause; but it also sets an example of moderation and gentlemanlike discussion, which cannot be too generally imitated by public writers, and reconciles throughout a steady adherence to right views with a manly, open, and candid examination of hostile opinions. Let us add, that we know not either the editor or a single writer connected with it; and that our very high estimate of this Annual Register is founded entirely upon our sense of its merits, which, we are satisfied, we have by no means over-rated.

ART. XII. *The Loves of the Angels. A Poem. By Thomas Moore.*

ART. XIII. *Fables for the Holy Alliance; Rhymes on the Road. By Thomas Brown, the Younger. Longman & Co.*

GENIUS is a being of an extremely tender and susceptible nature; its strength, temper, and dimensions, depend upon external accident; it may be curtailed of its fair proportion, by defect of education, it may be enervated in its nonage, or stifled in its birth; it has no irresistible tendency towards maturity; it has no indefeasible claim upon immortality. Whether itself shall be consummate, or its creations everlasting, rests upon other causes besides the power of its own physical essence. It is not merely a tree, the fruits of which may be sour or sweet according to the measure of its cultivation; it is also not unfrequently a flower which dies or blooms as it is visited with blight, or fostered by the dews and gales of heaven. To suppose that the force, and the career of genius are exclusive objects of predestination, and that its spirit actuates and impells with the necessity

of confined steam, is to deny by implication, the freedom of the will and the docility of the intellect of man, and to give the lie direct to the plain suggestions of every body's experience.

The mistake is this, that genius is conceived to be a vital spark of heavenly flame, which resides in the mind indeed ; but is totally independent on, and unconnected with, the ordinary faculties of the intellect. It is said to be as separate from the frame in which it is contained, as the soul is separate from the body. It is *imperium in imperio*. It matters nothing what may be the quality of the mind, whether its contents be rich, or its furniture splendid ; because genius, it is argued, is a thing incapable of increase or diminution, is born and imperishable ; is self-subsistent, and self-nourished. Hence it follows of course, that neither the weakness or strength of the reasoning powers can at all affect the vigour and brilliancy of genius ; and as a corollary to this conclusion, that it survives alone in its own original brightness, unstained by the pollution of vice, and uninjured by the ravages of moral licentiousness. This doctrine, though metaphysically and experimentally false and unfounded, is yet so gratifying to the pride, the indolence, and the natural depravity of man, that it is not very surprising that it should be maintained and acted upon by many, who are, and by more who would be thought to be, persons of genius. Their pride is consulted in believing, or in having it believed, that they are the elect depositaries of a gift of heaven ; their indolence in the ability, or in the supposition of the ability, of doing that naturally which few of the vast remainder of their fellow-mortals can effect, if at all, without painful and unremitting labour ; and their depravity in the fascinating hope that they may enter the bowers of Acrasia, and quaff the bowl of Circe, without fear of captivity or disgrace, and bathe for ever in the river of pleasure, without danger of emasculation.

This notion of the nature and the properties of genius is grounded on the common law of poetry, which presumes or creates individuality and personality in every thing within its reach. How it comes to pass, that of all the multitudinous creatures of the imagination genius alone preserves its shape and consistence beyond the district in which it was born, is not very easy to discover. We read of honour, glory, victory, and the like in verse ; but who ever coolly believed in the actual existence of these mental abstractions, and raised a theory upon such belief ? Genius, in its proper and original import, is the power of conception or invention, as distinguished from discourse or reasoning : but it is absurd to say, that any thing can be conceived which is not known ;

and if knowledge of any sort, and in any degree, be prerequisite to the exercise of conception, then it follows inevitably, that all the members and ingredients of knowledge must enter also inclusively into the effective composition of genius. But if memory, sense, and judgment be necessary to genius, then every thing which strengthens, and every thing which impairs those faculties, must certainly, in like proportion, augment or diminish the force of invention. And if this be true, (and there is no other intelligible mode of explaining the subject,) then the position of the separate essence of genius, is unfounded, and the doctrine of its inviolability falls to the ground.

Examine this matter closer, Shakspeare conceived the character of Othello:—How? in the same manner in which he raised his eyes to heaven, or moved one foot after the other? No person in their senses can believe it. If a simple act of volition were alone able to evoke the powers of genius from their hidden cell, then, as every human being possesses a will, every human being who possessed also any particle of genius, (understanding that word in any sense the reader pleases,) would, of course, be at all times and seasons, in a capacity of exercising his share of it to its fullest extent. Therefore as genius, according to the theory, is a separate and incomplex power, which power is breathed simultaneously with life itself *into* the mind, it follows by closest consequence, that Shakspeare, for instance, whilst yet a deer-stealer, and before the effects of Sir Thomas Lucy's wrath had driven him to London, could, if he had so pleased, have conceived Othello, as he did conceive it, thirty years afterwards. It is impossible to avoid this absurdity, unless it is acknowledged that genius is not an unconnected and individual faculty; but the grand and, as it were, the organic result of the powers of the mind acting together, and to one purpose; that whereas in one man the faculty of memory, in another that of reasoning, in a third, judgment is predominant to the partial exclusion of the other powers respectively; in the man of genius alone, all the faculties of the intellect, not singly and desultorily, but unitedly, and at once fully perform that last and highest act of invention. It is then that the mind moves and touches, and strikes *en masse*. There have been thousands of logicians and mathematicians, and wits, who have not been men of genius; but there never was a man of genius, who was not inclusively and essentially, both a logician and a wit. It is the perfection of separate powers which constitutes talent; it is dexterity in the manual application of them, which makes cleverness, but it is in the

irresistible march of the great intellect itself, as itself that genius has its being. It is that most wondrous and alchemic power which extracts, and purifies and compounds the material drugs supplied by learning and research, and waves over them the plastic word of its enchantment, till in the crisis of mental projection, they glance out embodied and transfigured into eternal images of light.

But if what has been urged above be true of genius, as directing itself to other objects, such as history and philosophy separately taken; it is if possible, more true and certainly applies with more obvious clearness to the case of genius in poetry. For poetry is the convergence, nay, the identity of all other species of knowledge; it creates the individual to stand as the symbol of the Universal; the finite for the Infinite; it has to do not with men but man; it is addressed to the great republican heart of the civilized world, and must therefore speak in the all-pervading language of essential human nature. No poet can be a great poet, but as being inclusively an historian and a naturalist in the light, as well as the life of genuine philosophy. All other men's worlds are the poetic chaos. His imagination must be all compact, that is, all his powers of every sort must be concentrated into a focus, before his pen will be able to turn the forms of things unknown into shapes, and give to airy nothings

“ A local habitation and a name.”

A man may be a metrist, without being a poet, and a man may also be a poet without being able to write verses. Many have possessed genius, without talent; and more have possessed talent without genius; it is the perfect combination and co-operation of one and the other which constitutes the great poet.

The greatest poets that have ever lived, have, without exception, been amongst the wisest men of their times. We say wisest, because the word learned is apt to be misunderstood; the wisdom of the poet may include more or less of book learning, as it may happen: it must include some certainly; but the knowledge of the mind and its powers, of the passions, and their springs and tendencies, the intense study and love of the beautiful forms of the visible creation—this it is which can alone teach a man to think in sympathy with the great body of his fellow-creatures, and enable him to draw back the veil which different manners and various costume have spread over the unchangeable essence of humanity. In this sense Homer and Dante, Spencer and Milton, were learned in an extraordinary degree; but, more than all, Shak-

speare is pre-eminently conspicuous in his acquaintance with the minds, and the passions, and the manners of men.

“ On the tip of his subduing tongue
 All kinds of arguments and question deep,
 All replication prompt, and reason strong
 For his advantage still doth wake and sleep,
 To make the weeper laugh, the laugher weep;
 He hath the dialect and different skill,
 Catching all passions in his craft of will,
 That he doth in the general bosom reign
 Of young, of old.”

All truths are congenial to our nature ; they harmonize with it. The mind expands and the faculties are sharpened in the contemplation and assertion of them, in proportion as the subject is elevated, the intellect is exalted with it ; it advances from strength to strength, till it rests perfect and consummate in the intense moral beholding of the great and Cardinal Truth of the Universe, the Existence of God. The converse of this is equally true, and more obvious. Denial of truth, contemptuous sarcasm, habitual levity weaken the inventive, and distort the reasoning faculties of man, just as the bodily members may be injured or destroyed by application of them to improper uses. But not only the maintenance of error is injurious to the intellect, the advocacy of truth or probability by vicious and undue means, is nearly as much so. Error is poisonous ; that which is not truth is error, and though much error may be upon the whole harmless, yet much the largest mass of it is in its effects as deadly as nightshade. No genius however great, no understanding however extensive, can in the long-run struggle with truth with impunity ; if not absolutely destroyed, it will be dismayed and enervated with the effort. This is an eternal truth resulting from the frame of the human mind, as considered in its relation to the unchangeable nature of virtue and vice, of truth and error. Instances and examples of this decay of intellect may be easily pointed out in every age ; as the causes remain the same, the effects that follow will be similar. We need only mention the historical fact of the premature decrepitude of Lord Byron as a satisfactory proof that this doctrine is as true in the present age as in any preceding one. Mr. Moore has undoubtedly some redeeming qualities about him, and yet, though his powers were never very great, to what but to certain of the same causes can we attribute the rapid and notorious decay of those powers moderate as they were ?

If Thomas Brown the younger had published these Fables for the Holy Alliance, instead of Mr. Little's Poems some

dozen years ago, neither Thomas Brown or Thomas Moore, we apprehend, would ever have been heard of at this distance of time. It is our duty and our wish to speak of all things with moderation, and *this* book is so innoxious to any but its friends, that it might well disarm more ill-tempered critics than we are; but it seems to us that a tithe of the dull wag-gishness contained in it would infallibly damn any work, of twice its dimensions, in the sober judgments of every sensible man in the kingdom. We should not express ourselves with such freedom upon the demerits of this publication, if Thomas Brown had not encouraged us to it by the spontaneous assurance, that we should not be the means of provoking him to any further proceedings in answer to our strictures. We shrink from the probability of wounding any one's feelings, but from any hazard of this we are also protected by the happy constitution of the author, and the society to which he belongs.

"It may be as well also to state, for the information of those critics, who attack with the hope of being answered, and of being thereby brought into notice, that it is the rule of this Society to return no other answer to such assailants, than is contained in the three words, '*Non curat Hippoclides*,' (meaning in English, '*Hippoclides does not care a fig*,') which were spoken two thousand years ago by the first founder of Poco-curantism, and have ever since been adopted as the leading *dictum* of that sect."

This is a good rule and a wise one, and though the Society ought to remember that "Don't Care" came to no good end that we ever heard of, yet it is an easy careless way of getting through life which is not altogether without its merit. There are three jokes in the volume; the first about the "Unfortunate Attachment," &c. in the advertisement to the "Rhymos on the Road;" the second—

" 'Come, come,' said Tom's father, 'at your time of life,
There's no longer excuse for thus playing the rake,
It is time you should think, boy, of taking a wife'—
'Why so it is, father,—whose wife shall I take?'"

But the last and best is as follows:—

"And though, 'mong Thibet Tories, some
Lament that Royal Martyrdom,
(Please to observe, the letter D
In this last word's pronounc'd like B.)
Yet to th' example of that Prince,
So much is Thibet's land a debtor,
'Tis said, her little Lamas, since,
Have all behaved themselves *much* better."

T t

In addition to the three jokes which we have preserved, there is also the following "Fable," which, we have been informed, is meant to be very significant, sarcastic, and sly. That Thomas Brown may not complain that we extract nothing but his jokes, we submit it to so many of our readers as have not been fortunate enough to meet with the book in which it is contained.

- " The wise men of Egypt were secret as dummies ;
And, even when they most condescended to teach,
They pack'd up their meaning, as they did their mummies,
In so many wrappers, 'twas out of one's reach.
- " They were also, good people, much given to kings—
Fond of monarchs and crocodiles, monkeys and mystery,
Bats, hierophants, blue-bottle flies, and such things—
As will partly appear in this very short history.
- " A Scythian philosopher, (nephew they say,
To that other great traveller, young Anacharsis)
Stept into a temple at Memphis one day,
To have a short peep at their mystical farces.
- " He saw a brisk blue-bottle Fly on an altar
Made much of, and worshipp'd as something divine ;
While a large, handsome Bullock, *led there in a hatter*,
Before it lay stabb'd at the foot of the shrine.
- " Surpris'd at such doings, he whisper'd his teacher—
' If 'tis not impertinent, may I ask why
Should a Bullock, that useful and powerful creature,
Be thus offered up to a blue-bottle Fly ?
- " ' No wonder,' said t'other—' you stare at the sight,
But we as a symbol of monarchy view it—
That Fly on the shrine is Legitimate Right,
And that Bullock the People, that's sacrificed to it.' "

This sort of allusion has lost its originality, and we think the students of the *Morning Chronicle* or the *Times*, to whom it is peculiarly addressed, must be familiar with better specimens of the style in the columns of those polished gazettes. Yet in the same volume which is recommended to the taste and judgment of the English nation by the precious stuff which we have quoted, is contained here and there a little scrap which should seem to indicate that Thomas Brown the younger is not altogether such a mere radical witling, nor so heinously unprovided with metre and good feeling as the rest of his book must lead the most partial reader to conclude. This Mr. Brown dedicates his book to his dear Lord Byron, and therefore we are pleased to remark that he has withstood the temptation of converting *Mont Blanc* into an argument for the disbelief of a Deity. The following lines deserve

much better company than their hard fate assigns them at present:—

“ ’Twas at this instant—while there glow’d
This last, intensest gleam of light,
Suddenly, through the opening road,
The valley burst upon my sight !
That glorious valley, with its Lake,
And Alps on Alps in clusters swelling,
Mighty, and pure, and fit to make
The ramparts of a Godhead’s dwelling.

“ I stood entranced and mute—as they
Of Israel think th’ assembled world
Will stand, upon that awful day,
When the Ark’s Light, aloft unfurl’d
Among the opening clouds shall shine,
Divinity’s own radiant sign !
Mighty Mont Blanc, thou wert to me,
That minute, with thy brow in heaven,
As sure a sign of Deity
As e’er to mortal gaze was given.
Nor ever, were I destin’d yet
To live my life twice o’er again,
Can I the deep-felt awe forget,
The ecstasy that thrill’d me then !

“ ’Twas all that consciousness of power
And life, beyond this mortal hour.—
Those mountings of the soul within
At thoughts of Heaven—as birds begin
By instinct in the cage to rise,
When near their time for change of skies—
That proud assurance of our claim
To rank among the Sons of Light,
Mingled with shame—oh, bitter shame !
At having risk’d that splendid right

“ For aught that earth, through all its range
Of glories, offers in exchange !
’Twas all this, at the instant brought,
Like breaking sunshine, o’er my thought,—
’Twas all this, kindled to a glow
Of sacred zeal, which, could it shine
Thus purely ever, man might grow,
Even upon earth, a thing divine,
And be, once more, the creature made
To walk unstain’d the Elysian shade !

“ No, never shall I lose the trace,
Of what I’ve felt in this bright place.

And, should my spirit's hope grow weak,
 Should I, *oh* God, e'er doubt thy power,
 This mighty scene again I'll seek,
 At the same calm and glowing hour,
 And here, at the sublimest shrine
 That Nature ever rear'd to Thee,
 Rekindle all that hope divine,
 And *feel my* immortality!"

The 'Loves of the Angels' has been published so long, that it would be idle to take up much time in discussing its merits. We delayed noticing it at its first appearance, because of a certain rumour of a *rifacciamento* of the poem by its pleasant author, whereby Eden was to be exchanged for Cythera, or the Fortunate Islands, and the Angels into Mercury, Apollo, and some other respectable personage *majorum gentium*, and in short, the whole machinery to be entirely paganized for the perfect satisfaction of the Constitutional Association. We thought 'Les Deux Amours' would form together the subject of such an edifying article, that we were determined not to be premature in taking notice of one of them. Time has rolled on; no *rifacciamento* has appeared, and the original is nearly forgotten. Mr. Moore has lost the purity and the simplicity of language, which formed the redeeming characteristic of some of his youthful trifles, and acquired in its place a certain slipshod shambling fluency, which seems absolutely incapable of sustaining Thought or Intellectual Passion. Yet the 'Loves of the Angels' is what is emphatically called pretty poetry. A hundred songs may be cut out of it; for the poem is in fact nothing but a rather lengthy song itself. The following is in the true operatic style, and is amongst the best things in the volume.

"Oh Love, Religion, Music,—all
 That's left of Eden upon earth;
 The only blessings, since the fall
 Of our weak souls, that still recall
 A trace of their high glorious birth,—
 How kindred are the dreams you bring!
 How Love, though unto earth so prone,
 Delights to take Religion's wing,
 When time or grief hath stain'd his own!
 How near to Love's beguiling brink,
 Too oft, entranc'd Religion lies!
 While Music, Music is the link
 They *both* still hold by to the skies,
 The language of their native sphere,
 Which they had else forgotten here."

There is a passage in the preface to this work, which we

are in some doubt whether to interpret as banter or serious. It imports that the English Language is indebted for the premature appearance of the 'Loves of the Angels,' to the circumstance that

"Some months since, I (Mr. Moore) found that my friend, Lord Byron, had, by an accidental coincidence, chosen the same subject for a drama; and, as I could not but feel the disadvantage of coming after so formidable a rival, I thought it best to publish my humble sketch immediately, with such alterations and additions as I had time to make, and thus, by an earlier appearance in the literary horizon, give myself the chance of what astronomers call an *heliacal rising*, before the luminary, in whose light I was to be lost, should appear."

Now it may be all very proper and grateful between parties concerned; there may be, for aught we know, certain obligations, for which adulation, even so foolish and laughable as this, may be the peculiar and just recompense; but really it is too much for the patience or gravity of the sober world at large to bear. We think moderately enough of the *Loves of the Angels*, but to talk of even the *Loves of the Angels* being injured in sale, or tarnished in splendour, by the appearance of the thing alluded to, is almost decisive with us, that Mr. Moore is covertly laughing at Lord Byron, just as Lord Byron himself, before his dotage, quizzed Mr. Rogers about his poor little Jacqueline. This luminary, in whose light Mr. Moore was to be lost, is called 'Heaven and Earth,' with rather more of the latter than the former in it; but if it had been all heavenly, if it had not been the most prodigious piece of tame infatuation that ever yet came from the pen of man, or woman, or child, yet we cannot perceive how the *Loves of the Angels*, published by itself, and by a respectable bookseller, could have suffered from the competition of any thing coming out in the *Liberal*, and published by John Hunt. Mr. Moore's friends may, perhaps, read the *Liberal*, and therefore it may cause him some alarm, as far as their opinions are concerned; but if Mr. Moore has the extended ambition of pleasing the Public, he may rest very safe and tranquil from the dreaded effects of Lord Byron's rivalry; for the Public never has, nor ever will, read the *Liberal*, or any prose or verse, that comes from the South.

We have little more to add about the *Loves of the Angels*, except a suggestion, that the *Loves of the Triangles* would be a fuller and more expressive title than the present. We give this hint to Mr. Moore *gratis*, and with our good wishes for his health and happiness.

Much has been said about the impiety of the work. No doubt it is highly improper to write in such a manner on such subjects, and Mr. Moore's justification is too silly to deserve exposure. He ought to know, without being told, that the charge is, that he has profaned sacred subjects by profane association. The actual subject of a poem may be upon Mars and Venus, but if Mars or Venus talk and reason, and reason falsely too about that which is real and true, and fill their speeches with Eden, and original sin, and mercy, and justice, and repentance, and the Almighty Being himself, then, in such case, the poem is a profane poem, though Mars and Venus be both fictitious personages. This is so obvious, that Mr. Moore must see it as well as ourselves. Yet notwithstanding this, we cannot think harshly of the book itself; we believe Mr. Moore has to answer for more faults of the head than the heart; and the contrast between his warm and affectionate mind, and the cold blooded infidelity of Lord Byron, is so strong, as to throw his numerous delinquencies into comparative shade. Moreover, the book is read by few, besides young women, and as young women never think for more than a minute and a half, of any book in the world, after it is out of their hands, we hope little harm will follow from its publication. In the mean time Mr. Moore may improve in his judgment. We part with him in good humour.

ART. XIV. *Five Lectures on the Gospel of St. John, as bearing Testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour; delivered on the Fridays during Lent, 1823. By C. J. Blomfield, D.D. Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and Archdeacon of Colchester. 12mo. pp. 94. Rivingtons. 1823.*

ART. XV. *A Charge, delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Colchester, by Charles James Blomfield, D.D. at his Primary Visitation, in May 1823, and published at their Request. 4to. pp. 32. Rivingtons. 1823.*

ART. XVI. *A Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Stewards of the Sons of the Clergy, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, on Thursday, May 23, 1822. By the Venerable Charles James Blomfield, D.D. Archdeacon of Colchester, and Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. 4to pp. 26. Rivingtons. 1823.*

THE three works to which our attention is now to be directed are very different in their nature and subjects, but

closely resembling each other in utility and excellence. The first contains a plain but most satisfactory defence of the fundamental Article of Christian Faith: the second explains a very important portion of the Discipline of our Church; and the third is a vindication of the national Clergy from some of the charges with which they are so unsparingly assailed. We shall endeavour to put the reader in possession of their principal contents, and to give some specimens of the manner in which their respective arguments are conducted.

The first and most important of these publications, is intended chiefly for dispersion among the inhabitants of the parish over which the Archdeacon presides, a neighbourhood, as he informs us, where Unitarian opinions have been disseminated with more than common activity. And it is impossible for us to proceed with our notice of these admirable Lectures without offering a few remarks upon the circumstance which led to their delivery.

To what source are we to trace the renewed exertions of the Unitarian seceders, and by what means can we most effectually resist their efforts? The former question opens a wide field for examination into the conduct of Dissenters, the latter may suggest some serious reflections upon the duty and behaviour of Churchmen. It cannot be doubted that the Socinian cause, a cause in its own nature so uninviting and unpopular, has been preserved from utter ruin by the combined operations of infidelity and fanaticism. Free-thinkers who do not care to avow their opinions, or who believe that mankind is not yet prepared for naked Deism, consent to adopt the Gospel as a system of morals, while they reject it as a system of faith. On the subject of the authenticity and inspiration of Scripture, they preserve a suspicious silence; but interpret its contents in a manner which makes the first unimportant, and the second impossible. They have a quibble by which to escape from its most important assertions, and they charge it with such gross inaccuracies of language and of reasoning, as are incompatible with our ideas of a Revelation from God, and must eventually breed contempt for the volume in which they are contained. And the proselytes to such opinions are principally to be seen among uninstructed and presumptuous men, who may be easily persuaded to venture into the perils of controversy, and can find in Scripture any doctrine which they are pre-disposed to adopt. And where would such persons be found if the labours of fanaticism were suspended? It is this which first teaches the flock to wander, which renders it distrustful of the shepherd, and a stranger to the fold. And

when principles and opinions have been again and again changed, when the whole man is unsettled, and reason nearly upset, then it is that recourse is had to reason falsely so called, and the Gospel which has been recently regarded as a scheme of enthusiastical mysticism, is degraded to the level of natural religion. As long as sectarianism makes a prey of the serious and devout, and infidelity gathers recruits from the profligate, so long will Unitarians increase in activity and numbers. Instead of searching the Scriptures as a rule of faith and conduct, the fashion of the present day is to make them a pretence for dissension. In those dissensions every heresy will have its advocate, and with whatever rapidity one false doctrine spreads, with the same rapidity, when the tide turns, will its opposite error run in.

It is incumbent upon the Clergy, therefore, to be upon their guard against more enemies than one. Their attention must not be engrossed by the noisier and more violent attacks, while a silent but insidious adversary is sapping the foundations of the fortress. Plain and perspicuous lessons upon all parts of Christianity are indispensably necessary to the people, and as indispensably required from their teachers. It is idle to imagine that we can conceal difficulties or silence doubts. Christianity will no longer be believed unless its truth is established by argument. Its doctrines will no longer be embraced unless they are systematically deduced from the Bible, and as systematically explained and inculcated. Error will not be avoided unless its existence and its varieties are honestly unfolded, and all its windings unravelled. With an overwhelming conviction of these facts, it is with sincere pleasure that we are enabled to adduce the high authority of Archdeacon Blomfield in support of the practice which we recommend. His Lectures contain a clear and concise statement respecting one branch of the evidence of our Lord's Divinity; and that statement not merely adapted to the scholar or the controversialist, but brought down to the level of common men. The following extracts will shew how admirably the task is performed.

"The Gospel of St. John was written several years after those of the other Evangelists; and evidently with a different object. They relate the principal *incidents* of our Saviour's life; St. John is more diligent in recording his *discourses*. The other Evangelists enumerate a great variety of miracles; St. John describes only a few of the most remarkable, which had a more immediate reference to the particular object of his Gospel. *They* repeat the discourses which Jesus held with the people, mostly in Galilee, in the form of parables and short moral sentences: John has preserved the longer

and more argumentative conversations of our Saviour with the learned Jews, on the subject of the Messiah; and those in which he explained to his disciples the nature of his mission and office.

"Now it is very plain, that whatever other objects St. John may have had in view, this was one; to convey to the Christian world just and adequate notions of the real nature, character, and office of that great Teacher, who came to instruct and redeem mankind. For this purpose, he studiously selected, for his narrative, those passages of our Saviour's life, which most clearly displayed his divine power and authority; and those of his discourses, in which he spoke most plainly of his own nature, and of the efficacy of his death, as an atonement for the sins of the world. The object, which this Evangelist had in view, is very clearly stated in the words of the text. It was not to accumulate as many instances as possible of the miraculous power exerted by Jesus; but only those, which most distinctly illustrated his peculiar office and nature: 'many other signs truly did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But *these* are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name.' This expression seems to prove, that those persons are wrong, who suppose that St. John wrote his Gospel, merely to supply the defects and omissions of the other Evangelists. The real difference between them is, that *they* wrote a history of our Saviour's life; but St. John, of his person and office.

"Whoever then desires to form a just notion of the real office and dignity of the Saviour of the world, let him study the representations which Jesus has given of himself, in the discourses recorded by St. John. The Apostles speak of him in their Epistles, it is true, in noble and characteristic expressions: but *here* the Saviour speaks of himself, and in language which no ingenuity can pervert.

"St. Matthew and St. Luke begin by relating the circumstances attending the birth of Jesus; and trace his genealogy from David, whose descendant the promised Messiah was to be. But John introduces him at once in his divine character, as having existed before the world began, himself the Creator of the world. And having thus, in the very opening of his Gospel, announced the transcendent dignity of his subject, he takes occasion to inculcate the same truth throughout the whole of his subsequent history. With this notion of the scope and purpose of the Evangelist, his Gospel is clear, consistent, and intelligible: upon any other supposition, it is obscure and inexplicable." *Lectures, p. 3.*

"Let us put the following case to a Unitarian, who maintains that the simple humanity of Jesus Christ is the plain undeniable doctrine of the New Testament:

"Suppose that the Gospel had been recently published to the world; and that a diversity of opinions had begun to prevail amongst those who had embraced it, relating to the person and office of Jesus Christ. His favourite disciple, who must naturally be

desirous that correct notions should be entertained upon this point, knowing that men's opinions are divided, applies himself to record certain incidents of his Master's life, and certain of his discourses, which may throw some light upon the points in dispute. If he is convinced that Jesus, although an inspired prophet, was no more than a man, he will take care to avoid all ambiguous expressions, which may be construed into an assertion of his divinity.

"Now St. John was precisely in that predicament; he knew that erroneous opinions were abroad concerning the nature of Christ; for he says in his first Epistle (ii. 22.) 'Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son.' Yet how does he begin his account of Jesus Christ? Does he speak of him as a highly gifted and divinely commissioned man? No; he seems to take all possible care to exclude the supposition. He says of John the Baptist, (whom our Lord pronounced to be 'more than a prophet') that he 'was a man sent from God;' but of Christ he declares, in unqualified terms, that he was in the beginning; that he was with God; that he was the only-begotten Son; in the bosom of the Father; that he was God; that he was the Creator of all things, himself uncreated; that he is the source of life, and the light of men; that he was made flesh (having therefore of necessity borne a spiritual nature before); and that John the Baptist, although older than Jesus, declared that Jesus was preferred before him, 'for he *was* before him *,' i. e. existed before him; an expression which would be well understood by the Jews, who entertained a notion of the pre-existence of their expected Messiah †. Would an Evangelist, entertaining the opinions which the Unitarians of the present day profess, have opened his Gospel with a series of expressions, so strongly declaratory of the divine nature of Christ, that in order to avoid the force of them, we must call in the aid of allegory of the harshest and most unusual kind? Surely it is not possible to read the first verses of St. John, taking for our guide the acknowledged and usual rules of interpretation, without perceiving the irresistible evidence which they afford to the grand doctrine of our Lord's divinity." *Lectures*, p. 22.

The Archdeacon's Primary Charge treats the Discipline in the same manner that his Lectures treated the Doctrines of the Church; states and proves its most important branches, and lays down a judicious plan for his future conduct in office. Commencing by some observations upon the twofold relation of the Clergy to one another, he proceeds to say,

* "The Unitarian Version says, 'for he is my principal.' It would hardly edify the class of readers for whom these Lectures are intended, if I were to enter into a verbal criticism, and shew, as I could easily do, and as others have done before, that this interpretation is wholly unjustifiable."

† "The following expression occurs in an ancient Jewish commentary on Gen. xlix. 2. 'It is written (Gen. i. 2.) *The Spirit of God brooded on the waters. That Spirit is the Spirit of Messiah the King.*'"

“ The feelings of reciprocal kindness, which the spirit of our profession is so well calculated to excite, ought to receive additional force and liveliness from the peculiar complexion of the age in which we live. External pressure upon every side of a body, naturally increases the solidity and coherence of its parts. The opposition and calumnies of those, who ‘ have evil will at Sion,’ may be expected to produce at least one good result, by uniting more closely all her defenders and friends. Above all, her teachers must surely feel it to be no less their interest than their duty, to ‘ dwell together in unity;’ ‘ standing fast in one spirit, with one mind; striving together for the faith of the Gospel; and in nothing terrified by their adversaries.’ The providence of God sometimes makes the opposers of the Gospel to be the unwilling instruments of its promotion. Such will be the case, when the ministers of religion are awakened, by the attacks of its adversaries, to a sense of their own danger, and excited to use an increased diligence in the performance of their sacred duties. While we continue true to our own character and office; while we labour conscientiously, each in the province assigned to him by the Church, we have nothing to apprehend from the enemies of religion and good order. A pious and charitable dedication of ourselves to those who are committed to our care; a spirit of forbearance and indulgence towards the erring and the weak, and of brotherly love and kindness towards one another, will give invincible strength to the arguments, by which we may be called upon, from time to time, to prove the legitimacy and usefulness of our office. *Charge, p. 4.*

After a handsome and well-merited tribute to the character and services of his predecessor Archdeacon Jefferson, Dr. Blomfield enters into an examination of the origin and extent of the Archidiaconal office.

He then proceeds to admonish the Churchwardens to reflect with becoming seriousness upon the sacredness of the obligation by which they are bound to a discharge of their duty, and refers them to the excellent exposition of it which is contained in Archdeacon Jefferson’s last address to them. Being aware that some doubt has arisen respecting the Archdeacon’s power of enforcing the reparation of glebe-houses, Dr. Blomfield states his belief that such power is possessed by him; but at the same time prefers the more summary and effectual remedy which has been provided both by the Canon and Statute law, viz. that the living of an incumbent who after monition neglects to repair the houses on his glebe, be sequestered by the Bishop, and the expences of repairing be defrayed out of the profits. The following declaration respecting non-residents will meet with general approbation.

“ As to the houses of non-resident incumbents, you are aware, that by the 57th Geo. III. c. 99, it is enacted, that such incum-

bents, not keeping their glebe houses in good and sufficient repair, nor, upon monition from the Bishop, putting the same into repair, within the time specified in the monition, shall be liable to all the pains and penalties for non-residence. This wise provision of a statute, which, in my humble opinion, has been of most essential service to the Church, it is the duty of the Archdeacon to keep in view, as being the officer specially appointed by the Bishop, to inspect the ecclesiastical fabrics within the limits of his jurisdiction, and to make a faithful report of their condition. I think it right to state to you without reserve, that I intend to pay a particular attention to this department of my office. The necessity of residence, where it is practicable, is so generally felt and acknowledged, and its connexion with the fitness of the glebe houses is so undeniable, that I need not explain the motives which lead me to make this declaration. There is, however, an obvious distinction, which may be reasonably attended to. Where an incumbent is himself resident on his benefice, a regard for his own comfort and convenience will generally secure a due degree of attention to the state of his house, and obviate the necessity of a frequent, or minute, official inspection. But the case of non-resident incumbents is very different; and I shall esteem it my bounden duty, in every such instance, carefully to examine the state of all the buildings attached to the glebe, and to direct the attention of the incumbent to the necessary repairs. I need not be particular, on this occasion, in specifying the items of inquiry as to parsonage houses; I will observe generally, that the Clergy are directed not merely to support and uphold their glebe houses, but also to preserve them in a *decent state*." *Charge*, p. 25.

After having produced so many specimens of the ability with which Dr. Blomfield discharges his various duties, it remains for us to advert briefly to his Sermon preached at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, which, though delivered from the pulpit in 1822, has (according to the usual and highly inexpedient practice upon such occasions) only just made its appearance in print.

From the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 13. *Being defamed, we intreat*, the Archdeacon undertakes to shew how much unmerited obloquy has been cast upon the profession which he adorns, both in the present and all preceding ages of the Church. The early persecutions of the Christian Minister are noticed, and compared with the less ferocious but not less malevolent attacks of modern times. The origin of both is justly traced to that hatred of reproof which the scorner always feels; and we are reminded that even the intestine divisions of the Church are not attributable exclusively, or even principally, to the Clergy, but were fostered and envenomed by the early interference of the secular power in matters of opinion and controversy. The following passage places an important pe-

riod of ecclesiastical history in an unusual but very just point of view.

" Having briefly adverted to a principal cause of that unjust assumption of supremacy, on the part of the Romish Church, which led to its apostasy from the pure and primitive faith, and which has furnished an inexhaustible topic to the revilers of the priesthood, I shall pass over the ages, during which the Christian world groaned under its dark dominion, with only one remark, which relates more particularly to the state of religion in our own country. During a great part of that period of time, which witnessed the triumphant ascendancy of the ecclesiastical orders, the real pastors of Christ's flock, the actual labourers in his vineyard, were an oppressed and calumniated body of men. The patrimony of the Church was engrossed by the monastic institutions; the dignities and advantages of the Cathedral churches, which since the Reformation have been usually bestowed upon those, who partake in the labours of the ministry, or serve the cause of religion by their learning and zeal, were then in the hands of the monks, and those in many instances foreigners. The parish priests, had, in general, no more than a bare subsistence *. Add to this injustice, the contempt with which they were treated by the monastic orders; the invasion of their parochial duties by the itinerant friars; the heavy tribute which was exacted (and most rigorously from the poorest) by the pope; and, lastly, that prohibition of the common liberty of mankind, which numbered the marriage of a priest amongst the deadly sins; and it will appear, that the ministry, properly so called, even during the ages of papal usurpation, could claim no exemption from the common lot of suffering, which they inherited, together with their office, from the Apostles. Let it be remarked by the way, that in the very same age which produced a Wickliffe, the father of English poetry delineated the character of a parish priest, as of one who truly preached the Gospel of Christ, was 'rich of holy thought and work, and in adversity full patient†.' *Sermon*, p. 12.

The difficulties to which the Clerical order is still exposed, the strict regulations with which its members must comply, the impositions to which they are notoriously subject, the scrutiny from which they never escape, are so many additional proofs that their situation is not to be compared to a bed of roses, or of down.

" Far be it from me (says the judicious Preacher) to deprecate for our order the most rigorous scrutiny of impartial justice: we know that we are designed to be 'the light of the world,' and that 'a city set on an hill cannot be hid.' The disadvantage of every kind of pre-eminence is notoriety: and they whose office it is 'to reprove, rebuke, and exhort‡,' ought themselves to be 'unrebukable§.' But, constituted as

* Johnson's *Ecccl. Law*, 1. Pref. p. vi. † Chaucer, *Prologue to Canterbury Tales*.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

§ 1 Tim. vi. 14.

The Marriage Act, 26 George II. c. 33. was passed for the prevention of clandestine marriages—and its principal enactments have stood the test of time. One clause was less fortunate. The rapid increase of cases in which marriage by license was pronounced void, from non-compliance with the requisitions of the statute, made it necessary to amend part of the law, and the whole, as a natural consequence, was brought under revision. The legislature was led astray by the charms of improvement and novelty, and a measure, of which every one perceived the manifold faults, was carried through parliament by large majorities. It was repealed, six months afterwards, without a dissentient voice, and a committee of the house of lords has been subsequently employed in framing a more palatable bill. The Dissenters not being specially mentioned in the proposed enactment, take the opportunity of preparing a separate law for themselves—and the debates upon both measures have been of so extraordinary a nature, that we are compelled to turn aside from our usual course, and animadvert upon the speeches and proceedings of the most august body in the kingdom.

The original complaint of Dr. Phillimore was confined to the nullity clause in the act of George II. He proved that its consequences were unjust and intolerable—and charged it with inefficiency into the bargain. He contended that clandestine marriages could be easily and safely celebrated by banns; that the practice, in point of fact, had become very common, and that it was worse than useless to retain a clause which did not prevent the mischief against which it was directed—and produced a host of unanticipated evils. By establishing these facts, Dr. Phillimore opened a wide field for investigation. It would have been difficult, at any time, to assign a reason for the difference between marriages by license and marriages by banns. A fraudulent acquisition of the first, and a fraudulent publication of the second, afford equal facilities to clandestine marriages; and the parental rights are as much invaded in the one case, as in the other. The nullity, therefore, of the marriage of minors, when celebrated without the actual or virtual consent of their parents, ought to be extended to all cases, or taken away from all; and the parliament and the people hurried at once into the latter alternative, without giving Dr. Phillimore's proposal the consideration which it deserved.

The Doctor proposed that marriages by license, when solemnized under the age of twenty-one years, without the previous consent of the parent or guardian, might be annulled by the Ecclesiastical courts, at the suit of such parent or guardian—provided the suit were instituted before the expi-

ration of the minority. A provision to the same effect was contained in the original draft of the bill now before Parliament. It obtained the sanction, or rather was inserted at the instance of the most distinguished law lords—it was accepted by more than one of our ablest Prelates, and whatever be its merits or demerits, it is innocent of all the mischief which has been laid to its charge. It was not contrary to the law of God—it did not afford encouragement to the seducer—it did not derogate from the sanctity of marriage, or the dignity of the priesthood. The misrepresentations which have gone abroad on this subject induce us to enter into a more particular consideration of it.

In the first place, then, it must be remembered that the hardship and injustice of the nullity clause were much greater in one class of cases than in another. When a license was obtained by perjury, and parties under the age of twenty-one were married by a law which was not intended to apply to them, the results, however melancholy, were the results of imprudence and crime. A minor who swears that he is of age, a married man who swears that he is single or widowed, and a man who procures marriage to be solemnized by a fraudulent publication of banns, involve themselves and their families in troubles, which might have been avoided by caution upon one side and integrity on the other. No legislative care can compensate for the want of these qualities, and if the ancient marriage act had pronounced no other marriages void, the present feeling upon the subject of nullity would never have prevailed. But the provisions of that act extended to cases in which there was no fraud and no indiscretion. The consent of the parent or guardian *de facto* was declared insufficient to legalise the marriage of a minor by license. Parties were called upon to prove the legitimate birth of their grandfathers and grandmothers—and illegitimacy was discovered where no one could expect to find it. The horrible consequences of such a system were no sooner understood, than it was condemned and annulled by acclamation; and the acclamants forgot the difference between sufferers from a subtle construction and unforeseen application of the nullity clause, and sufferers from wanton or careless violation of the law. The commiseration justly due to the former was bestowed upon the latter, with more generosity than justice. Our senators in their eagerness to rectify the errors of the act of George II., adopted provisions which were incompatible with the prevention of clandestine marriage; or at least were so considered by the most eminent

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lawyers who are familiar with matrimonial suits. These lawyers, and more especially Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, recommended a recurrence to the original measure of Dr. Phillimore. That measure, slightly amended, was adopted by the Lords' committee, but overruled by the house, after a very remarkable debate.

The real question, as Lord Liverpool justly stated, was a question of expediency. On the one hand it was thought dangerous to confirm a fraudulent and illegal marriage; on the other it was thought more dangerous to separate parties who were bound to one another in conscience, and were living together as man and wife. For our own parts, we are not sorry that the latter apprehension prevailed, and we are inclined upon the whole to consider it the most just. Parents and guardians, knowing that marriage is irrevocable, must prevent improper connections by a more careful discharge of their duty—by a proper cultivation of the infant mind, and a proper vigilance against artifice and folly. It was not wise to make so great a distinction between marriage by license and banns, as that the one should be voidable and the other not. The instances in which minors have been entrapped into matrimony are not so numerous or so painful as to call for a stretch of power to prevent their recurrence. In most of these instances a sentence of nullity may punish the guilty, but cannot effectually deliver the innocent. And while we are legislating in order to prevent mercenary marriages, we should remember that there are such persons as mercenary parents and relations, who have a direct interest in opposing the marriage of a minor, and may be tempted to set it aside for their own private advantage. For these and other reasons we are not sorry that the House of Lords was guided by Lord Liverpool in preference to Lord Eldon.—But the grounds upon which many persons defended their support of the former are unsubstantial and unsatisfactory. The arguments from Scripture rested upon an extraordinary misapplication of our Saviour's words,—*Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder*. They refer to the institution of the marriage state, and not to the celebration of the marriage ceremony. At least, if they do not, they prohibit us from annulling any marriage vow, and lead to the conclusion that neither licences, or banns; or altar, or priest, can be required as indispensable to a valid contract. The promise, in the sight of God, is irrevocable and irreversible, and our laws are a monstrous system of impiety and injustice. Even supposing that *God joineth* those, and those only, who are married by a Priest, what right has the Church or

the Legislature to restrict the Priest's privilege to certain hours of the day—to certain consecrated places—and to a certain prescribed form of words? Why may he not solemnize matrimony without banns or licence? For this single reason,—he is forbidden by the law. And against that prohibition not one word of complaint is uttered by those who are bound in consistency to think it unjustifiable and unchristian!! In every respect, therefore, the new interpretation of our Saviour's language is as incorrect at that which was adopted in the same inconsiderate manner upon the kindred question of Divorce.

The indissolubility of lawful marriage is a fundamental principle of Christian morality. But what shall constitute lawful marriage?—what degree of notoriety shall be given to its solemnization?—what consents shall be obtained and what ceremonies observed, in order to give certain civil rights to the parties and to their issue?—these points are to be determined by the law of the land; and it may employ effectual means to enforce its decision. The parties who are married by licence, and have obtained that licence by perjury, cannot well claim the privilege of being joined together by God. The Priest, who has been deceived by a solemn lie, deliberately asserted in the most holy place, and who under the influence of such deception solemnizes a marriage which is contrary to law, can hardly complain that his ministrations are dishonoured by a statute which pronounces such solemnization null. The parental as well as the conjugal rights, are a proper object of care to a Christian legislature; and it is a father's first right to protect and govern his children. They are prohibited from entering into a variety of temporal engagements—on the mere account of youth. They are guarded against the effects of their own imprudence—where those effects may be remedied or endured. What pretence then is there for saying that it is unjust, unchristian, or improper to postpone their capability of forming an indissoluble engagement until they are arrived at years of discretion? Of all the grounds that were ever taken for condemning the voidability clause, the religious grounds are the most unsubstantial and treacherous.

Nor is it more reasonable to charge the measure with an immoral tendency. The man who could take advantage of its provisions in order to seduce and forsake an innocent woman, must be of a singular disposition and character. He must be very young and very flagitious, very rash and very artful, shamefully neglected by his parents on the one hand, and as shamefully sheltered by them on the other. For the suit in the Ecclesiastical Court was to be preferred by

them, not by him; and we may hope for the sake of human nature, that there are not many parents who would interfere to annul a son's marriage with a virtuous woman, however anxious they might have felt to prevent it. We may hope also, that it is not every dissipated boy, regardless of the laws of morality and decorum, who would plan so horrible a crime as a pretended marriage, for which the preparations are so likely to lead to detection; and the avenues are guarded by such solemn appeals to the conscience. We may hope that among the few who could plan, there are still fewer who could execute such a scheme. Some attachment must exist to the woman who is its object. In most instances, that attachment would last beyond the date at which the union could be dissolved. And it would only be in the extreme cases for which it was calculated, that the remedy would be actually put in force. Where the woman was the seducer instead of the seduced, and had inveigled the man, for the sake of his property, into a ruinous connection, she would have no just ground of complaint against the statute. And where she was the minor, and her property the object, it would be in the power of her guardian to take his choice of the two difficulties, and either leave her united to a worthless husband, or restore her to the liberty she had been foolish enough to abandon. In all cases the great evil which Dr. Phillimore stepped forward to cure, would be avoided. There would be no disputes or discoveries respecting the legitimacy of families: if their parents' marriage had been annulled, there would be no possibility of maintaining—if not there would be no pretence for disputing it.

We contend upon all these accounts, that the voidability clause, recommended by the Committee, was entitled to a more dispassionate consideration than was given to it by a large proportion of its opponents. The apprehensions of the law-lords were treated with a disregard from which we augur no good. The Bill as it has now been sent to the Commons, removes several impediments to clandestine marriage; and whether the new enactment will suffice to prevent mischief and confusion, is a question upon which the cautious may be permitted to doubt. That the marriage law has been improved, we are most ready to admit; but we shall not be surprised if the improvement turns out to be improvable, and Parliament is called upon in a future Session to make further provision against evils which it is evidently disposed to underrate.

At the same time we sincerely hope that no such event will occur. As often as it does, we may expect a repetition

of the attempts to introduce a Dissenter's Marriage Bill. The authors of that measure love to fish in troubled waters. They hail every alteration of our existing laws, as an excuse for renewing their demand : and so great has been the effect of their modest perseverance, that it behoves the friends of existing establishments to reflect upon the consequences of granting their prayer.

The history of the bill recently rejected by the house of lords, is not unworthy of attention. It originated with a Mr. John Wilkes, secretary and principal director of the Society for Protecting Religious Liberty. This gentleman, indefatigable in his researches for a dissenting grievance, perceived the cruelty of requiring Unitarians to be married according to the ceremonies of the Church, and being himself a rigid Calvinist, undertook to deliver his oppressed fellow-tures from the hardship of appearing to acknowledge the Trinity. With the assistance of Mr. Smith, of Norwich, Mr. Wilkes introduced a bill into the house of commons, requiring the Clergy to curtail the marriage service, and omit all expressions to which the Socinians might be pleased to object. Mr. Smith, we speak it to his honour, quickly perceived and acknowledged the absurdity of the measure which he had consented to father, and withdrew it without calling for the sense of the house. But he withdrew it with an understanding that, when a general measure should be proposed for the matrimonial relief of Dissenters, the possibility of consenting to it would be fairly considered. To the preparation of such measure Mr. Wilkes has since devoted his legislative faculties, and it being the fashion, this season, to commence Marriage Bills in the house of lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne condescended to become accoucheur to Mr. Wilkes, and presented their lordships with the bantling that was put into his hands. This is the short, eventful history of the Dissenter's Marriage Bill. It originated with a meddling attorney, and ten or a dozen factious unbelievers. The great body of the Dissenters had nothing at all to do with it. They were well contented with the old law, till Messrs. Fearon and Thompson, Freethinking Christians, and Gin-sellers, Holborn, took it into their heads to protest against the marriage ceremony. Then Mr. Wilkes roused himself, and got up petitions and bills. Familiar with the ante-rooms of statesmen, he descanted upon the blessing of toleration, and, in spite of his strong Calvinistic propensities, became the advocate of his erring, but interesting brethren in Jewin-street. And it was not till his Unitarian scheme was blown up and exposed, that he gave birth to the general measure of the present day. Foiled in an attempt to tear the Church

to pieces bit by bit, he sets up on a sudden in the wholesale line, and endeavours to give a finishing blow to the ancient marriage system of the country. To render the attack more imposing, a petition from St. Luke's, of which parish, Mr. Wilkes is vestry-clerk, and managing man, is got up by the said Mr. Wilkes, in favour of Catholic weddings, and presented to the house of commons by Sir James Mackintosh, on the day that Lord Lansdowne moved the second reading of the bill; and the whole body of non-conformists being thus on the alert, their rights and their wrongs being calmly stated by Mr. Bennett, and some ill-advised admissions extorted from government, Mr. Wilkes looks round, in the delight of anticipated triumph, and exclaims, on a review of his handy works, "This also have I done."

But the triumph, happily for England, is postponed. And if the friends to the Church and Constitution will do their duty, if they will give the subject the consideration to which it is entitled, and express the results of their enquiry with becoming firmness, the postponement will be repeated *in infinitum*. Every lover of his country, every defender of public morality, of domestic peace, and of social union, will perceive that he is bound to oppose this monstrous innovation. The Peers who supported the second reading of Lord Lansdowne's bill with the view of proving in the Committee that it was totally impracticable, (and such Peers constituted the most respected and not the smallest part of its supporters) will see that their laudable object may be gained without that apparent concession of the principle of the measure which is implied in its commitment. And the dissenters, especially the more conscientious and influential part of them, will be satisfied that they have nothing to gain and much to lose by the boon which is offered to them through the instrumentality of Mr. Fearon, and Mr. Wilkes.

It has been said that by excepting the Quakers and Jews from the Act of George II., the justice and equity of the present measure were admitted, and that it is impossible to resist Mr. Wilkes, upon principle. We altogether deny this fact. If there was a principle conceded by the framers of the original Marriage Act, the use which is now made of the concession should be an effectual warning against a pursuance of the same system. Because our legislators did wrong once, is it fair to contend that they should do wrong always? But, in fact, this concession had been made before. The principle of acknowledging no religious observances except those of the Established Church, was relinquished by the Toleration Act. And when dissenters were permitted to preach and pray and administer the Sacraments, the re-

ligious objection to their celebration of Matrimony was of course at an end. They contend, and with great appearance of reason, that before the 26th of George II. they might have solemnized marriage according to their own form. And the Marriage Act, did not so much exempt the Quakers and Jews from a compliance with the ceremonies of the Church (for that exemption they and all other sects previously enjoyed) as decline including them in certain civil regulations adopted for the prevention of clandestine marriage. And it is this prevention—the great, and indeed the only principle of the Marriage-Act, that the measure of Mr. Wilkes proposes to subvert. The evils which arose from the unlimited power of marriage possessed by the Clergy, produced the Marriage-Act. Those evils would have been tenfold as numerous and serious, if the Dissenting teachers had been in the habit of celebrating Matrimony; and the labours of the Fleet-Parson had been assisted and lightened by a Tabernacle Teacher. To cure the mischief which had increased and was increasing, the legislature provided that marriage should not be celebrated without certain forms, and the provision extended to all but Quakers and Jews. These persons were already accustomed to marry among themselves, and no evil, in the way of clandestine marriage, could be anticipated, or has occurred from the continuance of the custom. Other sects, though at liberty as they contend to marry out of the Church, had never availed themselves of the privilege, and as their exemption from the statute would defeat its whole object, they were included in it, not for religious but for civil purposes. The dissenters of that day, as acute and as scrupulous as their successors, did not perceive the injustice of the measure: its general good effects are universally acknowledged. Parliament has been busily occupied in amending its defects, and completing its provisions: the importance of preventing clandestine marriage is admitted in all quarters; and in the face of these facts we are gravely assured, that the principle of Lord Lansdowne's Bill is incontrovertible. Imposing religious ceremonies as religious ceremonies, and for religious purposes, is one thing;—imposing religious ceremonies for civil purposes is another. The former our legislators have renounced, the latter is practiced in every nation under heaven; and to call it persecution or intolerance is absurd.

The marriage-law of this country provides much more strictly than that of other countries, for the solemn and public performance of the ceremony, and the secure preservation of evidence by which it may be proved. The celebration of marriage by dissenting teachers, under any limitations what-

The Marriage-Acts.

soever, will upset the whole system. We do trust, therefore, that our legislators will not sacrifice so extravagantly to the spurious liberality of the age, as to repeal the provisions to which the country owes so much of its greatness. We are not addressing ourselves to the natural protectors of the Church, or to its more attached and dutiful children. To them we might probably use other arguments, and endeavour to fouse them to exertion, by more peculiar considerations. But if the security of the Church establishment is an unpopular topic, if our friends consider it useless, or worse than useless, to insist upon the propriety of preserving one bond of union among a divided people, of retaining one little relic of the supremacy of the Church, we may still expect them to ward off the danger with such weapons as are allowed in modern warfare. Let them shew, and they can easily shew, the political value of the present system. Let them advert to the respectability of the officers whom it entrusts with the exclusive solemnization of marriage; and to the fact, that in the course of the last century, we have hardly heard of a forged entry in the registers. Let them point out the impossibility of securing such advantages from teachers of every variety of denomination, rank, and character. Let them ask respectable men of all classes, sects, and parties, whether they are willing to expose their sons and daughters to the dangers which the Marriage Act was intended to remove. If they are, let the Act be repealed; if they are not, let it be preserved both in spirit and in letter, and not silently repealed by a toleration-bill.

Should any thing more be wanting to produce a conviction of the inexpediency of Mr. Wilkes's measure, the unconvinced may turn to the details of his plan, and will be furnished with a subject of more comment and more condemnation than we have leisure at the present moment to bestow. From first to last, from preamble to postscript, the substance and the language of this curious document are different from any thing that we ever heard of before. The preamble informs us that,

“Whereas many of his Majesty's good and faithful subjects, who conscientiously decline conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as by law established, regard the necessity of solemnizing matrimony in a parish church or chapel, and according to the rules prescribed by the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer as a *grievance, repugnant to their religious feelings*, and have at various times petitioned Parliament to be relieved therefrom, and whereas it is *expedient to grant ease to scrupulous consciences* in this respect, without infringing upon the general policy of the law relative to clandestine marriages, be it therefore enacted, &c.”

We hardly know what to make of this precious piece of

quackery. Mr. Wilkes, as all the world knows, is an eloquent man, and speaketh an annual speech to ladies and gentlemen fond of religion and liberty. But how could he be so absurd as to introduce one of his pathetic appeals into the preamble of an Act of Parliament? His idea of legislating *upon the repugnancy of a religious feeling*, beats any thing we remember in Tristram Shandy; and the naiveté with which he reminds us of the law relative to clandestine marriages, at the very moment when he is doing it away, is a proof that the very cunning are not always the very discreet. The law-maker proceeds to enact that *any place* registered for religious worship, may be registered in the Ecclesiastical Court as a place for the solemnization of marriage, and twelve months after such second registry, marriages shall be lawfully solemnized there, in such form, and *with such rites and ceremonies as shall accord with the religious feelings of the parties to be married*, provided the marriage be solemnized with open doors, between eight and twelve o'clock, and in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses. We wonder how Mr. Wilkes reconciles it to his feelings, to ordain that the second registry of any place in which he may be disposed to solemnize matrimony should be filed in the Ecclesiastical Court. Is he not aware, that "many of his Majesty's good and faithful subjects" conscientiously decline the acknowledgment of episcopal authority, and consider 'Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries,' as relations of the Babylonish woman? Does he not perceive that his doubly registered, and doubly licensed place of worship will not suffice "to grant ease to scrupulous consciences, as long as there are men who reject all religion and all worship?" And, what is a more serious consideration, can he produce any shadow of reason or argument for subjecting his sufferers from repugnant religious feeling to our ordinary matrimonial courts? Their marriages being contracted without the sanction of the Church, ought never to be submitted to its jurisdiction. And, unless we institute a Prerogative Court of Jewin Street and Salter's Hall, and appoint Mr. Fearon or Mr. Wilkes to preside in it, Dissenters must be for ever debarred from commencing a matrimonial law-suit with any ease or satisfaction.

The next clause refers to the publication of banns; and provides that *after* banns have been duly published in the parish church, &c. any couple, who may be non-conformists, or one of whom may be a non-conformist, and desirous of being married at some *place* under this Act, shall be permitted to make a written declaration to this effect "*(which declaration shall be deemed and accepted as conclusive evidence of*

such non-conformity)" and shall be entitled to receive a certificate of the due publication of banns. And, because this arrangement is not sufficiently outrageous, the following paragraph tells us, that licenses to marry, under this Act, may be granted by the same persons, and on the same conditions as are in force with respect to marriages in the Church!! The object of both these manœuvres is sufficiently obvious. Our Dissenters of good degree and quality do not relish the notion of being married in any place "in accordance with their religious feelings," but are disposed to go through the same ceremonial as others in the same rank of life,—so well disposed, that in spite of their non-ease and scruples, most of them will continue to solemnize matrimony in the Church, unless Mr. Wilkes makes the new recipe pleasant and palatable. His followers therefore, are not to have their banns published as the banns of conscientious non-conformists. But their names are to be well mixed up with the rest of the parishioners; and, after the publication, any of them who take a fancy to be married in a cellar or a garret, are to state that fact, and the fact is to be accepted as conclusive evidence of non-conformity. This is a sop for the middling and lower orders of the dissenting community. The grandees are to ease their scrupulous consciences by procuring an episcopal license, and walking off to the dissenting chapel with his convincing proof of nonconformity in their pockets. Nobody can be so weak as to believe that an enactment thus worded is really intended for the removal of grievances. If any alteration were to be made at the suggestion of Mr. Wilkes, the first thing for the legislature to secure, would be the restriction of such alteration to *bonâ fide* Dissenters. The bill before us applies obviously to the whole body of the people, and puts a new and foolish option into the hands of every individual who has a pique against his Clergyman, or who is of a fanciful and capricious temper. We have heard great complaints of occasional conformity—but this bill affords facilities for occasional conformity, which it might puzzle the most ingenious to surpass.

The remaining clauses provide for the registration of marriages thus contracted, in the parish register of the parish wherein the banns, &c. were published. To secure the present fees to the Minister of the Church, and enable the registration to be made within six months of the marriage, upon an order from the Court of King's Bench; declare that it shall not be necessary, in support of a marriage under this act, to give any proof, of the nonconformity of the parties, nor that *the place wherein such marriage was solemnized was duly registered for the solemnization*

zation of marriage—nor that the same was situate within ten miles of the Church in which the banns were published. The concluding clause enacts that two copies of the statute should be deposited with every parish priest, for the purpose, as we suppose, of convincing them how highly their services are valued by the King, Lords, and Commons.

We shall make but one remark upon this famous bill. It is better calculated to promote fictitious and invalid marriages, than any thing we could have ventured to predict, even of Mr. Wilkes' attempts at legislation. We say nothing of the desecration of matrimony which it will obviously produce—we say nothing of the laboured yet inefficient and impracticable details of the measure. We advert to the circumstance of the registration not taking place at the marriage, and we affirm that it would be the cause of more null marriages among the inconsiderate, and more horrible seduction among the profligate, than the worst interpretation of the 33d of George II. could by any possibility have introduced.

The irregular publication of banns, *i. e.* out of the parish in which parties really reside, is one of the most pressing evils of the present system; and Mr. Wilkes will multiply it a hundred-fold. A couple whose banns have been published where their parents cannot be present to forbid them, will present a declaration of their nonconformity, and repair forthwith to the licensed and registered tinker, who is in accordance with their religious feelings. The ceremony performed, they will be and will consider themselves man and wife, and if they are idle or careless, if they wish to conceal their marriage, if one of them intends hereafter to set it aside, they will never think of returning ten miles to the parish priest and parish register, to make their entry and pay their fees. They will believe, or at least say, that the form may be delayed; that by the interposition of the King's Bench it may be performed at any time before the expiration of six months; that at all events it is a measure of security rather than necessity; and the consequence will be, that it will never take place, and the marriage will be dubious and voidable.

In the case of license-weddings the facility for fraud is still more glaring. The parties are not *required* to have any communication with the parish clergyman. If they please they may give him notice to get his register ready, and wait their pleasure and arrival. But provided they have obtained the Episcopal licence they may repair to any *place* which they happen to prefer, indulge their religious feelings by a solemnization of matrimony, and persuade themselves to

postpone, or dispense with the registering. What will then become of the evidence or the validity of their marriage? Mr. Wilkes may have contrived a scheme by which his Majesty's good and faithful dissenters can solemnize lawful and binding matrimony without repugning their religious feelings—but, in nine cases out of ten, they will dispense with his complicated machinery, and, consequently, their marriages will last just as long as they are convenient and agreeable. Every body who chooses to say that he is a Nonconformist may take advantage of this sweeping indulgence, and 'the consciences' of those whom it has turned into husbands and wives, may be 'eased' at their own discretion by a dissolution of the knot.

The Clergy will, of course, be duly grateful to the Author of this Bill for the regard which he has shewn for their pecuniary welfare. Will they thank him, however, for supposing that, provided their fees be secure, they will sacrifice the interest both of the Church and the Community? Or will they believe that so desperate an innovator would give them their fees for a single twelvemonth after his measure had obtained the sanction of Parliament? This plausible suggestion has, at least, one merit—the merit of being easily seen through:—it will not impose upon the most childish credulity.

We trust that the same remark may hereafter be applied to the whole of Mr. Wilkes's scheme. Our imperfect and hasty strictures have shewn that it is calculated to subvert the entire fabric of the Marriage Law. Its defects are not accidental, but inherent and inevitable. Unless the Marriage Register is kept by the Clergyman, there can be no adequate security against falsification and fraud—and unless the Clergyman solemnizes the marriage he will never be able to keep the register with accuracy. This is the difficulty, and more ingenious men than Mr. Wilkes will fail in their endeavours to surmount it. If clandestine and voidable marriages are to be prevented, our countrymen must marry as they have always done. There is no pretence for calling upon the Church to frame some measure of relief—to say what relief she will concede, or what recompense she will accept—because she knows, and will prove that no practicable measure can be devised upon the subject, that no concession can be safely made; and no compromise or indemnity be arranged or adhered to.

Our governors, beset with applications from such bustling folks as Mr. Wilkes, threatened with long parliamentary debates, afraid of Mr. Hume or Mr. Bennett, or my Lord Ellenborough, have given undue encouragement to these wild

schemes. Let them be beset therefore on the other side by men to whom they have more temptation to listen—the sentiments of those who are ‘repugnant’ to the ‘easing of Mr. Fearon’s conscience,’ when freely and fairly stated, must be attended to. It is not a question of toleration and indulgence, but of the insolent triumph of an insolent adversary over those who have nothing to fear, unless they betray their own cause. A very little consideration will enable right-thinking men to detect the drift of the Dissenter’s marriage bill; and with a very little exertion they may expose it so effectually, as to ensure it a proper reception upon its next appearance in the House of Lords.

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